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June 16, 1859.—ly.*

To the People of Pennsylvania:
The State Committee appointed by the Convention of Delegates representing the People's Party of this Commonwealth, which met at Harrisburg on the 9th day of June last, make this respectful address to you on the condition of the public affairs of the Country, and the questions which invite your deliberate consideration in view of the approaching annual election. The Ballot box is the instrument through which the People exercise their sovereignty over the government of the State and Union; and every recurrence of an opportunity for them to employ this power, and discharge the correlative duty which it involves, is an occasion which calls them to a careful examination of the course of conduct of those to whom they have deputed official functions, and to a determination respecting the principles and measures which should be recognized and adopted in the administration of their republican institutions. These repose for their safety on the vigilant supervision of the people for whose benefit, and by whose authority, they have been established, and unless the popular masses exercise over them a constant watch and care, they are liable to be perverted in the hands of self-seeking and unfaithful agents, to the base uses of private advantage, or merely partizan, and even corrupt designs. Protection is the great purpose for which governments are instituted. When men resign a part of their natural liberty, and enter into a compact, it is that they may more fully secure the rights and privileges which belong to them, as members of the State. It becomes, therefore, the first duty of those who are charged with the administration of government, to guard the rights, protect the interests, and promote the welfare of the great body of citizens. Happily relieved by the achievements of our ancestors from the oppression of crowned monarchs professing to rule by divine right, and from the imposition of privileged classes, the people of this country, occupying a position of equality before the law, have the right to require that the government of their own institution shall be administered with a single reference to their advantage and benefit.

The first settlers of America, for the most part exiles from their respective native countries, who sought an asylum in this, then western wilderness, in order that they might enjoy the religious and civil liberties which were denied to them at home—poor in circumstances, and strong only in their devotion to the fundamental rights of humanity, which were afterwards so gloriously vindicated amid the toils and sufferings, and on the battle-fields of the Revolution, founded here a civilized and christian state, in the midst of hostile savages, and subdued the forest and waste places to cultivation, by the strong arm of manual labor, and the industry of freemen then was, and always has continued to be, the great primary interest of the people of this country—the basis of its prosperity, and the only firm column on which our popular institutions rest for support. It is this which has not only filled the fertile valleys, crowned the verdant hills and adorned the rugged slopes of forest, covered mountains with the happy homes of a rapidly increasing population; but spreading over the prairies, crossing the majestic rivers, and scaling the summits of heights and peaks clothed in perpetual snow, has extended the boundaries of the Republic to the margin of the great Pacific Ocean, and established there communities of free men who proudly add the new stars of sovereign State to the constellation which adorns the American Flag, and gladly share in all the blessings and liberties which our political institutions, if administered in their true spirit, and on their real principles, confer to an extent which no other governmental forms have ever bestowed upon those who lived under them. There has, however, always been an interest which has arrayed itself in opposition to free labor; and of late years it has acquired an ascendancy in the councils, and over the action of that party, which has, without just title, usurped the name of "Democratic," and by its co-operation been enabled to obtain a control over the policy of the Government, which has been inimical to, and subversive of, the welfare and prosperity of the productive industry of freemen. This hostility finds its root and its inducement in the system of hereditary

negro slavery. We do not question the sovereign rights of the states in which this anomalous and exceptional kind of labor exists, to maintain and perpetuate it among them, if they see proper. With that we have nothing to do—no right to interfere, further than the mere expression of opinion extends. But when that system becomes aggressive, and insists upon establishing itself upon the virgin soil of our free territories, even against the will of the majority of the resident population, we hold it to be both a right and a duty to prevent it.

The wise, enlightened, and far seeing patriots and statesmen who framed our institutions—Washington, Madison and Jefferson in the south, as well as Franklin, Hamilton and King in the North—all regarded slavery as an evil. They refused to permit the word to appear in the Federal Constitution, and expressed the united hope that ere long, by the process of gradual emancipation, it would disappear from the Union. They expressly fixed a time after which, under the legislation of Congress, the importation of slaves should be prohibited, and Congress, acting in accordance with the universal sense of the civilized world, placed the brand of piracy upon the inhuman African Slave Trade. Pursuing the same policy, Congress, from time to time and without question of its Constitutional power, in establishing governments over the Territories of the Union as the gradual advance of settlement required them, by whatever means of cession or purchase those territories were acquired, up to the organization of Oregon in 1849 under the Presidency of Mr. Polk, expressly enacted that involuntary servitude, except for crime, should not be permitted in them, and with the agreement of Mr. Monroe and his Cabinet, including such southern men as Calhoun, Crawford and Wirt, and of a Congress where Clay, Pinkney, and other most enlightened statesmen were conspicuous, fixed a geographical line which was thenceforth to define the northern boundary of slavery, and which received the long subsequent recognition of the Government in terms of the compact by which Texas became an integral part of the Union. It was not until the Territory of Kansas, which had been solemnly set apart for free labor by the Missouri Compromise, having passed through the trying ordeal of a Territorial condition in the exercise of rights which had received frequent Congressional recognitions, presented a Constitution of Government and applied for admission as a State into the Union, that whatever may have been the theoretical declarations of ultra Southern propagandists of slavery any practical attempt was made to overthrow this established policy of the Government fortified by so many concurring precedents, to the authority of which all parts of the Union were bound by the action of their representatives.

An effort like this both to overthrow established principles and to suppress the voice of a majority of the people of Kansas, was accompanied, of course, by a series of outrages, unexampled in the history of the country. The ballot box was polluted with fraud, and corrupted by violence. The right of free election was denied to the people. The residents were overawed by invasions of armed men, who employed arson, robbery, and even murder to impose slavery upon the Territory, and their forcible and fraudulent proceedings were recognized as legitimate expressions of the popular will by the Territorial authorities acting under the Commission, and with the approbation of the "Democratic" administration at Washington. In 1856, in order to relieve itself of a part of the odium which it was compelled to bear on account of these atrocious proceedings, the Democratic party nominated a candidate for president, whose absence from the country discharged him from the imputation, at least, of being a personal participant in the acts of his predecessors; and in accordance with a predetermined policy of deception which was to be pursued during the canvass, Mr. Buchanan, at once, bound himself by the most solemn written pledges not to be an accomplice in further violations of the rights of the majority, but to submit to the fair and uncontrolled determination of the People of Kansas themselves the decision of the question whether she should come into the Union as a free or slave State. This was the burden of all the speeches of his advocates, the printed addresses of the party committees—the editorial declarations of the "Democratic" press.—Even in his inaugural address, the same profession was made, and in the instructions given to his selected Governor of Kansas it was reiterated. But this would have been fatal to the designs of those who were determined to fix slavery upon Kansas, and the policy thus repeatedly avowed was abandoned with sudden and indecent haste.

The most strenuous efforts were made, and Presidential influence was brought to bear with its utmost power, in the multiplied forms of patronage, to force through Congress, impose upon the people of Kansas against their will, the fictitious instrument concocted by the conspirators against popular rights in the Territory, at Lecompton, for the purpose of giving slavery a recognized position, and tying the hands of the majority in their efforts to rid themselves of a system which they regarded as irreconcilable

with their interests and prosperity. Foiled in this, the administration nevertheless succeeded, by working on the easy virtue of members, whose resistance yielded to the blandishments and promises of the dispensers of official favors, in forcing through Congress a modified plan by which the people of Kansas were approached with a bribe in one hand, and a penalty in the other—instant admission as a state, if they would consent to the introduction of slavery; but a continued condition of territorial pupillage, should spurn the offer, until officers appointed by their oppressors should certify that they constituted a population at least double that required in the case of Oregon, in the hope that they would be fatigued into submission. But, thanks to the indomitable spirit of the American People! the residents of Kansas have stood firm in the vindication of their rights, and by the cause of free labor, and heedless of government prohibitions, have formed a constitution in accordance with the known will of the majority on this great question. Of course, "the Democratic party" as identified with the administration, in accordance with the policy of its chiefs, and the dictation of Southern propagandists, have resisted this action of the majority; and intimations are now given that the admission of Kansas shall still be opposed and prevented as a punishment for the persistent devotion of her people to Freedom. Shall not the voice of Pennsylvania—the proud proof of the mighty energies of the Industry of her freemen in building up a happy, powerful and intelligent Commonwealth—be heard in thunder-tones of rebuke of that obstructive disposition and policy, which deny the soundness of those principles on which her institutions are founded, and in effect refused to the majority of the people the right to frame their own Constitutions of Government, unless they incorporate in it a provision which shall establish slavery permanently among them?—Will she not vindicate the right of her own sons to go in and possess these new territories, and establish there the dominion of Free Labor which has wrought out her own solid prosperity, and has established her as the firm and unshakable Keystone of the Federal Arch?

Not content with this effort to overthrow the interests of free labor in Kansas, southern propagandists of slavery make still further requisitions on the yielding disposition of that class of politicians in the North who have hitherto lent themselves to the furtherance of their demands. It is now seriously required by them that Congress shall intervene in the affairs of the Territories, should the people there refuse by their legislation to make special provisions in favor of slavery, by enacting a code for the protection of that "peculiar institution," and thus coerce by federal power the majority to submit to its establishment and perpetuation among them. These men insisted that while Congress has the right to exclude, it is its bounden duty to sustain every effort to introduce slave labor into the Territories, and we find the Administration "Democratic party" in Pennsylvania, by the resolutions of its State Convention and the address of its State Committee, fully agreeing to this doctrine, and conceding the propriety and duty of its practical enforcement by Congress.—This is the issue made and presented by those who control the "Democratic" politics of the South, and concurred in by their allies in this great and free Commonwealth. At the demand of this dictatorial spirit, the Territories of the Union are to become, in substance and in fact, closed against the entrance of the sons of the people of Pennsylvania, who by the labor of their own hands, would subdue them to the condition of cultivated and prosperous States, and handed over to the thriftless labor of negro slaves, which blights whatever it touches, and reduces soils of natural fertility to the condition of barren wastes. Thus the great inheritance which we have received, and which might be made the dwelling place of a dense population, situated in the midst of plenty and constantly growing in its capacity for production, it is to be swept over by a system of enforced labor, and exhausted by a few tillages, then to be thrown out in common and abandoned, because it will no longer yield a support to its prodigal proprietors. This has been the history of not a few of the Southern States, for the stately homes of proud proprietors which once stood in the midst of vast possessions are now ruinous or razed to the foundation, and even the churches of God lie waste, the descendants of the dwellers and worshippers being scattered far and wide, and the exhausted lands, returned to the condition of primitive forests, or lying fallow and desolate in utter unfruitfulness.—Such are the results of the system which eludes the superior and exclusive right to the proprietorship of our Territories as against the labor of American freemen, which conquers the natural wilderness—improves upon the bounties of Providence, and from generation to generation increases the products of the soil—adds to the natural wealth, and sustains a population continually becoming more numerous, more enlightened, and more capable of faithfully and intelligently discharging the duties of citizenship in a republic.

Are you, the people of Pennsylvania, willing to accede to a demand made on behalf of slave labor, which thus deprives

your descendants of the right to introduce their industry into the Territories of the Union, and become freeholders there, unless they will consent to degrade themselves to a level of equality with the negro slave? Are you willing that the powers of the Government shall be perverted from the great purpose of promoting the interests of Freedom, to a subservience to the base uses of slavery?—Are you willing that these vast Territories—the magnificent gift of a bounteous Providence by us to be dressed and kept—shall be sacrificed to the exactions of slavery, and thus forfeit the Eden of beauty and fertility which has been committed to us, in trust, for the benefit of posterity and of mankind? The requirement of the passage of a slave code for the Territories by Congress is now boldly put forth, and has received the recognition of that large division of "the Democratic party" which adheres to the Administration in this State and elsewhere. It is an issue which must be met, and it is for you to declare at the polls your decision upon it. You cannot oppose it, and at the same time support the so-called "Democratic Ticket" in Pennsylvania. Emboldened by the ready submission which has been yielded to all their demands by the Administration Democratic party, and resolute in their determination to crush out free labor wherever it can come into competition with their own hostile system, the propagandists of slavery have actually determined to take the still further step of re-opening the African Slave Trade, and have already introduced into the country cargoes of savage negroes, smuggled across the ocean, and now held to compulsory service on the rice, sugar and cotton fields of the South. The point has been reached in which the path of retrogression which has been taken from the position of the framers of our Institutions on Slavery and its cognate questions, men are found who boldly justify the infamous traffic in human flesh, which was prohibited half a century ago by an American Congress, visited with the penalties of piracy, and stigmatized in the estimation of the whole civilized and christian world as the sum of all iniquities. Leading men in the Southern States, high in the confidence of the "Democratic party," and holding elevated and public trusts, are heard proudly demanding that Congress shall repeal the punishments provided for those who introduce slaves from Africa, and "Democratic" State Conventions unite in the demand. Southern Courts and Juries refuse to punish the pirates when arrested and indicted, and the National Administration is either impotent or unwilling to intercept their vessels on the sea, or secure the arrest and conviction of the offenders after they have landed their cargo, and received the wages of their crime. It is insisted that the South must have an increase of slaves in order to enable her to contest the point of supremacy with free labor in the Territories; and to plant new Slave States to be admitted into the Union to prevent the Free States from gaining a complete ascendancy. The battle which has been waged between the two repugnant systems of labor, always to the disadvantage of Freedom, who has been deserted and betrayed by those who professed to be devoted to her cause, has its crisis in this attempt to revive the Slave Trade—a scheme which is made almost incredible by its audacity, immorality and cruelty. Unfortunately, facts prove its existence, and many of the aggressions of slavery propagandism which have already been consummated were far more improbable of accomplishment, and received far less countenance and encouragement at the start, than this, the most flagrant of them all. *Obsta principiis* is the maxim of wisdom and the voice of Pennsylvania should be pronounced in the most emphatic terms of condemnation of a project which must shock the moral sense of every one of her right-minded citizens.

The industry of American freemen has another great and vital interest which has always been refused the recognition of those who are engaged in the schemes of slavery aggression which we have noticed. The material welfare of the people as well as the financial interests of the Government indicate a policy of Protection and Defense of our agricultural, mining, manufacturing, mechanical and manual labor, against the schemes and systems of foreign nations, as the true course to be adopted in our legislation on the subject of a Tariff. Properly considered, and as actual experience proves, Revenue and Protection possess a blended harmony of interests. At those very periods in our history when the labor of the people was best sheltered from unequal competition with accumulated foreign capital, long-trained skill and low rates of wages, the National coffers were most fully replenished—the expenditures of government were completely met from its resources, and the process of reducing national debts contracted under other systems, was in most successful operation. When, however, discriminating duties were taken off or made to discriminate against our home industry—when free trade was put in practice, and Protection entirely abandoned and condemned by the party in power, not only did industry languish and suffer in all its departments—failures become frequent, disastrous and overwhelming—furnaces, forges, factories and workshops closed their operations—labor asks in vain for employment—mechanics seek unavailingly for customers—and e-

ven the great foundation interests of agriculture suffer in the general stagnation of business and contraction of prices and scarcity of money, but the revenues of the Treasury fell off in rapid diminution, and the government which had just been paying a high premium for its own bonds, was compelled to raise the means of defraying its ordinary expenses, and in a time of profound peace, to contract a new national funded debt. This has been the recent experience of the country, and at this moment the people are suffering from the practical consequences of the injurious policy of their public servants. Pennsylvania has witnessed, during the last two years, the most disastrous sacrifices of the property of her people, and the most depressed condition of her great industrial interests. Valuable properties have been brought to the block of forced sales, and at no time have sheriffs and other executive officers of the law reaped such abundant harvests of fees, while productive labor has stood idle and looked on helplessly, at the sacrifice of hard-earned possessions passing from the grasp of the toiling hand that gave them all their value, for mere nominal prices, into the ownership of capitalists and speculators, most of whose means were wrung from the very men whom they were thus dooming to hopeless poverty. What more melancholy sight than this can be presented, and how doubly bitter must the experience be to the sufferer when he reflects that the cruel policy of the rulers of his country, whom his own vote may have assisted to their places of influence and power, has struck the blow under which he has fallen! The entire commercial transactions of the country prove how madly we are pursuing a course of dealing with other nations utterly destructive of our own interests, buying recklessly and extravagantly, paying in gold, robbing the country of its specie circulation and basis of paper currency, and contracting debts abroad, which must be settled for in the future. There was imported at New York alone, of foreign dry goods, since the first day of the year up to August the 5th, the enormous amount of \$75,623,418—nine millions of dollars more than in the corresponding period of wild extravagance just before the crash in September, 1857, and about forty-two millions more than under the compelled contraction of the same period in 1855.—

We imported during the year ending June 1, 1858, of foreign goods, wares and merchandise, \$243,239,000; during the year ending June 1, 1859, \$340,000,000; an increase of almost \$97,000,000. During the first period we exported \$52,633,000 of specie—during the last, \$68,000,000, and as our imports of the same article were ten millions less in the last than in the first period, our stock on hand was \$26,337,000 less than the year before. Our exports of cotton, grain, flour, and all other products of every kind of labor, are vastly below the importations; for while we sent out only \$37,757,000 in the first seven months of the present year, from New York, we had to make up the sum of \$42,249,000 in coin to pay the balance due to foreign nations on the dealings through that port alone. Facts like these convey their own best comments; they explain, without any learned parade of argument, the reason of the paralyzed state of home industry, and call, trumpet-tongued, for the application of the proper remedy. This is in the hands of Congress and the Executive Administration of the National Government to which the adjustment of the terms of our commerce with other nations has been committed by the Constitution. But the "Democratic party," which wields those powers, refuses all relief. It is bound to the opposite interests, which professes to see in the Protective Policy a foe to all who are engaged in raising Southern products by slave labor. We believe that policy is the best, most beneficial and advantageous to every interest and investment in the country—the farm and plantation—the mine and forest—the factory and workshop—all have here a complete harmony of interest.

But Free Trade is the pet delusion of the South, only second in its estimation to the physical, moral and political blessings of slavery; and, therefore, "the Democratic Party," whose course of conduct it dictates, denounces the Protective Policy. Even the President of its choice, gradually differing on this point from the controlling power, is shorn of his influence and regarded as wholly unsound; for when Mr. Buchanan, in his last annual message, modestly suggested to Congress that the *ad valorem* system was prolific of frauds, and that specific duties, especially on such articles as are sold by weight and measure, as coal and iron for example, would be much safer for the Government as well as beneficial to the people, he was flatly contradicted by his own Secretary of the Treasury in his annual report on finances—his party in Congress never acted on the President's suggestion, and he failed to exercise in behalf of his Tariff recommendation those influences whose potency was so actively experienced when, in concert with his Southern friends, he fought the battle of Slavery in Kansas on the Lecompton Constitution and the English Bill. *Ad valorem* duties, favored by our financiers of the modern Democratic school, are not only productive of fraud and perjury, but they have the very admirable quality in the eyes of their advocates of being lowest when they are most re-

quired to be high and when foreign goods are forced into our market on low invoices, sworn through the Custom House by false oaths to the entire destruction of the American manufacturer and producer, and of being highest when the foreigner, having overthrown domestic competition, asks enormous prices for his goods and compels our people to pay the most for articles of inferior value. The specific duty of so much by the yard or pound, is on the contrary, fixed and invariable—always the same; the American producer knows always what to calculate on, and no fraudulently under-charged invoice can be sworn through the Custom House by individuals reckless of perjury, when the article itself defines the rate of import. But the reasonable demand of the people for the protection which would be secured both to them and the National Treasury by the substitution of moderate, fixed, specific duties for the *Ad valorem* rates of the present Tariff, falls unheeded on the ears of the governing powers at Washington, or is treated by them with derision and contempt. Pennsylvania has a vast and vital concern in this matter. We need not refer to the great coal and iron interests—her investments for improvements to carry the products of her farms, mines, forges, furnaces, factories, &c., to market, and the advantage which the active prosecution of those now languid, or suspended, operations would be to the Agriculturist, mechanic and manual labor, in giving them purchasers for their products and fabrics, and employment for their stalwart arms. The people of this State are too intelligent not to understand these things, and the classes mentioned have by bitter experience had them deeply impressed upon their minds and memories. Will they not with united purpose work together for the accomplishment of the great reform which is necessary in our system of imposing duties on imports, and as the "Democratic party"—its representations and active agents in public station and political management—not committed the wrong of introducing free trade, but refuse to remedy it, themselves throw off the influence of this party, and by rejecting its candidates make plain their unalterable determination that the Protection of American Industry shall be the settled, abiding and irreversible policy of the government? When fully convinced that such is the resolution of Pennsylvania, opposition will begin to disappear, and her true representatives be clothed with power to make effectual her demands.

It is a remarkable peculiarity of the present National Administration that with a deficient revenue and a people suffering in all their business interests from the unfriendly policy of the Government, the public expenditures have increased to an unprecedented amount, and corruption, peculation, mismanagement and favoritism prevail at the cost of the Federal Treasury. When Mr. Buchanan entered upon his office, he found a surplus of \$14,000,000 on hand. Before the first year of his time had closed, this was all exhausted—the issue of \$20,000,000 in Treasury notes and a stock loan of the like amount were authorized by the first session of Congress after his inauguration—the total amount of expenditures of the fiscal year which ended on the 30th of June, 1858, reached the enormous amount of \$89,628,267, and the appropriations for the ensuing year totaled the sum of \$98,854,201 24, and this was less by \$7,769,000 than the administration asked for.—When John Quincy Adams, thirty years ago, expended some \$15,000,000 annually, the outcry against his extravagance was loud and incessant, Mr. Buchanan being among those who raised it for political effect; but he has not only sipped, but has, in time of profound peace with all nations, far exceeded the annual expenditures when the country was engaged in a foreign war, with fleets on the "enemy's" coasts and an army in his capital. If these expenses were judicious and legitimate, there would be less cause to complain; but, unfortunately, they have been made for improper purposes, and to effect partizan designs. The navy yards at Brooklyn and Philadelphia were crammed with unnecessary men by the hundred in order to carry the election to Congress of the friends of the administration, and its supporters in attempting to consummate the Lecompton fraud and outrage; contracts for building ships and supplying coal for the navy were awarded, not to the lowest bidders, but to family connections of members of the Cabinet, or to establishments whose recommendations, referred by the President himself to the Secretary of the Navy, was that they exercise a strong influence in a Congressional District, and ought to be rewarded for deserting old political associations to contribute to Mr. Buchanan's election, and as an encouragement to them to work for the re-election of his friends to Congress. Large purchases of mules, wagons and other materials for the Utah Expedition were made of near relations of the members of the House of Representatives, who pleased the Administration by supporting its Kansas measures, or of members of the party supposed to wield political influence in political localities.

A mail line is kept across the continent at an expense of more than three millions over the revenues, while in other parts of the country—and especially in the Free States, the postal accommodations of the people are diminished, though the reve-