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SPEECH OF THE HON. A. K. M'CLURE.

On the Act of the commutation of the tonnage duties upon all the internal improvements of the State, delivered in the Senate, Tuesday, Feb. 28.

The first section of the bill, entitled "an Act for the commutation of tonnage duties," having been read,

MR PENNY offered an amendment providing that the Governor might restore the tax upon tonnage at any time that the sinking fund might need the same to pay a certain portion of the debt.

MR M'CLURE said: The amendment now before the Senate has already been considered and rejected by the members of this body in Committee of the Whole. A gentleman so intelligent and so familiar with all the details of State policy can scarcely have mistaken the manifest purpose of the original section to afford the State the amplest protection. We do not propose to surrender the right to tax the Pennsylvania railroad in any legitimate way, including a tax upon tonnage. The bill expressly provides that the State may re-impose this tax should any necessity arise for it; but it does very properly prohibit an unjust discrimination against the trade of any particular section of the Commonwealth. There is no reason why the man who ships the products of his industry to or from Pittsburg shall pay a direct tax to the State for the privilege, while the citizens of every other section have their avenues of transportation to both our own and foreign cities free from such restrictions. There is no equality in such a system of taxation, and no sound principles of State policy can be justified. I doubt not that the Senator from Allegheny fully comprehends and appreciates this glaring inequality; and yet, without proposing to make this tax general, so that it might fall with exact justice upon all our people, he earnestly contends for the taxation of a single route, and that one of the great arteries designed to give fresh life and increased greatness to our leading commercial cities.

The time may come when the State must look for extraordinary revenue; and this bill protects the interests of the Commonwealth fully. Should such a contingency arise, then let the whole tonnage of the State pay tribute to the treasury; and however at war with an enlightened commercial policy, we will be at least just to every portion of our people. But should that dark day dawn upon us, let none other than the legitimate taxing power perform this task. I object to vesting the Executive with the dangerous authority to impose taxes by proclamation. To the Legislature, and to it alone, should that delicate power be entrusted; and as it has been wisely placed there, it must not be disturbed. Our "broad acres"—a most familiar expression—are not in danger of onerous taxation as long as we have prosperous corporate interests ever adding to their own wealth and to that of the State. A Legislature coming directly from the people will exhaust all our resources before increasing the burdens on our agriculture. Let this tax be reinstated, if ever, by the legitimate taxing power of the Commonwealth; and for this we propose to make a complete provision in this bill.

While upon the floor I will allude to another point. It is urged persistently that we are about to relieve a great corporation. Such is not the purpose, nor will such be the main result, of this bill. I ask that these of my constituents and the constituents of other Senators who wish to expand the dark cloud that rises over the manufactory of Allegheny by pouring thither the rich fruits of their capital and industry, shall not pay a direct tax for the privilege of doing so. Every ton of iron from my immediate section of the State that seeks a market in Pittsburg must pay from eight cents to one dollar of a direct and arbitrary tax for the mere right of transit over our own soil. The railroad company does not pay it. It falls directly upon the producers whose misfortune it is to live in a particular section, while all others are entirely free. It restricts the commerce of our own State, and cripples the energies of our own people. Ohio and other western States can pour into Pittsburg their mineral wealth and produce, free from all such taxation; but to be a citizen of Pennsylvania, and engaged in converting her vast resources, exposes one to the discrimination of our laws against our own trade. That the Senator from Allegheny should sustain a policy so fatal to the thrift of his own constituents, and so oppressive upon every one who seeks a market at his home is truly amazing. That he should stand upon the floor of the Senate, speaking for the second city of the State, and demand that all who would add to its wealth and greatness by their trade, must pay a direct tribute if they transport upon our own soil, while every other channel is free, is strangely incompatible with

his widespread and just reputation for liberal and enlightened views. The principle cannot be justified save as an extreme measure for revenue; and if the revenue were a necessity, it should be collected with some degree of equality from all. A single branch of industry conducted by a few men, in a county near to this capital, pays over \$25,000 annually of this tax, and for what? For the right to carry the fruits of their energy to the city of Pittsburg, there to compete with the energy of other States who reach the market without such imposition. Is this equality in taxation? Is it just? Is it a wise policy for Pennsylvania to pursue towards her own enterprise? We have vast natural advantages. We have a population eminent for its industry and thrift—a people who have made the State mighty in defiance of her liberal law; but I submit whether the day has not come when they shall be permitted to develop the resources of the State without being crippled by the strong arm of the Government. Do you want revenue? If so, should it be imposed upon all branches of our industry, or should it fall with unequal and crushing harshness upon those who develop your fair fields and exhaustless mines? This is the true position; and I regret to see the distinguished Senator from Allegheny so far forget the interests of his own city and State as to demand that a tax shall be imposed upon our internal commerce—upon that which has reared his city into greatness, and made his State an empire within herself when in all the world besides has been abandoned.

New York once taxed her commerce and made it pay tribute to the State for the privilege of enhancing the greatness of the Commonwealth. She said by her statutes—there are vast corporations; they have abundant means; our people must employ them, and they shall, therefore, enrich the Treasury. But when Pennsylvania opened a great trunk line, piercing the teeming bounty of the West, and appeared as a competitor in the prairie marts of commerce, proposing to bring its golden fruits to a rival State, and her seaport city, New York did not hesitate as to her policy. Her Legislature did not tremble lest some narrow prejudice should overthrow a small man here and there. Whenever our iron horse shrieked his wild song over the Alleghenies, New York treated it as a question of State interest; and although her Erie canal runs parallel with her railroad, the tax upon tonnage was promptly and unconditionally repealed. She declared at once that her internal commerce should be free; and thus our natural advantages in distance were destroyed, and fair competition upon the part of Pennsylvania rendered impossible. Was New York right? Look at her commerce to-day, and then glance at ours. The one advances with the rapid progress of the country, the other languishes in the midst of growing greatness and multiplying wealth. And why? Pennsylvania, always her own most dangerous foe, turns upon her own energies with suicidal hands by imposing unjust discriminations upon her people while New York invites the wealth of the continent to her citizens by a generous policy. New York could afford to tax her own commerce while she enjoyed a monopoly in the means of transit; but in 1851, when Pennsylvania, by a through line unoppressed by any other in the Union, reached out for the wealth of the West, the Empire State unbacked her energies, and until now we have had an unequal struggle because of our own illiberality.

We ask to-day that it shall be stricken off upon terms amply protecting the revenue of the State, and making positive provision for the speedy payment of our crushing debt; and we are answered that we are legislating for a corporation. When great States are struggling for the commerce of a continent, and millions have been invested by our own people to make Pennsylvania second to no other State in progressive prosperity instead of granting equality with rivals to our enterprise, Senators stand upon political or other petty prejudices, and insist that we must not cease to tax this corporation. Such an argument, if it may be so dignified, is unworthy of representative of an enlightened people. The railroad never paid this tax out of its treasury. It is paid by every man who transports a barrel of flour, a sack of corn, a bushel of wheat, or a ton of iron, or any other of the products of our industry, and it is nothing more or less than a direct tribute demanded by a State from its own citizens for the right to reach a home market. We propose, not that the railroad shall be relieved from it, but that our producers shall cease to pay it until it may become necessary, if ever, to impose it equally upon all. We require by this bill that the railroad company shall reduce their rates, from the present tariff, exactly the amount of this tax; and whatever may be the mutations of trade, they can never advance their charges. Who shall profit by this change—the railroad or the people? This is the correct, the truthful view of the question of a tax upon tonnage, and no Senator has attempted to refute it. No one has ventured to say that it is a wise commercial policy to impose this tax, and especially can no Senator justify it when it is levied unequally.

I appeal to the distinguished Senator from Allegheny, (Mr. PENNY,) whether this restriction is either just or wise—

whether it is not a fatal discrimination against his own city, and an onerous burden upon every citizen of Pennsylvania who looks to his home for a market? I call upon him to answer whether it is not shaking our vast interests, and binding the energies of our people, who must pay this tax? Look at Pennsylvania! On the north are two great trunk lines of railroad traversing the Empire State from her commercial emporium westward, tapping the rich treasures of the Lakes, and connecting also with a perfect network of railroads, all of which come laden with the offerings of a thousand channels of industry. These lines are all free from commercial restrictions of every kind; and the giant freight route has received liberally of the bounty of the Empire State to construct it. New York gave four millions to complete the Erie Railroad, and it has repaid that bounty by pouring almost countless wealth into the lap of her commerce; by rearing cities and villages and golden fields where there was but an unbroken wilderness before, and by adding two hundred millions to the taxable property of the State.

Turn further North, and you will find that while the boasted liberal government of the world has been quibbling with corporate enterprise, England has stretched out her strong arm, and is now a most dangerous competitor for the commerce of the West. She has constructed a trunk line from Montreal along the St. Lawrence, tapping all the Lakes, and running into Detroit and Chicago, the heart of Western wealth, and she will there give you a bill of lading clear through to Liverpool. She can take the produce of the West to Montreal, thence to Portland, and thence to Europe, almost if not quite for the same cost that our direct routes can carry it. Why? Because when England saw New York taxing her corporate wealth, and Pennsylvania taxing both associated wealth and tonnage, she constructed the Canada line without imposing a tax of any kind, not even upon real estate, rolling stock, bonds or anything else. Turn South of us, and the Baltimore and Ohio winds its tortuous path over the Blue Ridge and Alleghenies, and returns to the third commercial city of the Union laden with the produce of the West. No illiberal State enactment demands that it must pay tribute to the treasury of Maryland for every ton of goods it can bring within the State, or that every citizen of Maryland who develops a field or a mine, or rears a factory, shall pay taxes to the State for the privilege of going to a home market. In the centre of these competing routes stands Pennsylvania. In agricultural wealth second to none of her rival States, and greatly surpassing them in the richness and bounty of her minerals—with vast natural advantages in distance in competing for the commerce of the West, and with the second city of the Union reared on our Atlantic coast, we interpose illiberal legislation and declare that the advantages bestowed on us by a benighted Creator shall be more than wasted by an unequal tax upon the thrift of our own people. We adhere to this policy against the judgment of the civilized world, against all the interests of industrial progress and against all the lights of experience and reason. Why does not England impose a tax upon her tonnage in Canada? Why does New York gather millions from her two great trunk lines by a similar tax? Why does not Maryland enrich her treasury in the same way? Simply because it would be paralyzing their own energies, wasting their respective commercial advantages, and unequally taxing their own producers.

Certainly the time has come when Pennsylvania should take broad and liberal views of this question. If it were an issue affecting only the railroad corporation, proposing to relieve it and transfer the burdens to the people, I should go hand in hand with the Senator from Allegheny; I should resist the measure with all the energy and feeble power I possess. But when this tax is thrown, with glaring inequality, upon our own citizens, crippling our own energies, and making every evidence of thrift pay tribute as it passes from our mines and fields and factories to our emporium of trade, I say it is wrong, fatally wrong, to our people and to our commerce. Such is the deliberate judgment of an overwhelming majority of the Senate, and I know that any admit the wisdom of the policy who bow before narrow prejudices, and will record their votes against it. It is not for me to question the propriety of thus discharging the solemn duty of a legislator; but for myself, knowing that the measure is in accordance with the progress of the age, just, and even liberal to the State, and inaugurating the freedom of our internal commerce, and the equality of taxation, I hesitate not to vindicate it, feeling fully assured that it will stand the test of time. It is a measure that will be commended by the intelligent judgment of all parties and all sections, when the prejudices of the day, with the men who bowed to them, shall have passed into forgetfulness. Then will our natural advantages, unrestricted by unequal laws, rapidly multiply our material wealth; Philadelphia will then receive her just reward for her liberal development of the State, as her commerce gathers the choicest fruits of our Western Empires; and our mighty Commonwealth will stand side by side with New York and Maryland, with her energies unshackled, her resources unre-

stricted, her home market free to all, and her growing greatness surpassing all her rivals. The people of Allegheny will then cease to tremble at the name of a corporation, when, in spite of her Senators, the expanding interests of her leading city shall be advanced by giving her the products of our own enterprise, on the same terms she receives the wealth of Ohio and other States. I am willing that her people shall judge between her confessedly able but, as I believe, illiberal Senator and myself, and with them alone, deep-seated as may now be their prejudices, I would be content to trust the complete vindication of the vote I shall cast on this momentous issue.

I submit, sir, whether these are not views becoming more representing a great Commonwealth. They may not suit some convictions created by local interests, or local struggles, or local hatreds; but they are just, and to justice all our prejudices must yield at last. We should remember that we are legislating for a State teeming with beauty and richness, and for a people who are pleading to their local General Governments for the privilege of developing our greatness. They ask that when their industry has made a new field to bloom, or a new mine to give forth its wealth, they shall have the right of transit over their own thoroughfare to their home market, without an arbitrary, and, at times, a prohibitory tax being imposed on them. But the Senator from Allegheny answers practically: "I represent the second commercial city of the State; my constituents want the fruits of your energy to enrich them; but, while to the citizens of other States our capitalists have opened free avenues of transportation, every Pennsylvania must pay an unequal tribute before he enters there."

[The question was then further discussed in opposition to the bill by Messrs. PENNY, MOTT and BOUND.] MR M'CLURE. Perhaps a word of explanation is due to myself, as well as a word of admonition to the Senator from Northumberland. (Mr. BOUND.) It is charged by that impetuous Senator that this principle of unrestrained commerce is but an invention to slander the State, and impose new burdens upon the people. He seems to have brought to the Senate all the ardor, and only too much of the recklessness, of the stump; and when he sweeps such indiscriminate denunciation upon all who happen to be more liberal than himself, I think it well to remind him how harshly his own words will sound, when he sees the full extent of their aim. I beg to remind him that the removal of the tax upon tonnage is not a novel doctrine. It is taught by every State to-day but our own, and it has been urged upon Pennsylvania by many of our best men.

I remember, sir, that six years ago there was a man presiding over the destinies of this Commonwealth, confessedly pure in purpose, irreproachably honest in all his acts, and a man whose wise statesmanship and intimate familiarity with all questions of State policy, made him second to none in our Commonwealth. Under his Administration, a bill was passed for the sale of the main line of our public improvements, to which he gave his prompt and cordial approval. When, in pursuance of the law, he exposed the main line to sale, one of the canal commissioners, slow to surrender so rich a channel of pecuniary gain, had tested the constitutionality of the act, and one of its sections had been declared unconstitutional. That section repealed the tax upon tonnage in case the Pennsylvania Railroad Company became the purchaser, at one and a half millions more than the maximum price to other purchasers.

To this the Supreme Court did not interpose any objection; but the section went so far as to release the railroad company from all taxes upon its property for State purposes, and on this point the section was declared null and void, and, I think, very properly. The works were then offered for sale by the Executive without the right to release any taxes under the bill, and the railroad company refused to become the purchaser. It is well known that no man or association of men, except the Pennsylvania Railroad company, could or would buy the main line for \$7,500,000. The Executive, therefore, gave his pledge to the company that if it should become the purchaser of the main line, and thus arrest the plundering of our treasury by a swarm of vauvres under the Canal Board, he would give the power of his official position in favor of the repeal of the tonnage tax, inasmuch as by the sale of our improvements, the necessity that created it would cease. I refer to Hon. James Pollock, the preceptor and law partner of the youthful Senator from Northumberland. True to that pledge, Governor Pollock strongly urged the removal of the tonnage tax, in his next annual message, and he took precisely the same view of the question that I have taken to-night—a view which every man who claims to have a liberal and enlightened appreciation of the interest of Pennsylvania should take to-day, and which, in a few years, the Senator from Northumberland would blush to dispute. I read from Governor Pollock's annual message of January 6, 1855:

"The law incorporating the Pennsylvania Railroad Company imposed a tax of three mills per mile per ton on all tonnage passing over that road, as an equivalent for any decrease in the revenues of

the Commonwealth that might arise from the anticipated competition of the road with the business of the main line of the public improvements. This tax is not imposed upon the Company, but upon the tonnage, and is paid by the owners of the freight transported over the road, the company acting as agents in its collection and payment to the State. It is virtually a tax upon the trade and commerce of the Commonwealth, and upon the commerce of other States whose productions seek an Eastern market over this road; and thus, by increasing the rate of charges and the cost of transportation, the produce of the West is forced upon the competing railroads of other States, and to other markets than our own. The necessity that required this tax, as regards the Commonwealth and her improvements, has ceased. Its continuance can only be justified as a revenue measure. It should be the policy of the State to invite the transmission of the products of other States through her territory, to her own markets, and therefore, the propriety of relieving the trade and business of the Commonwealth and country from this tax upon it is respectfully submitted for your consideration."

Thus did he redeem his pledged faith to the purchaser of the Main Line. True, he was in advance of the sentiment of the State, or rather, he arose above the prejudices of a large portion of the people; but because he proposed an enlightened and just policy, was it said that he was the creature of a corporation, or a tool of the lobby? I regret that the Senator from Northumberland has not profited by the precepts of one who, in all kindness permit me to say, was competent to advise him—competent also to teach him that men are not to be arraigned as faithless to the State because they choose to advance while he prefers to stand still—Gov. Pollock did not adopt his views hastily. He did so after mature deliberation, and his faith in the purchaser of the public works was but the offspring of a settled conviction that it was an unequal and onerous restriction upon our own people; that it was a tax upon our own commerce, and a discrimination in favor of rival States and rival cities; and he asked that Pennsylvania should cease to paralyze herself—should withhold her strong arm from suicidal blows upon her own industry.

Equally fallacious is the assumption of the Senator from Northumberland, that the company is to pocket the accrued tax. It has been collected wrongfully, and after the State had enacted its repeal. The company have litigated it, and it is still in litigation; and as to the tax on through freight, I think it clearly unconstitutional. The company does not propose to put it into its own coffers. The bill before us appropriates it to the completion of certain railroads leading to the main line of the road, and I think very properly. It proposes to refund it to the very people who have paid it, by opening new channels for the development of their wealth. This money has been taken from them unjustly, after the faith of the State was virtually given that it should cease; and it can be returned to them in no way so equally and justly as by opening avenues of transportation, which enhance the general prosperity of the whole community.

Sir, as I have before said, in the course of the debate this evening, there are five Senators on this floor who pretend to justify a tax upon tonnage. I put the question directly to the senior Senator from Allegheny, (Mr. PENNY,) whether it is not an unwise and illiberal policy, and he has not ventured to answer. Indeed, this main point, the very heart of the issue, has been studiously evaded by the Senators who resist the repeal. They threaten us with a depleted treasury and increased taxes, evidently unmindful of the fact that since the sale of the Main Line in 1857 we have had no revenue whatever from this tax—for its payment has been resisted on legal grounds—and yet we have never before in the same time paid half so much of the State debt, and our State taxes have been reduced to two and a half mills.

The sale of the main line was resisted by the same argument we have heard to-night. Impending ruin was pictured with all the zeal of the Senator from Northumberland; but what does the history of your year teach? The man now who should propose to restore the improvements to the State, and have a Canal Board, with its horde of plunderers running riot on them, would be regarded as insane. The name of Gov. Pollock will be cherished by our taxpayers as one of the State's noblest benefactors for disposing of those works, and when the full faith of that measure shall reach fruition, by removing the unjust restrictions upon our commerce and our industry. Pennsylvania will stand forth among the States of the Confederacy with her mighty energies unshackled, second to none in greatness, and surpassing all in internal wealth and substantial prosperity.

The "State of Matrimony" is one of the United States. It is bounded by a ring on one side and a cradle on the other. The climate is sultry till you pass the tropics of house-keeping, when equally weather sets in with such power as to keep all hands as cool as cucumbers. For the principal roads leading to this interesting state, consult the first pair of black eyes you run against.

From the Watertown Reformer. The oldest medical practice is that of the family. Long before doctors or even priests were known as practitioners, the male or female head of the family applied those roots, herbs or other restoratives, experience had sanctioned, for the relief of such sickness as appeared among its members. Then, for a long succession of generations, the offices of priest and physician were united in the same person, and he who offered prayers for the good of the soul likewise administered for the good of the body. In the farther division of labor by the advance of society, doctors at length became invested with the business of attendance upon the sick—Yet all this time the original and natural protectors of the sick, the heads of the family, did not relinquish their claims nor cease to provide for the restoration and recovery of its disabled members. Time out of mind it has been the habit of our mothers and grandmothers to provide themselves with such herbs as tradition or use have considered beneficial, and to administer them upon all supposed needful occasions. Most of us will remember, not without some inward qualms, the frequent taking of honest and catnip, or mint and comfrey, wherewith, in days long gone, our mothers corrected the small ills of childhood, and some of us may taste to this day the castor oil then on occasions so freely applied.

In later years various devices have been invented, with a view of enabling parents more conveniently and successfully to administer for a family. But none of these became by any means popular until the advent of the comparatively new system of Homoeopathy. This system, discarding at once the bleeding, blistering, and entire revulsive means so long in vogue, and administering all medicines in the form of tasteless sugar pills or powders, rendered it easy to give medicines without danger, and not with relief, and soon its boxes and books for domestic practice were in very general use.

But, however plausible in theory, these boxes and books were found to be not without difficulty in practice. According to the usual forms of Homoeopathy, but a single remedy could not be used at once, and each for only a limited number of symptoms occurring in each disease, so that in order to meet the apparent wants of a family, some forty or sixty medicines were required; and to explain the use of these a volume of 600 or 800 pages was necessary, and often twenty, and even as high as forty remedies were mentioned for the cure of each disease, or even simple ailment. The inquirer consequently found himself bewildered on the multiplicity of remedies and symptoms, and ultimately either gave up in despair, or more commonly took some one or more remedies at hazard. Yet some persons, having a taste for this kind of investigation, have long used, and with some considerable advantage, this form of medicine.

Some few years ago, Dr. Humphreys, then Professor of theory and Practice at the Homoeopathic Medical College, of Pennsylvania, at Philadelphia, instituted a series of experiments with a view of devising a shorter and simpler way of curing with Homoeopathic medicines. Discarding the old notions of the school, he sought, by a combination of the more tried and approved remedies, to form a specific for each particular disease or ailment—His experiments resulted in the discovery of a Law of Combination through which he was enabled to prepare specifics for all the simpler and more common forms of disease. Thus he has specifics for Fevers, Headaches, Dysentery, Dyspepsia, Piles, Catarrh, Fever and Ague, and other similar daily occurring affections. These he throws together into a small chest, and accompanies them with a concise little manual of directions for administering the medicines, and a short sketch and symptoms of the disease treated. Nothing can be simpler than his entire system; and if we can believe even a small part of the testimony given in their favor, by those who use them, no medicines can be more efficacious. Indeed the Professor contends with apparent sincerity and earnestness, that his combinations possess curative powers beyond those of the simples, even under the best possible system of administration. There is force in this, for we know that combinations of old school medicines are far more efficient as curative agents than the simple remedies; and it is surprising that the Homoeopaths had not ago long availed themselves of the apparently simple expedient adopted by Professor Humphreys. Prof. H., however, has peculiar faculties, from his extensive practice and intimate acquaintance with every phase of Homoeopathic practice and literature for carrying out his new system of specifics, and he has brought to his aid a mind well cultivated and intensely devoted to the needs of his favorite system. It is impossible to say what results may follow the well directed and intensified efforts of a single energetic mind devoted to one object. But, even in a limited space of time, Humphreys' Specifics have become almost household words, and are fast shaping the views and practice of large numbers of our people. The practice of medicine seems thus likely to return to its more primitive channels, and the father or mother again to be invested with the care of the sick. Pride of success and economy both plead urgently for the restoration of the ancient practice, and so successful has it proved that those who have adopted it will not be likely to re-