

The Bradford Reporter.

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Regardless of Denunciation from any Quarter.—Gov. PORTER.

BY E. S. GOODRICH & SON.

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NO. 37.

[From the Tribune.]

The Home of the Gifted.

BY MR. J. W. MERRICK.

Where is the home where the gifted find
The mind ever wanders o'er intellect's
The waves of the ocean are joyfully
The home where the mind in its
The sun, either setting or waning,
The Country's proud banner is wa-
The high o'er the soil that lov'd Freedom
The waves of the ocean are joyfully
The shores of our County, the dearest of
The earth that sky whose imperial splendor
The graceful o'er bright Italia's fair
The orange and fig-tree grow gracefully
Where the Rhine onward unceasingly
The oak and the myrtle are wa-
The branches for ever o'er brave England's
The streams, rushing onward, are joyfully
The land known alike to oppression and toil
The dark Shamrock's green trees
The Emerald Isle of the wave,
The country for ever ascending
The bright patriotic, the good and the brave!
The dim glories of cities departed
The known sought for ages but time and
The noble, the proud, the noble,
The noblest alike from time's records away!
The have known and the gifted have
The Mind's firmament ever been;
The still rolls onward, and dooms all to
The gifted soon pass from loved mountain
The that rest, to abide there for ever,
The visions of purity fade not away;
The Mind in its grandeur and beauty
The pending know aught of decay.
The is that rest? and will others
The those who have intellect stamped on
The it is ours the best gift to inherit,
The brightly our visions its glories
The is that home? By some foam-crea-
The of decay!
The flowers ever blooming—know nought
The the dark shade of some giant-like
The [snatch away]
The home where bright pleasures ne'er va-
The ye Earth hath a place of abiding
The Sorrow ne'er mingles with visions of
The [ne'er hiding]
The Sun's bright sunlight dark shadows
The Pleasure is mingled with nought of
The not beneath yonder skies' brilliant
The [the best]
The found fadeless homes for the pure and
The know that the elixir where all blessings
The will cluster
The Heaven, the home where the gifted find
TOWANDA, PA.

Address of J. L. Webb, Esq.

delivered before the "Democratic Association of Smithfield."

REQUEST OF THE ASSOCIATION

The invitation to address you at this
first meeting after the adoption of
Constitution, was by means sought,
solicited, and reluctantly accepted:
I cannot be insensible of the honor
conferred, and for it I tender to
my grateful acknowledgments.—
The association is formed, Mr. Presi-
dent, for a noble purpose—the very
described upon your banner, to
"Democracy" is synonymous
the "rights of man," it is in itself
of equal privileges to the
family. The objects of your
association, are, to obtain and diffuse
political information, and to con-
duct political action. In a govern-
ment, where the sovereignty
rests where of right it belongs—in
the people; and where every voter is
an equal part of that sovereignty,
it is not only a right, but a duty of each
individual for the accomplishment of these
objects. A concentration of effort is
more effective. To meet and in-
crease views, receive and impart in-
formation, conduce to the bringing of
them individually, into possession of
the knowledge enjoyed by all
generally, tends to arouse a spirit of
action, and call into action the latent
powers of mind. What then, can be
more noble, than an assemblage
of men, to receive and impart
information, guided by the polar star
of truth? Let our principles
be the extension of knowledge
to the latest ages, and let our
rights be the rights of man; and
we may be selected as cau-

dilates for political station, to carry out
our principles and effect our objects,
let us unite as one man in their support,
and victory must eventually crown our
exertions. 'Tis true, we may some-
times be deceived and cheated, but we
should not thereby become dishearten-
ed; there was a Judas Iscariot among
the disciples of our Savior, a Benedict
Arnold in the army of Washington, and
we may mention as last, and least, and
most despicable, a David R. Porter
among the Democracy of Pennsylvania;
yet the Gospel of Christ prevailed—
the American colonies became free;
and Pennsylvania will be disenthrall-
ed. And thus it ever has been, and ever
will be where honesty and truth are the
basis of action, and the happiness of man-
kind the objects sought.

In the discharge our duty as an as-
sociation, we shall be called upon to
speak and act in reference to measures;
those most immediately before us as
Pennsylvanians, and requiring speedy
action, are retrenchment, reform and
the payment of our debts. Who that
bears the name of a freeman of Pen-
sylvania, can sit undisturbed for a mo-
ment, while the Keystone is charged,
with any semblance of truth, with be-
ing a repudiating state? aye, or bank-
rupt? What Pennsylvanian does not
feel the blush of shame upon his cheek,
when told that the great Commonwealth
of which he is a citizen, with all her
wealth and resources, is either unwill-
ing, or unable to pay her debts? I hope
Mr. President, there is not one citizen
of this great state—certain I am, there
is not one worthy of being such a citi-
zen, that will advocate the damning
heresy of repudiation: not one sir, but
will say, let reform be extended to ev-
ery public department; let retrenchment
extend to every branch of expenditure,
and let Pennsylvania redeem her plighted
faith; yet, let justice be done, tho'
the Heavens should fall. Our own im-
mediate Representatives are men of the
right stamp to aid in this praise-worthy
undertaking; men selected from the
yeomanry of the county—from the
producing classes, men who know
the value of industry and economy—
men whose feelings and sympathies
will be found on the side of their judg-
ment and in the scale of justice; and I
have no doubt sir, but their voices
and their votes will be found on the side
of Pennsylvania's honor. Let us cheer
them on in the good work; let them
know that the people of Bradford, and
especially, that we, the democrats of
Smithfield, (for this is our duty,) will
use our utmost exertions to sustain them
in sustaining the interest, the honor,
and the justice of Pennsylvania. We
shall be called upon in the course of
the coming year to vote for a chief ex-
ecutive magistrate of this State. From
present indications, the choice of the
democracy will fall upon the Hon. Henry
A. Muhlenberg, or the Hon. Francis
R. Shunk—either of them, Mr. Presi-
dent, as we have good reason to be-
lieve, may be relied on to exert the
eminent talents which all admit they
respectively possess, to redeem and
sustain the honor and the interests of
the State and the people. They have
both rendered eminent services to the
state, and have hitherto been found
faithful; and either of them placed in
the Executive chair, would represent
the majestic and magnanimous charac-
ter of the Lion, compared with the
treacherous, cunning, pilfering, fox-like
character of the present incumbent.—
And whether the choice of the conven-
tion of delegates, met to select a candi-
date for that honorable station falls up-
on either of the gentlemen already nam-
ed, or any other of like character, it will
be our duty sir, to yield an undivided
support to that candidate for the sake of
our principles, and the state. Other
and grave questions of a National char-
acter will be presented for our consid-
eration and discussion, in reference to
which we shall be called upon to act.
Perhaps among them the following may
be considered pre-eminent:—"The
Tariff," the "currency," the "distribu-
tion of the proceeds of the public
lands," and the "abolition of slavery."
These are subjects which will be dis-
cussed before the people; they are sub-
jects which will be made the pivot of
action by many, therefore are proper
subjects of investigation and discussion.
Let it not be said that because we are
but a handful of people, and our resi-
dence remote from the seat of Govern-
ment, that our deliberations and our ac-
tions are of no weight in preponderat-
ing the great scale of decision in na-
tional matters; no sir, but let us re-
fect that the great mass of votes which
make up a decision upon any of these
questions, are composed of units; and
we know not how decidedly, the decia-

ion of some or all of them, may depend
upon the action and exertions of even
this association; at any rate it is the
duty of every freeman, to seek that in-
formation that will enable him to act
understandingly; and then to act as
conscientiously as if on his acts depend
the happiness and prosperity of the na-
tion.—We know not, sir, what effect
the formation of this association and the
discussion of important questions by
its members, may have in arousing oth-
ers to action, to form other associations,
nor how extensive and enduring may be
its effects.

It will be expected that I shall say
something for the consideration of the
association upon each of the subjects
named, expressive of my views there-
on. Much has been spoken and writ-
ten, and many charges, criminations,
and recriminations have been made, and
there has been much instability of
action on the subject of a tariff. The
extremes of opinion on this subject, are,
"a high protective tariff" on the one
side; and "free trade" or no tariff on
the other. A middle course, and one
which seems to have received the as-
sent of reflecting men of all parties, is,
a tariff for revenue, so adjusted in its
application, as to afford incidental pro-
tection to the domestic manufacturers
of those articles which enter into the
daily consumption of the people; the
raw material of which is, the growth or
produce of our own country. A tariff
might be so high as to amount to a pro-
hibition of importation of the foreign
article at all; this, it will be seen,
would afford no revenue; and it is
thought by some, would exclude whole-
some competition, and enable our manu-
facturers to tax us to the extent of their
pleasure or cupidity, for the necessa-
ries of life. Others think that a salu-
tary competition would immediately
arise between our own manufactories,
which would reduce the prices to the
lowest possible standard, and render us
entirely independent of Europe for all
those articles of which the raw material
is produced in our own country. What
the precise result of such a measure
would be, is in some measure left to
conjecture, and could only be definitely
known by the test of experience.

There are probably but few who ad-
vocate the doctrine of a tariff so high,
as to amount to prohibition; and yet
there is difficulty, at least in my mind,
in fixing upon the precise standard of a
tariff which will afford protection, and
not ultimately amount to prohibition.—
If American goods are cheap, pur-
chasers will prefer them, and if there is
a full supply, foreign goods will remain
unsold; if not sold, no more will be
imported—such is the inevitable law
of trade. It is contended, however, by
the advocates of a high protective tariff,
that its results are to make goods cheap-
er, but how that can be, I confess I can
not discover. If American manufac-
turers can afford goods cheaper than
Europeans could do if there was no
tariff, it would seem that Americans
needed no tariff to enable them to do so.
It is urged, however, that American
manufacturers need protection while
their establishments are in infancy,
which is not necessary after they have
acquired experience; and their works
are in successful operation; this may
be true, and if so, is an argument in fa-
vor of a temporary tariff, and is also an
argument for its repeal, after our own
manufacturers have become experienced
in their business; as in that case it
must either become inoperative, or aid
the manufacturers to impose an unwar-
rantable burthen upon the people. The
foregoing remarks must be understood
as applicable to those species of goods,
alone, which the people of the United
States have the means of producing by
being in possession of the raw material
independent of other nations. That a
tariff produces an increase of price on
those articles which are the sole pro-
duction or growth of foreign countries,
is, I believe, universally admitted, and
I cannot but believe, Mr. President,
that the general tendency of the laying
of imports and duties, is to increase the
price of those articles upon which they
are laid, and also of similar articles the
growth or production of our own coun-
try. That the increased price, is paid
by the consumer, is incontrovertible.—
Whether it is better for the country at
large, that prices should be so increased
under all the attendant circumstances,
is the grave question to be decided.—
The advocates of free trade insist that
the laying of imports is an arbitrary in-
terference with the laws of trade and
the rights of the people, who ought to
be left free to purchase as cheap as they
can, untrammelled by legislation—that
the effect of taxing the necessities of
life, is to draw as much revenue from

the poor, as from the wealthy; thereby
imposing the burthens of government
unequally, in proportion to the ability
to pay, and the protection afforded by
the government to the property of its
citizens. Were we, Mr. President,
called upon to act merely as members
of the human family and citizens of the
world, and about to commence legisla-
tion in reference to the whole, the doc-
trine of free trade, is that which would
commend itself to common sense, com-
mon honesty, and the rights of mankind,
is that doctrine of all others which
would leave men to pursue happiness
in the paths of their own choice. But
as it is, we must act with reference to
surrounding circumstances. There are
so many questions that present them-
selves in the investigation of this sub-
ject, so multifarious are its bearings up-
on the interest of community; that for
myself, sir, I freely confess, I have
many times doubted as to the course
proper to be pursued in relation thereto
by our government, so as best to promote
the interest and happiness of the peo-
ple. My present views with the rea-
sons upon which they are based, may
be found in the following synopsis.

We are emphatically an Agricultural
people. Foreign corn-laws measurably
shut out our surplus produce from
markets abroad. We have means of man-
ufacturing most of the necessities of life
within our own borders. The expen-
ses of government must be paid. Di-
rect taxation for the support of govern-
ment has always been deemed objec-
tionable. The constitution authorizes
Congress to lay duties and imports and
a tariff, for revenue is as little ob-
jectionable to the people as any other
mode of raising it. By laying imposts
in such a manner as to afford incidental
protection to the manufacturers of the
necessaries of life, the number of
producers of those articles is increased,
agricultural labor is lessened to the
same extent, a home market is produc-
ed for our surplus produce, and the ten-
dency of the whole is to turn the bal-
ance of trade between the United States
and foreign countries in favor of the
former. Therefore a tariff sufficiently
high to raise revenue for the support of
government, adjusted in such a manner
as to afford incidental protection to do-
mestic manufacturers of articles of nec-
essity, moderate upon such articles as
enter into general use, and are not of
the growth or produce of our own
country, and high upon such articles
of luxury and show as are used only
by the wealthy, and are not grown or
produced here, is the true policy to be
adopted by the government of the Uni-
ted States, and should be stable and en-
during: fluctuations in a matter so
nearly allied to the interests of the peo-
ple, are destructive and ruinous. This
subject, in all its bearings, will be open
for discussion by the members of this
association, and here I leave it. The
question of currency is the next in or-
der, which calls for our consideration:
a vexed question, and one of abiding
importance. Much as this question
has been agitated, and notwithstanding
the many hobbies it has furnished for
politicians to speed their way to power
upon, yet there is a perfect agree-
ment among all reflecting and candid
men as to what is needed. The diffi-
culty of arriving at it, produces the dis-
cordancy. A currency perfectly sound
of uniform value throughout the United
States, so placed that the government
could not use it to buy patronage, nor
individuals to engender a spirit of
reckless speculation, adapted in quan-
tity to the legitimate business of the
country, always accessible for prudent
purposes, and for nothing else, is just
such a currency as all prudent men
agree that we need. How is a curren-
cy thus sound, uniform and guarded,
to be obtained? And what is the duty
of the government in relation to the cur-
rency? Upon both these questions
there is a great diversity of opinion.—
The constitution invests Congress with
power "to coin money, to regulate the
value thereof, and of foreign coin." It
is contended on the one hand, that
these specific powers, together with
the power to collect and disburse the
government revenues in the constitu-
tional coin, are the extent of the pow-
ers and duties of the government. On
the other hand it is contended, that as
congress has power to "regulate com-
merce" and "provide for the general
welfare;" and as both of these require
a currency, it is therefore the duty of
congress to provide one, and that it has
full power to create a Bank, or emit
other paper issues, to any needed ex-
tent.

The constitutional power of congress
to create a bank, has been doubted by
many able men both in and out of con-

gress ever since that instrument was
adopted. The decision of the Supreme
court of the United States, which de-
clared such a bank constitutional, was
to say the least, a rather circuitous mode
of arriving at that conclusion. It was
in substance, that as congress is by the
constitution empowered to "make all
laws necessary and proper" for carry-
ing into effect the specific powers vested
in the government of the United States;
therefore, if congress deemed a Bank
necessary to aid in carrying into effect
the vested powers, then such bank was
constitutional. Congress being the sole
judges of its necessity. It is not our
business to quarrel with judicial deci-
sions, when made by the proper tribu-
nal—they must be submitted to; but I
confess, that if the reasoning of the Su-
preme court on that subject be sound, I
do not see what power can be withheld
from congress, should they declare they
deem its exercise necessary under the
clause of the constitution referred to.

Experience has taught us, that the
system of Banking heretofore, and still
existing, in this country, whether devel-
oped by national or state institutions,
is neither more nor less than a legalized
system of gambling and swindling.—
The losses sustained by the people, by
means of the defalcation of Banks, have
been enormous; millions on millions
have been wrung from the hard earnings
of the poor by means of their delinquen-
cy. Let any intelligent man who has
not turned his attention to the subject,
examine the list of hundreds of broken
and suspended banks, within the last
twenty-five years, and the millions of
their outstanding issues, and he will be
astounded at their number and amount,
and he will with difficulty persuade
himself, that great and intelligent men
who are familiar with all these doings,
can still be the advocates of so rotten,
so corrupting, and so debasing a sys-
tem. Nothing, Mr. President, nothing
but the great agricultural resources and
universal industry of this country and
its citizens, could have borne up against
the continued stream of swindling and
robbery which has flowed from these
institutions. But how are these evils
to be remedied without a return to a
specie currency? Some seem to think
there is no other remedy, and therefore
advocate a metallic currency, alone, (al-
though I believe the number is few.)—
Others seem to suppose there can be no
efficient remedy, and therefore advo-
cate the old swindling system, and
amidst the disasters attendant upon it,
their motto is, "let every man take
care of himself." This might do sir,
if overtaken by a troop of highway men,
but with legalized institutions, it is real-
ly too debasing. It is a financial axiom
that "the price of property depends up-
on the amount of currency in circula-
tion;" the price however increasing or
diminishing as the particular species of
property becomes plenty or scarce, or
in other words is measurably dependent
on demand and supply. If there were
no debts it would be comparatively of
little consequence what amount of cur-
rency was in circulation, or what the
price of property; it is the expansion
and contraction of amount of circulating
medium that works the evil. He who
sells his property on credit, when mo-
ney is plenty and prices high, and col-
lects his debts when money is scarce
and prices low, becomes rich by the
operation; while he who runs in debt
when prices are high, and is compelled
to pay when prices are low, grow poor
or is ruined. Therefore a uniform
amount of currency in proportion to the
business of the country, is the only re-
medy for the evils which the people are
suffering; from the fluctuations to which
they have been subjected, and the only
means of preventing their frequent
recurrence. To return to a specie cur-
rency alone, while the people are so
generally in debt as they now are, would
be ruinous to millions. To continue the
rotten system of banking, will be to
bring a frequent repetition of the evils
which we are suffering, and the last
state of our financial condition will be
worse than the first. The system of
Banking under the authority of the
states, is at war with the idea of a curren-
cy of uniform value throughout the Uni-
ted States, and in my opinion prohibits
the states from issuing Bills of cred-
it," and by what means the state legis-
latures possess the right to authorize
others to do, what the states them-
selves are prohibited from doing, I
could never discover.

We must however submit to the pow-
ers that be, and bow with deference to
decisions authoritatively made. The
safety of a national institution, to serve
as a regulation of the state institutions,
to restrain their issues &c., is refuted
in its own theory as it has proved abor-

tion in practice. Hundreds of state
Banks have gone down spreading
distress and ruin among theholders
of their worthless promises, during
the most palmy days of the United
States Bank. Besides if the state in-
stitutions were sound, well restricted,
and well managed, what need of a
regulator? If they were not thus
sound, restricted, and managed; what
evidence have we that a larger institu-
tion, established upon the same princi-
ples would be? Sad experience, has
taught us the fallacy of thus believing.

So long as the diversified views of
statesmen, now entertained, continue
to exist, and politicians deem it for their
interest to keep up an excitement upon
the subject of the currency, it is to be
feared that no remedy for existing evils
will be established. Waiving the Con-
stitutional objection, that, "Congress
have no right to establish a paper cur-
rency," and admitting their duty to
provide one; and it appears to me that
a system accomplishing all the objects
designed, and remedying all the griev-
ances complained of would be easy,
simple and abiding. Admitting the
constitutional objection above referred to;
and admitting that the states pos-
sess the power of authorising a paper
circulating medium, and a system equal-
ly simple and efficacious might be
adopted with the single exception, that
it would not be so uniform in value
throughout the United States in conse-
quence of its local character. I do
not suppose, sir, that either systems
will even be thought of beyond the
bounds of this association, nor have I
time, or room, to exhibit them now,
even in their general features; but it is
my intention if permission be granted
to introduce both into this association
at some future day, for consideration
and discussion. I have been so prolix
upon both the preceding subjects,
that a few words upon the two remain-
ing ones, must suffice. The distribu-
tion of the proceeds of the public lands
among the states, appears to me to be
impolitic, unwise, and uselessly expen-
sive. It is generally admitted by re-
flecting men, that revenue sufficient
for the economical administration of
the government, should alone be col-
lected. To collect at a large expense
the proceeds of land sales, and after
they are collected to distribute them
among the states, and again to collect
from the people with attendant expen-
ses a sum sufficient to fill the vacuum
caused by the distribution, seems to
be an expensive folly.

The argument that the public domain
belongs to the people; and that there-
fore, the proceeds thereof should be di-
vided among them is more captivating
than sound: so does all the property
of the nation both public and private
belong to the people, and to distribute
a certain portion of their own among
them, and then to tax them to a like
amount with the addition of costs for
the purpose of replenishing the Treas-
ury from which it was taken, and when
done to tell them they have had a kind-
ness done them in the operation; is not
very flattering to their intelligence.

The subject of the "Abolition of slav-
ery" has produced some excitement,
and likely to produce more. Slavery
is a foul blot on our national character;
the institution however is domestic in
its nature, and politically belongs to
the states in which it is upheld. We
of Pennsylvania have no more right to
meddle with slavery in Maryland, or
Georgia, than we have in any foreign
state or colony. The Slaves are poor
degraded set of beings; would to God,
they were free and happy. The evil
of Slavery existed when these states
became free from a foreign yoke; how
to get rid of it without producing a
greater evil, is a question which the
wisest statesmen have not been able to
answer. And it would be well for those
who are agitating the question in the
free states, to consider well whether
their exertions are calculated to smel-
iorate the condition of the slaves or tend
to their liberation. A few words upon
the subject of the approaching Presiden-
tial election, and I have done.

A number of distinguished gentle-
men have been named by their particu-
lar friends, as candidates of the democ-
ratic party, for that high and hon-
orable station: each of them, possess-
ing eminent qualities commending
them to our suffrages. A National
Convention will designate that individ-
ual, which is most acceptable to a ma-
jority; when that selection is made, it
will be our duty to lay aside all per-
sonal preferences, and with "Democ-
racy, truth and equal rights" for our
motto, to proceed with one voice, and
one united effort, to redeem our country
from misrule.