

JEFFERSONIAN REPUBLICAN.

THE WHOLE ART OF GOVERNMENT CONSISTS IN THE ART OF BEING HONEST.—JEFFERSON.

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JOB PRINTING.
Having a general assortment of large, elegant, plain and ornamental Type, we are prepared to execute every description of

FANCY PRINTING.
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AT THE OFFICE OF THE Jeffersonian Republican.

TEAS!!

J. N. & E. W. COLLIES.

No. 69 Pearl Street, New-York.

In Porters and Wholesale Dealers in

Green and Black Teas,

of all descriptions suited to the Country Trade.

Are also receiving from the best manufacturers a full assortment of TOBACCO, of the most approved brands, all of which are confidently offered as equal to any in market, and at the lowest cash prices.

Merchants visiting the City would do well to call and examine our stock before purchasing elsewhere.

September 4, 1851.—3m

HARDWARE,

Dry Goods & Grocery Store,

(AT BURKE'S OLD STAND.)

In North Hamilton st., Easton—nearly opposite the White Horse Tavern.

THOMAS T. & DEPUÉ S. MILLER

would respectfully announce to their old friends in Monroe county and the public generally, that they have taken the above establishment, and offer for sale a large and well selected stock of Hardware, Dry Goods and Groceries, comprising the following—

HARDWARE.

50 doz Rim Locks, with white, brown and brass Knobs.

2000 gross Screws, assorted.

200 doz Butts, assorted.

50 " Pulleys, Blakes & Westville's manufacture.

60 doz Till Locks.

500 planes assorted; the celebrated M. Copeland's make of Planes are amongst this assortment.

20 doz Saws, Spear & Jackson's, and also the celebrated London spring Saw, manufactured by H. Disston. Also, Disston's Mill Saws for sawing white pine; circular and cross-cut do.; Bronlaxes, hand and cooper axes; hatchets; compasses; Steel & trying squares; Stock Hovels and cooper cross. Also, a lot of Mackrel & Rickardson's celebrated window fastenings; Flush Bolts, shutter Bolts; plastering and mason's trowels; hammered pans; brass and Iron Kettles; shovels and forks, &c., with a great variety of hardware, too numerous to mention.—The assortment will compare with with any in this place in quantity, style and price.

DRY GOODS.

Clothes.—French blue black, blue, brown, cadet style, mixed, Beaver, Tweed, Croton.—Satinets; a full assortment of Casimeres. A large assortment Ladies' Dress Goods; black silk, black silk warp lustre, bareges, delaine, lawns plain and fancy linen, gingham, calicoes, &c. Bed ticking, bleached and brown muslin; linen plaid; coatings; checks; flannels; hoes; buttons; thread and silk. A full assortment of

GROCERIES.

10 hds Molasses.

20 bbls N. O. and Trinidad Molasses.

6 hds Sugar.

30 bbls do. white and brown.

15 " sperm, whale and lard Oil.

25 boxes soap.

20 do. candles.

3000 lbs Bacon.

25 bbls mess pork.

25 do Flour.

10 chests Imperial and Young Hyson Teas.

Rice, starch, chocolate, Indigo, Madder, alum, &c.

Dried apples, peaches, white beans, &c.

100 sacks of Salt.

50 kegs white Lead; window glass and putty.

100 kegs nails.

100 bbls, and half and qr. bbls Mackrel.

All persons visiting Easton, will find it greatly to their advantage to call and make their purchases of Miller & Brother's large and well selected stock of Goods. Sold wholesale and retail, at Burke's old stand, by

MILLER & BROTHER.

Easton, April 24, 1851.

J. H. WALTON,

ATTORNEY AT LAW.

Has removed his office to his dwelling house, first door below the office of the "Monroe Democrat," and directly opposite S. J. Hollinshead's hotel, Elizabeth street.

Stroudsburg, Dec. 19, 1850

GOV. JOHNSTON'S SPEECH.

At the late Whig Meeting in Philadelphia.

Fellow citizens, I desire to return to you my thanks for the kind and enthusiastic manner in which you have received me upon my present visit to Philadelphia. I thank you, as a republican citizen, for your presence on this occasion; for I think I have observed in these assemblages of the people, a security for our political institutions. I thank you also, as an Executive Magistrate, for your presence here to-night, because it assures me that the public are determined to examine the acts of their servants, and to pass upon those acts with the voice of approbation or disapprobation, as their honest judgments may satisfy them is right. I also thank you for your attendance, as a candidate for office, because it affords me an opportunity of expressing to the people, my views upon public measures that, in this government, constituted of the people, and under their control, all may know the opinion of the man for whom they are called upon to vote at the next election.

(Here the Governor was interrupted by the arrival of numerous delegations from Kensington, Spring Garden and Northern Liberties, preceded by bands of music. Our reporter did not distinctly hear the passages of the speech that immediately followed.)

When the government belongs to the people, it is for them to be vigilant, in reference to the conduct of their agents. I have too much regard, myself for the republican institutions of this land to desire to be the representative of any men whose opinions upon public policy could not conscientiously carry out. The next election, in my judgment, involves the settlement of important questions to the people of this State. If it were but a mere effort to elevate A. or B. to office, who would discharge the duties of the Executive under the Constitution and the laws with fidelity, would be a matter of small moment whether A. or B. should be the successful candidate. But, if I can satisfy the citizens of this portion of Pennsylvania that important questions—important to their interests, are involved in the coming contest, and to be settled by the result, I am confident there will be no backwardness upon their part to do what they believe to be just and right to the institutions under which they live.

Permit me to occupy a moment of your time, while I make a few remarks in reference to some charges which have been made against him who now addresses you. In the first place, it has been charged that the present Executive has been unfaithful to his pledges in one or more particulars. It has been in reference to the exercise of that high power vested in me by the constitution—the power of granting pardons and remitting fines and forfeitures—that I have failed to discharge the duties which I owed to the citizen. I mention this for the purpose of asking your attention for one moment to a matter about which I cannot, on this occasion, enter into detail. The supreme Executive of the State, may be, and doubtless, in many instances is abused. It may be abused by the one who exercises the power, and it may be abused by those from whom he derives his information. I can say here that in the exercise of that power, upon no single occasion was I ever influenced to grant or withhold a pardon, by political partialities or prejudices. (Cries of, good—good, and applause.) I have uniformly endeavored from the lights I could obtain to guide my judgment, to make such decisions upon all questions of the kind that were presented to me, as justice and truth required. That I have granted pardons that might have better not been granted, I have no doubt; but in all cases of the kind the public records will show that I had the most conclusive testimony before me of the worth of the object to whom that clemency had been given before the act was done. In no single instance have I ever failed to make every exertion I could to obtain information from such sources as my judgment told me were reliable. I may further say to you that, notwithstanding the large increase of our population, and the consequent large increase of crime, and of the number of convictions for crime within this Commonwealth, there have been fewer pardons granted by the present Executive than by his predecessors. Another charge has been made, and that is, notwithstanding whether these pardons were right or not, that I was pledged against the exercise of the pardoning power. This is unjust and untrue. I could not, at any time, or under any circumstances, have pledged myself against the exercise of a power which must necessarily be called into action in a correct administration of the government.—(Great applause.) It has been stated that I have been deficient in duty and faithless to pledges, by having occasionally arrested the legislation of the State, by the exercise of the veto power, which is vested in the Executive by the Constitution. I freely say to you, that I have been opposed to the too frequent use, and have so declared to the people upon a former occasion, of the veto power. I believe its exercise on the part of one individual, so very frequently overruling the action of the people's representatives, is not a republican feature in his administration. I said so before the last election, and that assertion I repeat, for the purpose of vindicating myself to the citizens of this portion of the Commonwealth, where the charge has been more often made and insisted upon, than in any other. I beg leave to refer to some facts taken from the records.—

During the administration of Gov. Porter, the number of bills vetoed for various causes, that had passed the Legislature during his term of six years, was fifty-seven—making an average of more than nine during each session of the Legislature. During the administration of his immediate successor, and my predecessor, the late Gov. Shunk, the number of vetoes in a period of a little more than three years—three sessions of the Legislature of four States—was sixty-six, making an average of twenty-two each year. I believed—because I was in the Senate of your State at the time—that the exercise of the power referred to was anti-republican in its tendency, & was opposed to the best interests of the people. I have no doubt, and have before frequently said what I now repeat, that it must have been an abuse of that power which called forth sixty-six vetoes of the

acts of the Legislature in a period of three and a half years. Citizens, by your partiality I have been in the discharge of the Executive duties three years, and during that period have been called upon and found it my duty to veto seven acts of the Legislature. The first of these was, the veto of a bill in relation to a street in the town of Brookville, and the reason of the veto was, that the Legislature had immediately before passed an act precisely the same in words, in letters and in figures.—(Laughter.) I thought that an act of hasty legislation, and I said so to the Legislature in my veto message. The next was the veto of an act for the construction of a railroad through some of the interior counties of the State, and twenty-two, out of the thirty Senators present, sent a written request to me to veto that bill, because it had passed without their understanding its provisions.—(Great laughter.) The next veto I sent to the House of Representatives, or the Senate, I am not now certain which—was that of the apportionment bill, which not only violated the Constitution, but which deprived large portions of the people of their right of representation—a right sacred to them, and formidable to demagogues only. (Great applause.) The next was the veto of a bill to restore to your Court of Quarter Sessions of this city & county, the power over licenses, because I believed that power, whether or not properly vested under the law then existing, would be better vested in any other place than in courts called on to pass upon the rights, liberty, and reputation of citizens. Another case was a report to a company of the exclusive right of navigation, by steam, a portion of the Susquehanna river. As that river was a public highway, penetrating three States of the Union, I conceived the Legislature had no constitutional authority to deprive any portion of their citizens from navigating it by steam. The sixth was a case of divorce, clearly within the jurisdiction of the courts, and, therefore, expressly prohibited by the constitution from the interference of the Legislature. The last was of a bill which required in all the rural districts of Pennsylvania, that lawyers, or gentlemen learned in the law should be elected associate judges.—You may not appreciate the force of this objection, because in your city and county, the associate judges are sufficiently remunerated, while in the rural districts, the same class of officers receive about \$125 or \$140 per year. You can easily imagine what kind of a lawyer could be obtained to serve for that money. I believed, however, the Legislature, in assuming that one but a lawyer should be elected as associate judge, transgressed the power vested in them. Inasmuch as their reformer Constitution had placed no limitation upon the people in the choice of these functionaries, I vetoed and sent that bill to the House in which it originated, and so satisfactory were the reasons assigned in my message, or so entirely was that House convinced of the propriety of the views I entertained, that although but the day before they passed the bill by a large majority, not a single man had the hardihood to record his vote against that veto message.—(Great applause.)

These are, then, the cases in which I have exercised the veto power during the time I have presided over the public affairs of the State; and for this exercise of that power, charges have been made against me that I violated pledges given to the people. Observe—all the instances in which I have been called upon to use that power, were cases where the Constitution of the State had been violated, or were it was manifest there had been hasty legislation—the Legislature itself admitting it to be so. I know of no other accusation in reference to the discharge of Executive duties, or Executive rights, that our political opponents have seen proper to bring against me.—

With these preliminary observations I proceed to show that important questions are involved in the result of the next election.—And here I frankly declare, I have no other interest in the contest than that which belongs to all within the sound of my voice.—To me the prosperity of the State is a blessing—it is the same to each and every citizen;—to me the injury or downfall of the State, or its institutions, would be a lamentable evil, as it would be to every man who hears me. I have no interest separate or distinct from yours, and I desire to have none. I am perfectly willing to stand or fall—sink or swim—with the majority of the people of Pennsylvania. (Applause.)

The first subject to which I will ask your attention, is that of the public debt of the State. I know its discussion is necessarily dry, but I am satisfied you will bear with me for the few moments I will occupy your time in explaining, so far as I can, the action of the present administration in reference to it. The public debt of Pennsylvania was incurred for the purpose of constructing your great lines of Canals and Railroads. That system of internal improvement was commenced in 1824-5. It was originally designed to connect the waters of your beautiful Delaware with the waters of the Ohio and the waters of Lake Erie. It was extended so far as to embrace improvements up the river Delaware to reach the coal fields, as well as to develop the mineral resources lying upon the different branches of the Susquehanna.—

In 1825, when the late Governor Wolf retired from office, the public debt of Pennsylvania amounted to about \$25,000. The main line of the canal and railroad, extending from the city of Philadelphia to Pittsburg, was then constructed; and a canal was made along the Delaware, called the "Delaware Division," and another was constructed along the main trunk of the river Susquehanna, and extended a considerable distance up the North and West branches. A canal was also commenced upon the waters of French Creek, and upon the waters of the Beaver river, these being parts of the extension of the public improvement, as was the original design, to the waters of Lake Erie. The debt—all these works to which I have referred being completed—was about \$25,000,000.—When Gov. Ritner retired from office—about the 1st of January, 1839—to which his term had been extended by the new Constitution, the recorded and funded debt of Pennsylvania amounted to about the same sum. In other

words, during the administration of Gov. Ritner, the public records show that not one dollar of additional debt was added to the funded debt during the three years the government was under his charge. (Applause.) In 1849, when I assumed the Executive functions, under an election by the people, the public debt of Pennsylvania had swelled to the enormous sum of \$41,000,000. There was a floating debt upon the canals and railroads, unrecorded and undisclosed except to those having charge of the canal system, of \$370,000 or more. This debt required something like \$2,000,000 annually to pay its interest, and of that \$2,000,000, at least \$1,500,000 was every year sent out of the country to pay interest upon loans held abroad. In addition to these \$2,000,000 required to pay the interest, that interest was obliged to be paid semi-annually, and allowing a period of twenty years, would have at least equalled the original aggregate of the entire principal; so that when this sum had paid the debt, it stood precisely where it did before the payment had commenced—that is, the State was still \$41,000,000 in debt.

You will recollect that in the period of ten years, from 1839 to 1849, the debt had increased \$16,000,000; and you will remember that not a single mile of your railroads or canals which were not completed at the time George Wolf went out of office, was completed in 1849. I distinctly state, from the best of my recollection, and from the most careful examination I can make of the history of the internal improvements of the State, not a single mile of railroad or canal was brought into active usefulness during the period of ten years to which I have referred. I do not say—and I have not said—there were no appropriations made during that time for public improvements, because such is not the truth.—Citizens, I believe if this system were continued for another period of ten years, and your debt increased at the rate of \$16,000,000, or even one-half of that sum, it would be so enormously large as to force the honest people of Pennsylvania into a dishonest repudiation of their obligations, or place upon their property and their industry, such burdens as they could not bear. Laboring under this impression, I turned my attention at an early day to the accomplishment of some project which might result, if not to the absolute reduction of the debt, at all events in the prevention of its increase. I believed if you desired to preserve the money of the people, and to appropriate it to the legitimate purposes for which it was intended, the surest means to reach that result was by keeping your treasury poor. I had known enough of the legislation of Pennsylvania to know that, with a treasury full of money, or while money could be had upon the faith of the Commonwealth, that legislators would devise various projects to waste it extravagantly. I was satisfied that the moment the treasury was brought down to a point where it could only meet the demands for legitimate purposes, if a reduction of the debt could not be commenced, an increase might be prevented. An examination of the public resources induced me to believe that a slight revision in some of the laws assessing taxes upon the property of the citizen and the exercise of proper energy in their administration, might produce the desired result. I recommended to the Legislature of 1849 the establishment of a Sinking Fund, for the purpose of ascertaining whether the resources of the treasury were sufficient to carry out the objects I had in view. Certain items of taxation which before that time had been used for general purposes, were appropriated to that fund. Laws were passed by which a more efficient collection of the revenues was secured. The operations of the fund during the first year was the payment into it of \$227,000, with which sum more than \$250,000 of the public debt of the Commonwealth was purchased, and in addition to this purchase of a quarter of a million of the indebtedness of the people, your public stock, which before that period of time had been far below par, was immediately brought up to and above par value.

In addition, as a part of the system, I desired that the interest upon your debt should be paid in that kind of money which your constituted authorities contracted it should be paid in at the time the stocks were issued. I believed that the interest on the debt should be paid. It was done, fellow citizens, without resorting to temporary loans, in anticipation of the revenues of the coming year. I desired that mode of paying the obligations of the Commonwealth, simply because I never knew an individual who drew largely upon the incoming year's resources, who did not get into a tight place before the year ended.—(Laughter.) I believed it to be the same with the State, that if you anticipated the revenues of the first quarter of the year to pay the demand of the last quarter, before the year terminated you would again be in financial difficulties to meet your obligations. In making these arrangements, I take occasion, with pleasure, here to say, and I have said so on all other occasions, notwithstanding what has been said by my opponents, I was largely assisted by the other officers who were connected with me in the State administration. I must return my thanks particularly to the then Auditor General and the then Whig State Treasurer, Gideon J. Ball, for doing everything they could to second the views of the Executive. (Applause.)

The Legislature of 1849, supposing that they had willing horses, upon whom they might place heavy burdens, required the Administration not only to pay the interest of this debt, without temporary loans, and in specie, and to pay a certain sum of money into this sinking fund for the ultimate payment of the public debt; but they also required the Administration, in its first year, to pay over \$300,000 floating debt, which they knew nothing about when they came into office.—That Legislature also required them to pay \$150,000 towards the completion of the North Branch Canal, and also to make the necessary arrangements and negotiate the necessary loans to avoid that great impediment to public improvements—the Schuylkill Inclined Plane. All these things were done by that Administration, and done without resort to borrowing or pledging the faith of this Commonwealth for one dollar. (Applause.)

The next year, 1850, the citizens of the Commonwealth saw proper to send to the Legislature a majority of the party who acted in opposition to the State administration. That Legislature, for some reason best known to themselves—for I desire to impute, as I do impute, no impure or improper motives to any one—interfered with the laws establishing the fund for the payment of the public debt, so that the receipts into that fund, during the year 1850, fell so low as to enable us to purchase only \$200,000 indebtedness. The law itself required, for wise purposes, that on the 1st of September, after the establishment of the Sinking Fund, the Commissioners of that Fund should make a report to the Executive of the amount of stocks of the Commonwealth which had been purchased, and required the Executive to issue a proclamation stating that fact to the people.

The object of fixing this date was to separate the operations of that fund from the general settlement of financial affairs, which takes place in November. This was done for the express purpose of showing to the people the operations of this system. On the 1st of September, the Commissioners of that fund, consisting of the State Treasurer, the Auditor General and the Secretary of the Commonwealth, made their report to the Executive department, and I have the pleasure now of announcing, what was declared by Proclamation to the people of Pennsylvania, that the operation of that system, thus far, has been to extinguish and forever discharge from the property and the labor of the citizens of this Commonwealth, \$659,000 of your public debt. (Applause.)

All the Proclamations heretofore which have issued from that department since the commencement of your system of Internal Improvement, have been invitations to the people to come forward and pay their taxes or lend their money to the Commonwealth, and take a bond upon the property and industry of the State.—For the first time in the history of your State, since she commenced her system of Internal Improvements, have you a paper emanating from that department of the Government declaring to you that a portion of your liabilities has been discharged. You have also in the operations of this system for the last two years and a half, an assurance that if it remains undisturbed, it must result in the entire payment and liquidation of the enormous burthens that now hang over the industry and prosperity of the people. It has been said that but a very small portion of the people have an interest in the payment of the debt—that only those who are called upon to pay heavy taxes have ever complained of the amount of that indebtedness. I hold a different opinion. I believe that every man in the community is deeply interested in the matter. However paradoxical it may seem, I believe that that portion of my fellow-citizens who pay a very small amount of tax, because they have not been blessed with much property, are more deeply affected, if possible, by the payment or non-payment of the public debt, than that class who pay heavy taxes. I will give you, in a few words, my reasons for this opinion. The man of property and the man without property are equally interested in the education of their children. The man of means can send his children to school and secure them an education, whether the State does anything for the aid of public instruction or not. The man who unfortunately has not means, unless there be some provision for education made by public authority, is deprived of the peculiar pleasure that must fill the heart of a parent when he finds his offspring receiving the benefits it bestows.

The payment of the public debt of the State, in my judgment, affects directly our present system of popular education. I do not speak particularly with reference to the city and county of Philadelphia, because I know that you have a school system peculiar to yourselves. But out of Philadelphia you will eat in vain upon the tax payer to pay that amount of tax necessary to support a system of common school education, while you press him to pay a large amount of tax in order to pay the interest upon the public debt. If your public debt were paid, I ask you, and I ask every citizen of this Commonwealth, what amount might not be safely spared from the Treasury for the purpose of establishing a general system of education? You pay now \$2,000,000 a year interest on the public debt.—Appropriate that amount to popular education, and you will have established such a system as exists in no other country. (Applause.) If results so important to the community as the enlightenment of the rising generation and the education of the masses, are to be effected by the payment of the public debt, is there a citizen of Pennsylvania who would not rejoice at the adoption of means which would produce its entire liquidation.

I know that it has been said that we have a destiny to perform. I believe the American nation has a destiny to perform, but I do not believe, with some, that our destiny consists in extending our borders by the force of the sword or by purchase. I do not believe that it consists in forcing our peculiar religious or political opinions upon our neighbors, whether those neighbors desire to entertain them or not. I believe that the destiny reserved for this people is a brighter and infinitely more

glorious one than could be achieved by the power of the sword. It is to place education within the reach of every child within the free borders of this Union.—(Applause.) It is to place within the heart of each of the rising generation the love of our institutions, and the love of freedom. When you shall have accomplished that, and Pennsylvania has her share and her part to perform in the great work, you will have made for yourselves a destiny, which I had almost said might be envied by the angles themselves.

Is this system for the reduction of the public debt to be persevered in, or is it to be abandoned? I take it for granted that the result of the next election will determine that question. On the one side you have presented a candidate, who, however unexceptionable he may be personally, is yet pledged to carry out the former practices and doctrines of his party, and that party has uniformly levied taxes upon the people; when in power; has made but feeble efforts for the reduction of the public debt. The party with which I act while it has had charge of the State Government has not increased the public burthens, and has in no single instance, failed to use its best endeavors for the reduction of the public debt. The party in opposition, through its representatives in the last Legislature, made an effort to increase the debt of this Commonwealth, by proposing to borrow \$250,000 at 5 per cent interest, to be applied to the avoidance of the Inclined Planes on the mountains, a project which may cost \$1,500,000 before completed. I say, then, that it is for the people at the coming election so settle the great question whether they desire the continuance of that policy which is reducing the public debt, or whether they desire to return to the old state of things, when it was annually increasing. Whatever decision they may make on the subject, will be entirely satisfactory to me.

Another question of importance, in my judgement, to be affected by the result of the next election, is that connected with the policy of the National Government, in either giving or withholding protection to the industrial pursuits of the country. I believe that the question of a protective or non-protective tariff will be settled for years to come by the action of the people at the ballot box on the 14th of October next. If your decision be in favor of that party which advocates the policy of the present tariff law, I take it for granted that your recorded verdict will be received as the deliberate expression of your opinion on this subject. If on the other hand; you should decide in favor of that party which has always maintained the policy of giving protection to the domestic industry of the country, your voice will be respected. It will be respected because the influence of Pennsylvania in National elections and in National contests has always been felt and always regarded.—You will remember that without the vote of this State no man ever was elected President of the United States. You will also recollect that no tariff to protect the industry of the country ever was passed without the assistance of Pennsylvania, and I regret to say that no tariff law that took away protection from the industrial pursuits ever was passed unless it was through the agency of some recalcitrant Pennsylvanian. You will remember that on a late occasion, when an effort was made to restore to the people of Pennsylvania some slight protection upon the great branches of their industrial pursuits, the desertion of four Pennsylvania members of the lower House of Congress was found necessary to defeat the hopes and the wishes of the people of the State.

The people of Pennsylvania are an industrious and a hard-working people. Ninety-nine out of every hundred of her citizens are men who rely upon their labor for the very bread which they eat.—We are a nation of workmen. The Government belongs to the people. It was intended to be under their control, and administered for their advantage. Why then may they not ask—why may they not demand that that Government protection for their industry. (Applause.)

Let us look to the condition of the working classes—and in this expression working class, I include every man who earns his bread by the "sweat of his face." Our institutions require of them the performance of important public trusts, the execution by themselves, or the selection of those into whose hands is to be committed the care of the government. They are called upon at the ballot box to exercise rights, which, if properly exercised, must result in the preservation of the Constitution and the laws. The genius of our institution expects of that portion of our people that they should perform these duties with intelligence and fidelity. What then does that citizen require here? He requires time to improve his mind, that he may fulfill these important trusts; and he requires to receive for his labor such compensation as will enable him to dispense with the labor of his children, and to give to them such education as will qualify them to discharge in a proper manner their duties as citizens when they take his place.

On the other hand, look at the same class in other countries. Let a man to