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BY JAMES CLARK.]

CORRECT PRINCIPLES—SUPPORTED BY TRUTH.

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For the "Huntingdon Journal."

THE WEST.

Mr. Editor:—Geographically the extensive territory, over which float the stars and stripes, this land of free and democratic principles, is separated by nature into three grand divisions; the North with its populous cities, whose spires glitter in the sunbeams, its growing manufactures; and exhaustless facilities for fabricating all the articles essential to comfort; the South with its palmetto groves, broad savannas and numerous rice and cotton fields; and the West, whose fertile prairies, astonish mankind for their admirable adaptation for agriculture. It is of this productive, thinly inhabited section, on which the rays of the sun seem to linger longest, and seem to take its evening kiss in sorrow, that I intend to discourse.

Drained by the Father of waters and his giant tributaries, it offers most inviting opportunities for a profitable trade. Few rivers, whose basins indent the surface of our globe, can be navigated to the same distance as our western streams. Their great depth, rarely obstructed by immovable barriers, is nearly without a parallel. The largest class of boats, impelled by that almost irresistible power—steam, glides swiftly on their bosom though laden with various commodities.

Its uncultivated soil beckons the homeless emigrant to make it his abiding place. Thither, he mostly, and wisely too, bears his household goods. If his calling be that of the artisan or mechanic, its commanding cities, and thriving towns bid him welcome. They seem to have sprung up like the gold that shaded Jonah; and are the vast depots of a fruitful traffic. This has been their creator, at it were, in a great measure. What else, in less than fifty years, could have caused the erection of those clusters of splendid mansions, whose architects are not excelled by those of older date, and those magnificent streets that dazzle the eye of the spectator? Its influence has aided in planting the fruit-tree of every species, where the "pathless woods" offered a secure retreat to the beasts of prey, the gaunt wolf and the fierce panther.—Where the wigwag once stood hanging with trophies, scalps of neighboring Indians, the Cathedral lifts its lofty dome towards Heaven. These things are the effect of the same wonderful cause.

Westward the foreigner wends his way, and why not many of our natives follow his worthy example? Surely it would be better for them. I would not persuade them to forsake our rugged mountains, save for their benefit. Not that I love the West more than the home of my youth. But I pity more wretchedness and squalidness. Thousands of the young men of the old settled states are doomed to limited means by birth. They may toil, till they shift their scene of existence, where they are born, and by avarice, penuriousness and rigid frugality, amass a few hundred perhaps thousand of dollars. Nothing more can they ever hope for. Not so it is in the West. Two hundred dollars purchases 160 acres of land. If tilled at all, it yields an ample subsistence for any family—if industriously, no mean revenue. Besides, the owner is quietly enriched by the increased value of his land. Further, he can live with half the labor of a Northern or Eastern farmer. He has no rocks and stones to contend with.—There is no forests to be felled by the strength of his arm before he can scatter his seed. Nature has saved him that trouble. Before him stretches the green, yet productive original meadow. All that is reserved for him to perform, is to mellow the tough sod, and, after a season, commit to its bosom his grain; and afterwards farm the ground, unimpeded by any obstacle, and be rewarded with luxuriant crops. What a garden for the husbandman! With all very many prefer a life of drudgery. True they go to see it, but how do they examine it? They scarcely take a bird's eye view of it. They can see enough, save sloughs, the natural channels of the water of the country, which their jaundiced imaginations magnify into dismal swamps, where stalk disease and death. Every reader knows that such districts as the Pontine marshes, in the vicinity of Rome, have in all ages created the abominable fever and ague. The efficacy of the Peruvian bark or quinine, is not unknown to the gray Frenchman on the banks of the Sein or Loire, the patient German on the sunny brink of the Rhine, or the whiskered Russian on the bleak shores of the Volga or Don. All the great rivers, in a temperate latitude, on the old, as well as the new world continent, give origin to the same malady. But the interior of the coun-

try is as healthy as that of Pennsylvania or Virginia. Man must become acclimated when his residence is changed; if not careful he is always then liable to sickness, no matter how serene the atmosphere. It is false, then that naturally the greatest part of the West is a graveyard. Temperate men are healthy everywhere—gluttons nowhere. From such fanciful reasons many return dissatisfied; content to end their days amid their native hills; however hard their lot. Time speed on. The bold spirit that peregrinated to that distant land grows wealthy. The former remains poor, and die lamenting the unpropitiousness of fortune: Is not this a fact?

Every candid, informed individual, who considers the geographical position of that section of the Union, will agree with me, that at no remote period, it will surpass the North or South in agriculture. Already a bushel of wheat commands a better price at Chicago than in the central part of Pennsylvania.—Half the labor will produce it, thence it can be sold at a much lower rate. Will not Foreign emigration swell thither and soon populate that wide domain. Man will go where his appetite for gain can be most easily satisfied. Therefore, the West will soon be the granary of the new; as Egypt was formerly of the old world.

Why then do so many strife here all their days with indigence? Simply because of a base faint-heartedness. They cannot think of living out of the society in which they were bred. They are too ignorant to know that integrity begets friends every where. Little better than the southern bondman they live and expire. They lack that noble enterprise that "makes the desert bloom" as the rose; for they refuse to take up their abode in the great Mississippi Valley, equal in fertility to that of the famed Lombardy in Italy; or Tamida in southern Russia. The grassy plains of Illinois, Wisconsin and Iowa, will support millions yet. Go thither manly spirits and make yourselves comfortable homes. Be not slaves. Ohio was once sneered at, and termed the "back-woods;" wealth and plenty crowned those that dared brook that disagreeable epithet. Go and do likewise "fearless sons of poverty."

"With a heart for any fate,
Lent to labor and to wait."

A. P. G.
Birmingham, Sept. 21, 1846.

THE TARIFF.

EXTRACT FROM A SPEECH

OF
HON. M. P. GENTRY,
(OF TENNESSEE.)

Delivered in the House of Representatives of the United States, July 24, 1846.

Mr. Chairman, the secret history of this celebrated Kane letter has never been, and perhaps never will be, made public. If the same facility existed for obtaining access to the private correspondence of certain citizens of Pennsylvania and Tennessee, which seems to exist with respect to the confidential records of the State Department, relating to the expenditure of the secret service fund, I apprehend that a flood of light would be shed upon the interesting period of political history which I am now discussing; and I think it would be made manifest that Mr. Polk's Kane letter was written to order; that it was the result of an understanding between Mr. Polk and certain leading politicians of Pennsylvania; that they sought it for the purpose of deceiving the people of that State; and that he wrote it with a full knowledge of their purpose; and with the intention that this letter should be used for the accomplishment of that nefarious design. When it was published in Tennessee, where it was known that Mr. Polk had been uniformly opposed to the policy of protecting "home industry," and where his supporters were daily striving to win the people to his support upon the ground of his opposition to that policy, the Whig party of that State were inspired with astonishment and indignation, that a fraud so bold and base should be attempted, and they determined to expose it. They forwarded to Pennsylvania Mr. Polk's speeches and circulars, containing conclusive proofs of his uniform inveterate hostility to the protective policy, as that policy was known to be understood by the people of that State. The Democratic politicians of Pennsylvania met these proofs by assuring the people that they were Whig inventions—Whig falsehoods.—The people believed, and shouted huzza for Polk and the Tariff of 1842. The Democratic leaders of that State emblazoned upon their banners in close juxtaposition, POLK AND THE TARIFF OF 1842; and with these words for their motto, they marched on "conquering and to

conquer." The Whigs of Tennessee were not content with merely forwarding to Pennsylvania the proofs of Mr. Polk's opinions, to which I have referred; public meetings were called at different places in that State, in which many of the most prominent citizens participated, at which resolutions were passed propounding to Mr. Polk interrogatories calculated to elicit from him a more specific declaration of his opinions upon the subject of the tariff, and to relieve his Kane letter from ambiguity, and from the possibility of misconception. Committees of highly respectable gentlemen were appointed to communicate those interrogatories to Mr. Polk, and ask a response. They performed in respectful terms the task assigned them. Upon various pretences he postponed and evaded a response to those interrogatories. He was as silent as the grave. He perceived that he could not reach the Presidential chair without the support of the tariff men of the North and the anti-tariff men of the South. Hence it was not his interest to be distinctly understood on that subject. He chose to be supported as a tariff man in New York and Pennsylvania, and as an anti-tariff man at the South, where the free-trade doctrine prevails; and thus, obtaining the Presidency, deceive and betray the one interest or the other.

Whilst Mr. Polk was playing this perfidious game in Tennessee, his conspirator in Pennsylvania was not idle. On the contrary, he was actively engaged in canvassing that State; and with the Kane letter in his hand, he argued to the people, and convinced them, that the protective tariff policy, to which they were so much devoted, would be as safe under the wise and patriotic guardianship of Mr. Polk as President, as under that of Mr. Clay, whose eminent talents, as every body knows, have been constantly and zealously devoted to the maintenance of that policy through a long life of distinguished public service. Mr. Buchanan was the favorite son of Pennsylvania. The people of that State had repeatedly conferred upon him high honors and distinctions. He had been their favorite candidate for the Presidency, and they had, through their representatives in the Baltimore Convention, zealously pressed his claims upon the consideration of that body for a nomination as the Democratic candidate for that high office. He had been long acquainted with Mr. Polk, and had been associated with him in the public service for years as a member of his House. He was, therefore, naturally presumed to know the opinions and principles of Mr. Polk; and it is not therefore at all surprising, that the honest and confiding people of Pennsylvania believed his assertions, and under his advice gave the vote of that great State to Mr. Polk for President of the United States. Bound to them as he was by a thousand ties of gratitude, for honors generously conferred, I suppose it did not enter into the mind of the most suspicious man among them to conceive it to be possible, that he whom they had so long honored and trusted could be so base as to deceive them into the support of a man for the Presidency, the influence of whose Administration would be directed to the destruction of a policy which they believed essential to their welfare, and which therefore they desired to maintain and perpetuate. The sequel is now revealing to them a new chapter in the history of human baseness and perfidy. What do they now behold? This same James Buchanan, whom they have trusted and honored so much, and whose assurance to them that the protective tariff policy would be safer under the Administration of Mr. Polk, induced them to elect him the President of the United States, is now a member of Mr. Polk's cabinet, and giving the influence of his name, his talents, and character to the measures of his Administration!! What is the policy of that Administration on the subject of the tariff? It is embodied and expressed in the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, and in the bill now before the committee.

When the report of the Secretary of the Treasury was read at the beginning of the present session of Congress, an honorable member from Alabama, (Mr. Payne) rose in his place, and moved the printing of a large number of extra copies for distribution among the people, and hailed it in most enthusiastic terms as the first free trade document that had ever emanated from the Executive branch of this Government. And the gentleman from Georgia, who opened this debate, labored to commend the bill to the favor of this committee upon the express ground, that it repudiated the principle of "protecting home industry." The Democratic members from Pennsylvania rise in their places here, and in woful strains tell the committee how the Kane letter induced them to believe that the

protective tariff policy would be safe under the Administration of Mr. Polk; how they read that letter to the people of Pennsylvania, and made them believe the same thing; and they entreat their democratic brethren to take into consideration their peculiar position, and improve them not to pass the Administration measure now under consideration. What response do they receive? They have been repeatedly regularly read out of the Democratic party, and denounced for cherishing, what is called a bastard Democracy. Without venturing to express any opinion upon so delicate a question as the relative claims to orthodoxy, and respectability, of the legitimate, and bastard branches of the Democratic family, I proceed with the question which I am examining. Mr. Buchanan is, I repeat, a member of the Administration which is employing all its influence to pass this free trade measure; and this fact precludes the possibility of the conclusion that he was himself deceived by the Kane letter, and thus became the innocent and unwitting instrument of deceiving the State to which he owed so large a debt of gratitude. If this had been true, when Mr. Polk developed his free trade policy, he would have resigned his place in the cabinet with indignation, saying to Mr. Polk, "you induced me to believe that the protective tariff policy would be fostered and guarded by your Administration. Under that belief I made assurances to the people of Pennsylvania, which induced them to make you President of the United States.—You have deceived me, and made me the instrument of deceiving those who confided in me, and to whom I am indebted for all that I am. Therefore; self-respect, honor, patriotism—every high motive which ought to control the conduct of man, compel me to cut myself loose from your Administration, and cooperate, as best I may, with my deceived and injured friends in redressing our common wrongs." But where is he?—What is he doing? He is, as I before remarked, a member of that Administration which is employing its whole influence to abolish the policy which Mr. Buchanan made the people of Pennsylvania believe would be safe in its keeping. He is dancing attendance at the White House, where he can "lick absurd pomp, and crook the pregnant hinges of the knee, that thrift may follow fawning." He is literally lending the strength of his arm to aid the feeble arm of his master in striking down the interests of the people of Pennsylvania. Therefore, it is impossible for the most Christian charity to believe that he was not knowingly and wilfully a party to the foul and atrocious fraud that has been practised upon the American people, but more especially upon those of New York and Pennsylvania. The President of the United States cannot escape the same damning imputation by referring to the generalities of his Kane letter.—If he had not intended that letter to do a work of fraud and deception, he would have responded to the interrogatories propounded to him by the public meetings in Tennessee, to which I have referred, thereby relieving himself from the possibility of being misunderstood.

Mr. Chairman, I do not understand the casuistry which makes a distinction between the perfidy of an individual and that of a public man, and decides the one to be less reprehensible than the other. If personal disgrace and dishonor were the penalties with which public opinion punished political perfidy, it would be impossible to conceive of a lower deep of infamy than that to which James K. Polk and James Buchanan would be condemned. Who believes that James K. Polk could have been elected President of the United States, if he had proclaimed to the American people the political doctrines and measures which are set forth and recommended in the report of the Secretary of the Treasury?—Who believes that he would have received the vote of New York or Pennsylvania, if the people of those States had known that the influence of his Administration would be exerted to pass such a measure as the bill now before this committee?

The gentleman from Pennsylvania, (Mr. Thompson,) when addressing this committee, the other day, frankly declared that neither of those States would have voted for Mr. Polk if they had believed that such a measure would have been urged by his Administration, and he warned his political brethren of the Democratic party, that political power would depart from them in those States, if this bill becomes a law. I honored the Democratic delegation from the State of Pennsylvania, for the zeal, firmness, and ability with which they have resisted and opposed the Administration upon the question now before this committee; and I cannot believe that those in this matter who have been so faithful

to their constituents, so firm in their duty, knowingly co-operated in deceiving their constituents into the belief that Mr. Polk was as much devoted to the protective policy as Mr. Clay. I am inclined to believe that they were themselves deceived by their confidence in Mr. Buchanan, and were thus made the innocent instruments of misleading their constituents. Whilst I honor them for the fidelity with which they resist the influence of the Administration, by opposing the bill now under consideration, I must confess my surprise that they do not give voice on this floor to the deep indignation which their deceived and betrayed constituents may be supposed to feel against those who have deceived and betrayed them. If they desire to free themselves entirely from the imputation in having aided in cheating the people of Pennsylvania into the belief that Mr. Polk would guard and foster the policy of a protective tariff, they must renounce their loyalty to his Administration, and denounce James Buchanan as false and faithless to Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, the facts which I have brought to the view of this committee establish clearly the position, that the resolutions of the Baltimore Convention, on the subject of the Tariff, are entitled to no weight whatsoever as an argument for the passage of the bill under consideration, inasmuch as it is made manifest, that Mr. Polk and his supporters, in the great States of New York and Pennsylvania, repudiated those resolutions before the last Presidential election; and without such a repudiation or modification of the Tariff issue, he could not have been elected to the Presidency. The conclusion would therefore seem to follow, that the supporters of Mr. Polk's Administration are morally inhibited from passing this bill into a law; for no fact can be clearer than that the will of the American people was declared against such a law in the election of Mr. Polk. Congress will, by passing the bill now before this committee, conspurate the fraud which the Executive branch of the Government has begun, but which it has as yet only partially completed. In my endeavor to establish these conclusions, I have found it necessary to allude to some of the public officers, and to some of the public functionaries. I have done so in the performance of what I conceive to be a public duty, and not to gratify personal or party malignity. It is certainly the right of a free people, and the Representatives of a free people, boldly to canvass the public acts of public men.—Thoroughly convinced that a considerable portion of the American people were cheated of their suffrages in the last Presidential election, and finding the verdict which they then rendered relied upon here to force through Congress a measure which they condemn, and which I believe to be fraught with mischief to the public welfare, I have felt it to be my duty to expose the perfidy which has been practised, and to invoke the just indignation of the people upon the authors, great and small, of that perfidy. Let a severe, but just retribution be visited upon them, as a warning in all after times to ambitious and unprincipled aspirants, teaching them to know, that the people, ever ready to sustain and honor those who are faithful to them, possess intelligence to detect, and virtuous resentment to punish those, who by falsehood and dissimulation and double dealing, win their confidence and support only to deceive and betray them. Thus, and thus only, can practical effect be given to the principle, which is the foundation of our political institutions, that the people are competent to govern themselves. For it must be obvious to all, that this principle will become inefficient and inoperative, when it shall be permitted to any man to go "unwhipped of justice" who reaches the Presidency by professing himself favorable to a system of public policy, and when safely installed in power, employs all the influence in his high station to destroy the policy which he was elected to maintain. Upon such a man, and all his guilty coadjutors, the people of the United States owe it to themselves, to honor, truth and justice, and to the principles of their Government, to visit a blasting indignation; and I hesitate not to say, that if there is yet left among us a remnant of the spirit of our Fathers, this duty will in due time be performed.

Mr. Chairman, I have occupied so much of the hour to which I am limited by a rule of the House in refuting the argument so zealously and perseveringly urged—that the people, by electing Mr. Polk, ratified the decree of the Baltimore Convention, and that, therefore Congress is bound to pass the bill now before this committee—as to have but a few minutes left to devote to an examination of its probable effects upon the national interests, and contrast the same

with the actual realized operation of the tariff act of 1842, which this bill proposes to repeal. I do not regret that I am thus restricted, for the arguments upon which the supporters of the opposing systems of policy rely to sustain their respective theories have been ably presented during this debate, and on many former occasions, inasmuch that but little which is either new or original can now be said on either side of the question. The tariff of 1842 is founded upon the principle that it is expedient to raise, by duties on foreign imports, a sufficient amount of revenue to defray the necessary expenses of Government, and to discriminate in laying those duties so as to extend, in the language of Mr. Polk, when he was a candidate for the Presidency, "fair and just protection to all the great interests of the whole Union, embracing agriculture, manufactures, the mechanic arts, commerce, and navigation;" whereas the bill under consideration is founded upon the free trade theory as set forth by Mr. Polk in his message since his election to the Presidency, and by his Secretary of the Treasury, in his annual report made at the commencement of the present session of Congress.

Thousands of political agitators have constantly employed their talents, for mere party purposes, in endeavoring to excite the passions and prejudices of the people against the tariff act of 1842; and by conceding, for the most part, the correctness of the general principle of policy upon which that act is founded, and attacking it in its details, they have been to some extent successful. To accomplish this object, every narrow prejudice, every mean passion of the human heart has been perseveringly appealed to. It is a high proof of the intelligence of the American people that, under such circumstances, their verdict was rendered at the last Presidential election, as I have conclusively shown, in favor of the general principle of policy upon which that law is founded. I claim of the most bitter opponent of that law the admission, which I think candor will compel him to make, that as a revenue measure it has admirably fulfilled the predictions of those who framed it, and most signally falsified the predictions of those who opposed it when it was under consideration in this House. When that law was under consideration in this House, in 1842, its opponents argued most zealously that the duties which it imposed were so high as to prohibit importations, and that it would be wholly insufficient as a revenue measure; and I well remember that the present President of the United States, when a candidate for Governor in the State of Tennessee, confidently announced the same opinion to the people of that State. The friends of the law, on the other hand, contended on this floor that the duties which it imposed were so adjusted as to raise twenty-six millions of dollars, and give fair and just encouragement and protection to American manufactures. The official reports from the Treasury Department shows us that there has accrued to the Government, from the operation of that law, an annual average revenue of more than twenty-six millions of dollars; and the proof is before us in many forms that the manufacturing interests, and every other interest of the country, immediately sprung upward from a state of languishing depression to one of healthful prosperity. When that law was passed by Congress the finances of the Government were in a most deplorable and disgraceful condition; for, in a time of profound peace, the revenue of the Government had been for a period of years permitted annually to fall far below the annual expenditures. Treasury notes had been annually issued to keep up the appearance of solvency. These were under protest, and selling in the market at a large discount. A loan had been authorized, and an agent of Government dispatched to Europe to negotiate it; and after visiting in England, and circumambulating the continent of Europe, he returned to tell us the humiliating truth that the bonds of the United States were unsalable, and that we could not borrow a dollar. Congress passed the act of 1842 to raise the amount of revenue necessary to pay the ordinary annual expenditures of Government; to pay the interest on the loan which had been authorized, and thus restore the credit of the Government; to provide a sinking fund for the final payment of the public debt, and to give "fair and just protection to American manufactures;" which, under that approximation to the "revenue standard" provided for by the compromise act, had sunk almost into a state of ruin. All the purposes for which the law was passed were immediately realized. The credit of the Government instantaneously revived; the bonds of the Government were no longer hawked about, un-