



BY JAS. CLARK.

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## SPEECH OF GOV. JOHNSON.

Delivered at the Whig County Meeting held in the city of Lancaster, Aug. 5, 1848.

We have this week the pleasure of laying before our readers a full sketch of the remarks made by Gov. Johnson, at the late Whig County Meeting. We ask for them an attentive perusal.

Gov. Johnson stated that he was here to-day by the invitation of his fellow citizens of the county of Lancaster, to address them upon the various matters of political difference which separate the people into parties and sects; but when he threw a glance over this vast assemblage and recognized so many older and abler men, residents of this noble country, he felt some hesitation in assuming the position their partiality had assigned him.

To meet and consult together in relation to the welfare and happiness of the people—to devise measures for the alleviation of their grievances, and to guard against encroachments upon their privileges by either Government or demagogues, was not merely a constitutional right, but he felt it to be a moral and political duty which man owed equally to his fellow-man and to the country. In such primary assemblages of the people, wherein calmly, caudally and dispassionately are reviewed the acts of the public servant, and in which the rights of the people are vindicated and maintained, is to be found the great conservative principle of our Institutions.—Demagogues may for a while mislead, by their various arts, the popular mind, but truth, presented to an intelligent and well informed public assemblage, rears such a barrier as prevents the progress of error, and finally scatters its sophistries as effectually as the rays of this morning's sun cleared away the mists that hung over this beautiful valley. Each citizen should feel it a pleasure and a duty to contribute his mite when called upon to maintain the right or oppose error and drive it from the land.

These opinions of duty being entertained, Gov. J. stated that he would not shrink from the responsibility of expressing his views upon the present state of our affairs, although in doing so he might fail to discuss any new subject or throw any additional light upon the questions in dispute with our political opponents.

The approaching Presidential campaign, while it may settle for a long period of time the question of a Protective Tariff—the improvement of our Rivers and Harbors—the detention of the Public Domain—and the extension of Slavery over the vast regions of the now Free Soil of New Mexico and California—would also probably settle and determine what, in his mind, was a more important question, to wit: the permanency of Republican Institutions. And inasmuch as he viewed this latter subject as of transcendent importance—he would beg the attention of his fellow citizens, while he endeavored to give utterance to his views in reference thereto.

To illustrate the matter, he would state that the danger to our institutions arose from two sources—1st. The establishment of a central political power at Washington, well adapted, managed, and constructed, to give support to every and any measure of an administration, however improper and dangerous in the judgment of the citizens, and to bind and coerce popular feeling in its behalf by a well managed system of party tactics; 2d. The too frequent use and abuse of the Veto power. If, said Gov. J., the present party in power succeed in securing the support of the people, and their indorsement of the doctrines now promulgated as a party creed and confession of faith, the great bulwark of the republican principle, the great landmark separating the original parties of Democracy and Federalism, to wit—the rights of the Sovereign States are annihilated, and consolidation of power in the general government is inevitably fixed upon this people. The exercise of the Veto power, the last remnant of kingly prerogative left in the Constitution, and left there against the strongest protest of the best and purest men of the Revolution, will be sanctioned to the largest and most dangerous extent—and the motto that the King can do no wrong be interwoven as a part of the faith of the people, peculiarly attached to republican liberty, and equally opposed to the exercise of the one man power, whether lodged in the hands of an executive, called a President, or by some more monarchical designation.

Let us, my friends, look at the past history of the present administration, and if we find in its conduct the evident tendency to assume power, to control popular opinion, to coerce men's view by its censures and denunciations, and to arrogate to itself authority not clearly

vested by the constitution, and to interpose its negative will to defeat the wishes of the people and the acts of their representatives, then we must yield to the truth, however startling it may be, that our republican institutions, although in name unchanged, have suffered great outrage, since the days of the fathers of the Constitution. The first fact to be considered in connection with this subject is the establishment of an official organ—a newspaper avowedly sustained by the patronage of the Government, and dependent in a large degree upon its countenance for its existence and extensive circulation. This paper, the acknowledged exponent of the executive will, we find the never varying apologist for all Executive acts. Connecting itself with a powerful party in our country, and through the same official power made the organ and mouth-piece of that party, it must inevitably maintain a position of great and almost uncontrollable authority in the land. The press of the same political bias feels itself constrained to adopt its views because a difference of opinion might lead to divisions and distractions; the office-holder bows to his behests, because in its columns he views the reflected mind of the appointing power; the office-hunter submits to its mandates with a gentle and quiet ease, because he feels that difference of opinion and independence of its dogmas, leaves him among the disappointed. These various classes, highly respectable and worthy as they are, feel the tyranny of this machine of party but cannot break its galling chains. The press, the recipient of official patronage and the applicant for place, hold a large and influential position in our country, and instead of acting out their views—as they would doubtless do, if this engine of party machinery were annihilated—they fall prostrate before its powerful decrees. Is this allegation false or is it true? Let us refer to one or two cases for illustration, and in doing so let them be instances in which Pennsylvania holds a deep and abiding interest.

The Protective Tariff policy or the enactment of such laws by the General Government as would protect the industry of this country from coming into ruinous competition, in our own markets with British goods and the products of foreign labor, had always been a favorite policy with Pennsylvania. In no instance, under no circumstances, had her people, her statesman, or her legislative assemblies failed to give a zealous and unanimous and unanimous support to the protective principle. She felt that abounding in the raw material, possessing exhaustless beds of coal and iron ore, &c., with great agricultural resources, it were suicidal to her own interests to abandon a policy so well calculated to bring forth her wealth and make her wilderness blossom like the rose. So strong had this feeling become among our citizens, that after the passage of the Tariff Act of 1842, and during the canvass of 1844, the great political parties of the day, the Whigs and their opponents, then equally strove to persuade the people, that they were the peculiar friends of the Tariff Act of 1842. In all its operations it had worked well, the manufacturer had large and ready sales, the laborer constant employment and good wages, the farmer fair prices and a near and ready home market. Improvements, public and private, were rapidly constructing throughout the land—the Rail Roads and canals of the Commonwealth had a large and constant and healthy trade. In a word, universal peace, plenty and happiness covered our good old Commonwealth. In this state of things each party claimed alliance and kindred with the beneficent legislation that had so happily resulted in its operations.

The contest of 1844 having terminated in the success of our political opponents, the government passed into the hands of their President, Mr. Polk. Mr. Polk formed his cabinet, and established his organ—the first message of the President was against the principle of protection, and consequently against the continuance of the act of 1842, and urgent for its repeal. The newly established organ endorses these doctrines and attempts to give them a party character, but the classes mentioned, to wit, the Press of that Party in Pennsylvania, and many of our citizens hesitate to adopt these views, hoping that the action of Congress might save the Protective Tariff which they had so much lauded for its beneficial effects on society. Still there is no voice of dissent, clearly and expressly given—but highly eulogistic encomiums are passed upon the message generally. The Secretary of the Treasury in his report, by ingenious sophistry and misrepresentation of facts and figures, makes a powerful effort to overthrow the Tariff of 1842. This document is held forth in the organ of

the Central Power, as the very truth of political economy, and the great ground work of party faith, with sundry admonitions that its support or repudiation would mark the true from the false believer. It is pressed upon Congress—and after various struggles between the friends of Protection and its enemies—the act of 1842 is repealed, and the act of 1846 is enacted, by the casting vote of the Vice President. During all this time, the mouth-piece of the party at Washington is loud in its denunciations of the recreant members of its party, and zealous in its support of the new law. The President and his Cabinet, and organ, finally declared the Tariff of 1846 the true policy of the country, and the organ requires submission to that declaration as an evidence of party fidelity, and lo! in a few months after this determination is shadowed forth, the Press in Pennsylvania and the classes already named, fill the length and breadth with hozaannas to the great principle of Free Trade, and against the policy of protection so long and faithfully main tained by this people. In this, instance my fellow citizens, there is a great lesson taught us of the danger this central controlling power.

But again, the subject of introducing Slavery into the territories of the United States, is another illustration of the dangerous influence exercised by the central power. The State of Pennsylvania was an early advocate for the abolition of Slavery. In the preamble to the abolition act of 1780, we find these strong and beautiful words—

[Want of room compels us to omit the extract.]

Here, my friends, you have the truth as spoken by our fathers. No human limbs are to be bound with the heart destroying and terrible chain of slavery. No human laws shall be passed to inflict upon human beings that bondage which reads the dearest ties of life—separates the father and the son—the mother and the helpless offspring—that tears the flesh, wounds and annihilates the spirit—breaks the heart and destroys the immortal soul. I love Pennsylvania for that glorious act of proud and manly virtue and independence. There the voice was clear—decided—strong in favor of human rights, and the act corresponded with the declaration. They examined him in his naked deformity and spoke his non-existence in this land of Freemen. The same spirit animated our Statesman in the support of the ordinance of 1787, now more commonly known as the Wilmot Proviso. The same pure spirit still continued to fill the hearts of our people at a later day; for on the question of the admission of Missouri, the following resolution was passed by the unanimous vote of the Pennsylvania Legislature. The language of this preamble and resolution expressed so fully (said Gov. J.) his own views on the subject, that he would read it. (Here Gov. J. having become somewhat hoarse, requested Mr. Franklin to read the resolution referred to.)

That, my fellow citizens, is the language of freeman, and in that tone should every citizen proclaim his love of human liberty and hatred of tyranny and oppression. The great and good men of that age felt indignant and shuddered at the thought of planting the foot-prints of slavery over the vast and fertile regions of the great West, a land formed by a bountiful God, with every imaginable capacity for the comfort of his creatures and the enjoyment of life. To permit this land, flowing as it were with "milk and honey," to be made the abode of the toil worn victim of human laws and human passions, was asking from our fathers a surrender of a righteous principle which they most indignantly refused to grant, and hence these resolutions.

But again the spirit of the ordinance of 1787 was brought into our legislative halls some two years ago to prevent the introduction of Slavery into territory to be acquired from Mexico. Resolutions approving the Wilmot proviso received nearly the unanimous support of that legislature. In these various acts of our public bodies and in these sentiments of our leading statesmen, together with many others that might be added, we have an uniform, steady and determined hostility upon the part of our citizens to extend the evil of Slavery. But mark the change! Certain moves are making upon the political chess board; the Southern branch of the so-called democracy must have some explicit denunciation of the "Wilmot Proviso" and the ordinance of 1787. The central organ commences the battle of bitter and persecuting denunciatory articles of Mr. Wilmot and his Proviso. A similar policy is pursued by other journals of the party in this State, and the same principle of opposition to slavery extension, which had characterized the men and measures of Pennsylvania for more than half a century, is proclaimed as deliber-

ate treason to the Union, and the offspring of fanatic and evil disposed and diseased intellects. Nay, so powerfully had the denunciatory tone of the central organ and its affiliated papers operated upon the minds of the representatives of the people belonging to that party, that last winter the same resolution failed to receive an unanimous vote, the Whigs and a few honorable opponents voting for it in the Senate, while in the House of Representatives, where our opponents had a commanding majority, it was never mentioned. What then produced this sudden abandonment of another favorite doctrine of the Keystone State? Why was she asked to reverse the reiterated opinions and decisions of her people, so often, so solemnly, so impressively expressed? The central power at Washington had decreed it—the party machinery had been put in motion, and the fears of disunion and consequent want of success frightened the timid and swayed around the time-serving. But again the President assumes upon himself the responsibility of placing our negotiations with Mexico in such position that war is inevitable, and in the ordinary course of things, when the desire for peace is not very strongly manifested, war in its worst form is found to exist between our country and Mexico. In the immediate preliminary stages of this unfortunate rencontre, no appeal is made to the Congress of the people, although that body is in session and prepared to give its hearty co-operation to any measure necessary to sustain the national honor. How widely different in this respect from the policy of all our first Presidents was the conduct of the present Executive. In relation to the necessity of this war there was a variety of opinions held by men of all parties and of all sects, these differences doubtlessly honestly and truly entertained by their advocates. Was an effort made in this case to convince the reasons of men, to better their means of knowledge, to conciliate conflicting views, to harmonize and unite the country upon the all important question of a Foreign War, the first in which our country had engaged? No! The mild and gentle means of a persuasive character were abandoned, and the iron-souled organ, in its hatred of free thought and free discussion, and its determination to command and be obeyed, issues forth the decree that he who doubts the propriety of the war, (however faithfully he may have sustained it during its progress,) is to be pronounced a moral traitor, and as lending aid and comfort to the enemy; and if my remembrance serves me rightly, the President of the United States stoops to endorse officially this detestable dogma. Now, without intending to say a word upon the question of the war, whether it was right or wrong in its inception, permit me to ask this people where would the sanction of this doctrine lead us? If the free expression of honestly entertained opinions, in a land of free speech and a free press, is to be proscribed by the agents, whose acts are under consideration, as treason to the country; if the doctrine that the President's conduct is not to be reviewed under the severe penalty of stamping with the infamy of a traitor's name the individual daring to criticize his actions, then our liberty of speech is gone. Fix in the popular mind, the idea that all censure and discussion of the acts of their servants are treasonable practices, and while the race of flatterers to power may increase the number of its accusers and honorable opponents will be small indeed. There is no tyranny in any land more cruel than this doctrine would teach; the bed of the tyrant of olden time, sought the equalization of the bodies of its victims; this would attempt to curb, to chain, and immolate the immortal spirit. That in this land of proud pre-eminence for its devotion to the principles of civil and religious liberty and toleration, such detestable doctrines can find advocates and supporters may well fill us with astonishment.

But again—the doctrine is broadly maintained that the wishes and desires of the people, as expressed by their representatives, shall not be carried into effect, if the policy of the measure fails to meet the approbation of the President. Even should the various means of attempting to control popular feeling by the patronage of the central power, its organ, its hangers on and expectants, its platforms and conventions; should all these fail, then, as a last resort, the kingly prerogative of the Veto is called into existence, and the will of the majority of the people, in a democratic government, is prostrated and defeated by the act of one man, whose actions cannot be condemned unless at the risk of party denunciation and proscription.

Having expressed his views as fully on this part of the subject as their patience would permit, he felt that he had discharged a duty in warning his fellow citizens against the encroachments of this dangerous power. He knew that the spirit of the fathers of the constitution and the authors of the resolutions of 1798 would lend their influence to sustain his position, if such spirits mingle in the conflicts of this the fatherland. To the people belonged the task of overturning and destroying this overshadowing central power, and from the signs of the times there appears to be little doubt of the verdict being rendered in behalf of the cause of right and true democracy. But there are other questions of great moment, the settlement of which may also depend upon the result of the coming election.

A fair and reasonably Protective Tariff is so essential to the welfare of the citizens of this Commonwealth that he could not refrain from the expression of a few words in his defence, particularly in relation to its effects upon the revenues of the Commonwealth. The general discussion of the question of a protective tariff he would leave to his friend, the Hon. James Pollock, who understood it much better than himself, having ably defended its provisions for years in the National Congress. It is a melancholy truth, that the citizens of this Commonwealth are sorely pressed by taxation, to meet the interests, &c., on the public debt. With all her revenues, and her varied and annoying tax laws—the payment of her annual liabilities could scarcely be met by the State. In this condition of our financial affairs, he would ask if it were good policy to adopt any system that would lessen the revenues of the State—yet such he was bound to declare would be the effect of the continued existence of the present Tariff laws. The protection afforded to our domestic industry had built up large iron manufactories in different sections of the State. These required the raw material and merchandize to carry on their operations—this raw material and merchandize, as well as the article manufactured, were carried upon your public improvements, and made up a large proportion of these revenues. Under the present Tariff these works cannot compete with the foreign manufacture at the rates of wages in Europe—Consequently, their value of investment of capital being destroyed, they will be discontinued, and the result will be the withdrawal of their tonnage and tolls from the receipts on your canals and railroads. This fact alone, to say nothing of the injurious effect produced upon the laborer, the farmer, and the mechanic, ought to be conclusive on the mind of every tax-payer in the Commonwealth. The deficit is to be made up by additional taxation on your land, your business and the necessary comforts of your families. It is alleged that one single establishment in the interior of the State pays toll on the freight of its coal to an amount exceeding \$40,000 per annum—and this establishment is about to cease operations under the provisions of your present Tariff laws. Doubtless there are hundreds of other establishments similarly situated, and precisely affected with like views; that will be compelled to quit business; and in that event thousands of dollars may well be lost in the tolls coming to the State, all to be levied by a direct tax upon your farms and business pursuits.

But again, the article of coal, so largely and extensively now brought into use, contributes a large part of your Canal revenues—a business yet in its infancy, as the tables of its increase from year to year demonstrate. The coal fields of Pennsylvania are abundantly capable of supplying the Union with fuel for years to come; it is now lying almost an undeveloped mountain of riches to our people. Instead of encouraging its development, your present Tariff laws permit a ruinous competition with a foreign article in our own markets. This cannot be the interest of our citizens engaged in the useful business of opening the region and bringing its produce to a profitable market. In the American Quarterly Register and Magazine of May, 1848, is the following table, well worthy the examination and attention of the citizens of the coal region. Note the difference of importation of coal under the free trade system and the act of 1842—it appears to me further argument is in vain:

1836,	108,432 tons.	1842,	111,526 tons
1837,	153,450	1843,	41,163
1838,	129,083	1844,	87,073
1839,	181,557	1845,	85,774
1840,	162,867	1846,	156,833
1841,	155,394		

If these views be correct, then, fellow-citizens, the question arises, is not the approaching election the most important that has been held for many years. The re-establishment of old-fashioned Republican principles, the proper adjustment of the Tariff laws, and the prevention of the extension of Slavery, all depend upon the result, and the result depends on your active and hearty zeal, cordial union and faithful labor in the good cause at the coming elections. To an intelligent citizen the knowledge of duty is alone sufficient to warrant its performance.

It may now be necessary to inquire whether the proper standard-bearer has been selected in the person of General TAYLOR to carry out these wholesome reforms and changes if he should be elected.

General TAYLOR, the candidate of the Whig party, as well as the choice of many other citizens, has always sustained the reputation of a high-minded, straight-forward and plain soldier,

whose truth and honor have never been impeached even by his political foes. Without the cunning and management of the politician's arts, his great merits as a soldier and scholar have placed him (unsought on his part) before the people as a candidate for the presidency. He is without enemies to punish or intriguing friends to reward, consequently unpledged and untrammelled except so far as he in his sound judgment has seen proper to develop his views.—What are these views?

1. He will be bound by the Constitution—and by the Constitution, as it is expounded and explained by the judiciary of the United States.

2. He will be bound to take for his guide in his administration of the National Government, the rules and doctrines established and held by our first Presidents.

3. He will enter office without pledges—that he may be free to carry out the wishes of the people as expressed by their representatives.

4. He will not attempt to influence the action of Congress by foreshadowing his own peculiar notions on mooted questions of doubtful policy, further than required by the Constitution—nor will he permit his cabinet to do so.

5. He will not embarrass the action of the people's representatives or defeat their will by the exercise of the Veto Power other than in cases of extreme haste legislation, or clear violation of the Constitution.

6. He will faithfully carry out the wishes of the people as expressed through their representatives on the subject of the Tariff—and if the Whigs succeed in giving to the country the principles of the Tariff act of 1842 by the repeal of the Tariff act of 1846, he will sanction their legislation.

7. He will not veto or prevent the passage of laws passed by Congress in reference to Slavery, or the improvement of rivers and harbors, or any other matter that constitutionally belongs to them to settle.

8. He will prevent and overthrow all schemes and plans for the conquest of other countries or for annexing the lands of other nations to these States.

9. He will prevent war, because having truly toiled through its desolating walks, and witnessed its sad havoc of the fireside and hearth-stone of his fellow-man, he feels that it is an evil constantly to be avoided, unless necessity requires its existence.

10. He will administer the government faithfully according to the Constitution. During his long life of arduous and trying service, he never failed to perform all his duties well and faithfully.

11. He will proscribe no man for a conscientious difference of opinion; being a lover of liberty of thought himself, he can afford to tolerate it in others.

12. He will through his great popularity be enabled to govern our country without the aid of organs or irresponsible cabals; but being responsible for his actions, without a cringing subserviency to platforms, erected to misguide instead of informing the public mind.

In addition to these twelve reasons for the support of Gen. ZACHARY TAYLOR, the Republic owes to him a debt of gratitude for his brilliant military services in the late war. The battles of Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma, Monterey and Buena Vista, will fill the brightest pages in American history; and long after the great leader in those celebrated battles, having received his reward on this earth, shall be gathered to his fathers, will the proud retrospect be made by succeeding generations, and just tribute paid to the memory of the illustrious hero and his companions in arms.

It may be asked what assurance is there that Gen. TAYLOR will carry out the views that are herein expressed. It is answered—the solemnly pledged word of the old soldier—a man who never equivocates—never evades responsibility—never asserts an untruth—never speaks harshly of any man being—and who never surrenders.

On this day two years ago the gallant standard-bearer of our party broke up his camp opposite Matamoros, and commenced that career of victory at Monterey and Buena Vista, which filled the world with astonishment and his countrymen with pride and exultation. What more appropriate day could have been selected to commence the campaign against the present occupants of power at Washington city, and what place more suitable to open the fight, than the banner county of Pennsylvania. The contest here begins—the camp is broken up—the army and freemen have buckled on their armor—and if they fail, they are unworthy of the gallant standard-bearer who they have chosen. The day—the cause—the candidate are worthy of an exertion. With exertion failure is impossible, while success will heap many rich blessings and comforts upon yourselves, your neighbors, the country and posterity.

**A correct life of Lewis Cass.**  
The *Wheeling Times* has commenced another life of Gen. Cass, in which several incidents will be named which have been strangely neglected by the admitter. The work is to be beautifully illustrated by an engraving of the identical black cockade that he wore, the full picture of the peddling wagon he sent out from Detroit to follow his payment of Indian Annuities, and the sword he broke. It will also contain his letters from France upon the tariff—his vote on the subject of Internal Improvements—his letters to the Chicago Convention—a synopsis of his Wilmot Proviso and annexation letters—a copy of his letter from the Canard bridge to Gen. Hull, asking whether he should fight, (after Snelling had put the Indians to flight)—a fac simile of the canoes in which he crossed over the Northwestern lakes from Detroit, holding Indian treaties at \$8 per day, while drawing a salary of \$2000 as Governor, engravings of several pieces of Mahogany furniture manufactured in the "Indian Department," (for the sole use of the Indians, of course)—a picture of the first distillery erected in Detroit, a short extract from a well known temperance address, and a few extracts from a book entitled the "King and Court of France," and several other things of interest.

A few more such lives will surely prove the death of Lewis.—*Troy Whig.*