

# STAR & REPUBLICAN BANNER.

G. WASHINGTON BOWEN, EDITOR & PROPRIETOR.

"The liberty to know, to utter, and to argue, freely, is above all other liberties."—MILTON.

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THE REGISTER AND RECORDER.

I. The Star & Republican Banner is published at TWO DOLLARS per annum (or Volume of 52 numbers,) payable half-yearly in advance; or TWO DOLLARS & FIFTY CENTS, if not paid until after the expiration of the year. No subscription will be received for a shorter period than six months; nor will the paper be discontinued until all arrearages are paid, unless at the option of the Editor. A failure to notify a discontinuance will be considered a new engagement and the paper forwarded accordingly.

II. Advertisements not exceeding a square will be inserted three times for \$1, and 25 cents for each subsequent insertion—the number of insertion to be marked, or they will be published till forbid and charged accordingly; longer ones in the same proportion. A reasonable deduction will be made to those who advertise by the year.

III. All Letters and Communications addressed to the Editor by mail must be post-paid, or they will not be attended to.

## POLITICAL.

### ADDRESS OF

The Democratic Republican members of the Legislature, to the People of Pennsylvania:

[CONCLUDED.]

The undersigned are very far from believing that such doctrines have ever had the approbation of a majority or even of any considerable portion of the people of Pennsylvania, who have ever been distinguished for that high morality which was so eminently characteristic of their illustrious founder; but the fact itself is unquestionable, that such a report has been permitted to go abroad without contradiction, and has obtained a very general currency throughout the world. It is perhaps to the unceasing and unmeaning clamor of a few reckless and windy demagogues, who have stolen into their confidence under hypocritical professions of a superior regard for their interests, and have abused that confidence for reasons perhaps better understood at Washington than here, that they are indebted for the prostration of their State credit, and the deep stain which has been inflicted upon their private faith as well as upon their public honor—that they have come, in a word, to be regarded as a community of robbers, little better than the Malays, and almost an outcast from the Commonwealth of nations. To remove this disreputable imputation, and to take all proper measures for the restoration as well as the continued maintenance of the public credit, were objects in regard to the propriety of which the undersigned were entirely united in opinion. To effect these objects there were but two expedients within their reach, one of which was an authoritative application to the Congress of the United States for a distribution of the public lands among their rightful proprietors, the States, and the other the imposition of a tax, which should be religiously pledged to the payment of the interest on the public debt. The times were notoriously inauspicious to the latter, and the Republican members of the Legislature were unwilling to aggravate the distresses of a most calamitous era, by adding to the burdens of an already oppressed and suffering people. They knew that in the immense domain which had been either purchased by the treasury, or won by the good swords of their fathers, there was a fund which was their own proper inheritance, and a resource which was far more than sufficient to discharge even the enormous debt which they had incurred. They were moreover advised that a bill was then pending in the Senate of the United States, which proposed to rob them of a large and certainly the most valuable portion of that magnificent patrimony, by its surrender to the States in which it was situated, and they felt that it was their duty to protest against such wholesale spoliation, and to demand, in the name and by the authority of the people of Pennsylvania, the restoration of their rightful inheritance, which, being now discharged from the debt of the Revolution for which it stood pledged, was no longer fairly applicable to the uses of the General Government. The great State of New York as well as others of her confederate sisters, had already spoken on this question; it was only necessary for the equally great State of Pennsylvania to respond to the declaration, and the united voices of those two giant members of our Republic, always potent in the councils of the Union, and never heard there without respect, would not have been uttered in vain. They accordingly introduced into the Senate a series of resolutions expressive of their opinions, and enjoining upon our Senators and Representatives in Congress, the introduction and support of a bill providing for the distribution of that immense fund among the States in the ratio of their representative population. The wishes and opinions however of the administration of the General Government on this subject, which have always been well understood, and have been since more formally and authoritatively announced in the resolutions of the convention recently held at Baltimore for the purpose of re-nominating Mr. Van Buren, were as usual considered to be entitled to more respect than the wishes and interests of the people of this State. The Federal majority in the House of Representatives, true to their natural instincts, and willing to administer still further to the unexampled extravagance of the Federal Government even at the expense of their own constituents, refused to consider so reasonable a proposition, which had commanded the unanimous assent of former

Legislatures, and promised to throw into the Treasury of their own State a sum little short of one hundred and twenty-five millions of dollars—more than enough to pay off our whole State debt, perfect our great system of improvement, and constitute a fund for the education of every child within this State for every generation to come. They preferred the imposition of a tax upon the people to the cheap declaration of an opinion which might be considered offensive at Washington, and to that result did their deliberations at last arrive, most of the undersigned refusing to support it for the reasons already suggested, as well as others having relation to the particular bill itself, while a few of their number were constrained to yield to their assent on the ground of imperious State necessity. It will now be for the people to choose whether they will perpetuate this burthen by a passive abandonment of their rights in the national domain, or whether they will re-assert those rights by taking the government of the nation from the hands of those who would make spoil of their heritage and "give the children's bread to dogs," and placing it in the charge of those who will administer that high trust for the good of the whole, and not for the advancement of the interests of a party.

Connected with this subject was another which touched deeply the prosperity of this great State, and with it the ability of her citizens to meet those demands upon their industry which were rendered necessary by the magnitude of her debt, and the refusal of her Legislature to exert its influence in securing the means which had been so liberally provided by those who had gone before us. That subject was a Tariff of duties on foreign goods, for the protection of the industry and enterprise of our own citizens against the unequal competition of foreign labor and foreign capital, and the creation of a domestic market for the products of our own soil, which under the jealous regulations of other countries were denied admittance into their ports, while the products of their manufactures were sent here for consumption amongst our own citizens. The system had always been a favorite one in this State, and had moreover been made the occasion of frequent appeals to Congress on the part of her own Legislature. It had been recently abandoned in deference to the wishes of a very inconsiderable portion of the States, and it was thought by the undersigned to be their duty as Pennsylvanians to invite to it anew the consideration of the American Congress, and to urge its revival as a measure of sound policy as well as of the most urgent necessity. The recent disclosure of a design on the part of the Federal administration, to supersede the necessity of all commercial restrictions, by cheapening the elements of production, of which labor and bread-stuffs compose so large a portion—the depressed condition of our manufactures and the consequent decline in the value of labor and the prices of the most important of the staples of our agriculture—all conspired to urge upon the undersigned the propriety of some expression of opinion on those important questions, and they accordingly introduced into the Senate another series of resolutions, so framed as to embody what they supposed to be the views and wishes of their constituents. They were equally unfortunate however in this attempt as in that which related to the public lands. The policy of the administration of the General Government on this point, which has since also received the like solemn ratification from the National Convention of that party, was equally well understood, and the Federal majority, the friends and supporters of him who has been denominated "a Northern man with Southern principles," equally true to their party allegiance in this instance, declined the expression of any opinion which might be construed into an act of rebellion against their Federal head. They refused, as before, even to consider the question, and again testified their inflexible devotion and loyalty to power, by the strongest of all evidences, a complete abandonment of the interests of the people whom they professed to represent.

It would consume much more time than the undersigned are in a condition to bestow amidst the hurry and confusion of an abrupt adjournment, and extend their address which has already sufficiently taxed your patience beyond all reasonable limits, if they were to undertake to follow the majority in all their devious wanderings over the wilderness of Legislation and expose the inconsistencies and enormities which through upon their recollections as they run back over the events of this extraordinary session.—The invasion of our judicial tribunals in the disposal of the associate judges of the State by classifying them anew under the pretence of correcting a supposed error, which, if it had existed, they had no shadow of constitutional authority to rectify—the equally unconstitutional attempt in the House of Representatives to apportion the representation anew for the notorious purpose of securing a party majority in the next Legislature—the unceremonious ejection of more than one hundred notaries, with no other design than to create vacancies for a few hungry partisans—the restoration of the appointing power to the hands of the Executive from which it had just been withdrawn, instead of leaving it with the people themselves—and the refusal to take from the same hands the appointment of the Canal Commissioners in conformity with the very decided opinion of the Senate, and no doubt of the constituents of both—these and many other topics which might be referred to are all pregnant with instruction, and all worthy of the serious and attentive consideration of those who

have been in the habit of regarding that majority as the representatives and exponents of the true republican faith. They are all recorded on your journals, and now form a part of your legislative history. Examine them for yourselves, and you will discover that we run no risk in affirming that if there be any one principle which can be extracted from those volumes, or any one feature which stands out in bolder relief than another upon their pages, it consists in an scrupulous and unwavering devotion to Executive authority, whether State or Federal, a loyalty to power, overruling and trampling down all constitutional limitations, and a habitual distrust of the integrity and intelligence of the people.

Having thus essayed to perform the task which they proposed, the undersigned would feel that a portion of their duty still remained unperformed, if they should take leave of the subject without subjoining a few reflections of a practical character, which are naturally suggested by the recital to which they have invited your attention. It is impossible for any man to contemplate the picture which they have presented without being struck with the potential and alarming influence of the Federal Government in the councils of this State. That influence may be distinctly traced in every important incident of the session. It is the same which was dreaded by the anti-federalists and their republican successors of '98, when they declared that they saw lurking amid the power and the splendor of the federal government the serpent which was to swallow up the rights and sovereignty of the States. Their fears of consolidation were then ridiculed as idle and imaginary; the reality of the present day has far outstripped even the gloomiest imaginings in which they ever ventured to indulge. The influence which they foresaw is above us and around us. It broods like an unclean spirit over the face of our whole land; it is branded in letters of fire upon all the great leading interests of the country; it poisons our political aliment, and taints the very atmosphere of our legislative halls. The States have almost ceased to perform the functions which were allotted to them in the great social system of the Union. No longer poised upon their own centres, and accomplishing their own distinct revolutions with their original tendencies to break loose from the system of which they formed a part, they have become the mere attendant satellites of the General Government, without any independent motion of their own, borrowing their light entirely from, instead of reflecting it upon their common center, and threatening momentarily, under the influence of that attraction which was intended merely as a counteracting and conservative force, to rush into the embraces of that central power whose intensity will soon fuse them into one undistinguishable mass. Consolidation is no longer a chimera. The harmony of the parts, and with it the whole equilibrium of the system is entirely gone. The central attraction has become already too strong for the independence of the States. They are now little better than subject Provinces.—Your representatives no longer look to you for instruction. Their regards are turned in the direction of the imperial city, which is the Mecca of their idolatry, and their knees are bent, not on the tomb of a dead prophet but on the gorgeous footstool of a living potentate who wields a broader scepter than did ever "the commander of the faithful" himself—not towards the source at which their own existence is fed, but at that perennial fountain of honors and reward which sends out its countless rills over the whole land. They are indeed no longer even known by any other name than that of their party chief. They are "Amen," according to the feudal notion of homage, and not yours. How many of your rights and interests have they not already abandoned? What is there left to you in the general wreck of those interests, which they would not willingly surrender as a propitiatory offering on that gilded shrine? Think you that they would have dared to act or vote, as we have shown you, on the subject of the public lands, if they had been consulting for your interests, or if you had been so fortunate as to occupy the first place in their affections? No; they would not have thus ventured to brave your displeasure. Your wishes and interests are no longer regarded. Your representatives no longer represent you. Your independence—the independence of the States has withered away under the breath of the Federal Executive until it has shrunk into a mere by-word and a mockery. What has become of the blustering champions of State sovereignty, the indomitable chivalry of the South, who were so ready but a few years since to "go to the death for their sugar" and cotton? Alas! even those Hyrcanian tigers have been tamed into submission under the gentle but persuasive influence of Federal power, and are now quietly harnessed to the Executive car!

The sword of rebellion which was so fiercely aimed at the very vitals of the Federal Government has sunk into the deplorable posture of salutation, ay, even been enlisted against the rights of the States under the bland but irresistible influence of an Executive smile, and the proud Palmetto, the lofty and imposing emblem of State rights and State sovereignty now humbly flutters under the protecting shadow of the black banner of consolidation! Already the President of the United States has only to put forth his hand, and whether it be his desire to move the legislative councils of New Hampshire, or to bring up instructions from the law-makers of Tennessee, his electric touch is at once felt at the remotest extremities of the Union, and his high behests

are instantaneously obeyed. But his influence does not end there. It is not confined to State authorities or to the States alone in their characters of distinct and independent communities. It reaches far beyond that point—down even to the minutest subdivisions and ramifications of political power.—It travels on the wings of every post; it penetrates our most remote and sequestered hamlets. It presides at the election of our State and National Representatives; it is seen in the choice of our township officers. No station is so high as to be above its reach; none so low as to be unworthy of its notice. It is all pervading, universal, omnipotent. He has only to touch the master key, the grand sensorium of public intelligence, the Post Office Department, with his little finger, and the sensation thrills through every nerve of the body politic, and speeds the winged messengers of his will—the fiery cross of the party—through every nook and corner of the Union. He has but to speak, and his vassals are every where in arms.—His hundred thousand stipendiaries, his legions of Postmasters, Custom House Officers, Land Office Receivers, and other functionaries—an untold and innumerable host, who are fed out of his hand and know no law but his will—his countless mercenaries who are encamped like a Tartar horde upon the land, and never sleep but upon their arms, are ever ready to start to their feet at the first summons of their powerful Khan. Holding by no other tenure than his pleasure and bound to the performance of such services as he may think proper to require, they are at all times the active and unscrupulous ministers of his will. Whether he choose to proclaim a crusade against a co-ordinate department of the General Government, or to turn their arms either in favor of, or against the institutions of the States, is alike indifferent to them. He has only to signify his wishes and they are accomplished.

With the public lands at his disposal, the offices and honors of the government at his command, and a subservient Congress ever ready to register his edicts, he is not without ample means to secure the fidelity of all his numberless retainers. He has magnificently bribed to purchase the allegiance of the States, and petty plunder to stimulate the avarice and reward the activity of his meanest followers. The public lands are but an appanage of the crown to be parcelled out amongst his great favorites in the proportion of their respective services, and the offices of the government are but the "spoils" of a conquered country which has been surrendered by the victor to unheeded pillage. Not content however with the exercise of a vast prerogative—far exceeding the most extravagant designs ever imputed to Alexander Hamilton or the boldest of his coadjutors—which has grown up within a few years and is now completely engrafted upon the text of the Constitution, he seeks to extend it for the purpose of enabling him to perpetuate the power which he already enjoys. Already invested with the supreme command of the armies and navies of the United States, he has ruthlessly seized upon the public treasure in violation of the law, and now endeavors to procure a ratification of the unholy union of the purse and the sword in his own hands in defiance of the thrice repeated interdiction of the people; and by way of climax to his towering ambition, he demands a standing army of two hundred thousand soldiers—a species of conscription from the yeomanry of the country which shall enable him to combine valor with cunning, and to recruit the ranks of the office-holders with a powerful reserve of fighting men. In the pursuit of his gigantic schemes of aggrandizement he has already visited you with multiplied calamities. He has destroyed your currency under the pretext of improving it when it was sound, and then abandoned you in your extremity under the plea of a constitutional inability to rectify the very disorders which he had himself occasioned. He has taken your monied institutions to his arms, and after soliciting them into excesses and multiplying their numbers over the whole land, has flung them from his embrace, and endeavored to take advantage of the very helplessness which he had produced for the purpose of strangling them and the whole offspring of the incestuous connection. He has prostrated your private business and assailed and dishonored your public credit. In his unlawful seizure and detention of the public money, and his unhalloved attempt to separate the government from the people, he has shattered the whole frame work of your social edifice, and inflicted a wound which is now felt through every limb and member of this mighty republic, and through all the vast and varied interests which have grown up under the shadow of its protecting wings.—The signs of woe are every where apparent. The influence of that separation is already witnessed in the desolation which reigns in your streets, and the wrecks of private enterprise which overpread your land. It has descended like an incubus upon the bosom of your Commonwealth, stagnated the healthful tides which bounded through her veins and lushed her pulses almost into the repose of death. It has withered the winds which filled the canvass of a prosperous and gainful commerce, and the sail is now drooping idly along the mast. It has walked into your manufactories, and its pestiferous breath has extinguished their fires, stilled the clang of the hammer and the engine, and arrested the revolutions of the busy wheel. It has accompanied the farmer into his field, blasted as with a mildew the rich promise of an abundant harvest, and neutralized to him the unmeasured bounties of an overruling Providence. It has even seated itself at the frugal board of the laborer, and endeavored

to snatch the half of the last remaining crust from the mouths of his children. All this and more too has it effected, without even the poor apology of a prospective indemnity to the people, but on the avowed principle that the Government has no other duties than to take care of itself, and with the obvious purpose of leveling the last remaining bulwarks against the encroachment of Federal power, and establishing that power on a foundation which shall never be disturbed. The evils from which you suffer are all distinctly traceable to the over action of that central government, which in its gigantic struggles to accumulate new power is so fast absorbing the rights and independence of the States. The disease is in the head; the life blood of the system is collecting and conglutinating there, instead of sending out its currents and imparting warmth and vigor to the extremities. It may be resisted perhaps to a certain extent by the fidelity, as it may be aggravated by the treachery of your representatives at Harrisburg, but it does not originate there, and is not therefore to be removed by any appliances at that point. It must be met at the metropolis of our mighty empire, and met too by the people of the States with the same spirit and determination with which their ancestors resisted the encroachments of royal authority upon the freedom of the Colonies.

The remedy however in the present instance is a peaceful one. It does not involve even a change of the government itself. The natural operation of that government is healthful; the vice is not in its organization, but in its administration. It has been driven from the old republican track through the recklessness and imbecility of those who have been entrusted with its management. It is only necessary to bring it back again by placing it in the hands of others who will so administer it as to preserve the appropriate relations of the parts, and instead of augmenting its powers at the expense of the States, will recognize its true beauty in the harmony of its proportions, and its true grandeur in the strength and solidity of that matchless cluster of stately and magnificent columns by which it is surrounded and sustained. For this purpose you require only at the head of your national affairs an honest and right minded man who has been educated in the old republican faith, and understands well the structure of your government—who has no ambition to rule without abusing it, and who has already furnished in the history of a long and well spent life a sufficient pledge for his continued devotion to the interests of his country. That man is now before you in the person of the illustrious soldier and statesman of the West, whom the united voice of a suffering people is about to summon from his quiet retreat on the Ohio to lead them through the difficulties and dangers with which they are surrounded, and to repair the manifold disasters which have been brought upon them by the wantonness and incompetency of their rulers. The scion of a revolutionary stock, trained amid the scenes and deeply imbued with the feelings and principles of that glorious era, as they were gathered from the lips of its most distinguished actors and sufferers, his very name and origin might be considered an ample guaranty for the soundness of his political opinions. That name is in itself a tower of defense, and a pillar of light in the gloom which overhangs our land. It is already covered with imperishable renown. It is intimately associated with the proudest recollections of your colonial struggle; it is inscribed on the deathless charter of your independence; it is identified with the unfolding glories of your country; it is enrolled in the chronicles of your revolution, and it illuminates the same pages of your history which record the triumphs of your arms on the Maumee and the deliverance of your frontier from the merciless tomahawk by the chastisement of the savages on the field of Tippecanoe, and the overthrow of the confederate hosts of Proctor and Tecumseh on the banks of the Thames. It has directed and accompanied your flag through many a scene of peril and alarm, and that flag has never flamed in the van of your armies or floated over your entrenchments in firmer or more auspicious hands. That honored name has no where been connected with disaster or disgrace; it has never been associated with dishonesty or dishonor. Its possessor may indeed be poor in worldly goods, and compelled to inhabit even the humblest tenement, but he enjoys in that name a treasure of renown which would not permit him to use his high trust for his own benefit, and to profit by those golden opportunities which would have made his calculator rich. If he is poor, he is on the other hand without the desire to be rich. His habits are simple and unostentatious; his wants therefore are few, and easily supplied. Ambition he has none to gratify; all that he may have felt in the heyday of his blood has been abundantly gratified already. He seeks not even the dazzling eminence to which his fellow citizens are about to raise him. He has never however, either in peace or war, whether the exigencies of civil life required the sacrifice of his ease, or the storm of hostile invasion blew its trumpet note in his ear, and bade him gird on his harness anew, refused to respond to the summons of his country, and he will not decline that summons now. The honor of the Chief Magistracy of this great nation, great though they certainly be, have no temptations for one who has sought repose after a long life of toil, and has withal so many other titles to future remembrance. He will be content to lay them down and retire again to the quiet and privacy of his rustic abode: whenever he shall have performed

that great service upon which he has been called. He will surrender them too without any of that reluctance which always characterized those who, owing their elevation to accident or intrigue, were nothing before and will be nothing afterwards.

Magnanimous and patriotic as he is, disinterested and brave, he will have no enemies to punish, and no injuries to avenge. He never knew any enemies but those of his country, and even they have been subdued again by his generosity after they had been conquered by his arms. Neither will he have any other friends than those of his country. He will administer the government and bestow away its offices for the good of the country only, and not for the advancement of the interests of a party.—He has devoted to that country the service of a long life, and it is not to be believed that he will abandon her now and recklessly throw away that reputation which he has built up by the labor of more than forty years, and which will constitute the best as it may be perhaps the only inheritance of his children. The glory and the interests of his native land have been long identified with all his relations, parental as well as personal,—his name is already embalmed in her history; its proudest mausoleum will be that history, and its most enduring monument the perpetuation of that independence which the father solemnly pledged his every thing to establish, and the son has so often perilled his life to defend. He has studied the theory of your government, and is profoundly versed in the spirit and genius of your free institutions. He understands the rights of the States and will respect them. As the commander of your armies and the Governor of your immense Territories he has exercised discretionary power, larger perhaps than have ever been confided to any man within this republic, and in no instance has he ever been known to abuse them. He has always been distinguished for his moderation, his humanity, his respect for the rights and feelings of others, and his habitual reverence for the laws and institutions of his country.

Such is the man whom you now require to restore this government to its primitive simplicity, and to re-instate those ancient landmarks, those republican maxims and practices which have been of late years so entirely obliterated and forgotten. With such a pilot at the helm, the gallant bark which has been freighted with the hopes and destinies of so many living and unborn millions of freemen, and is now driving with such fearful impetuosity among the shoals and breakers of experiment, will soon wear round upon the old republican track, and under the fresh breezes of reviving confidence pursue her voyage as prosperously as before. The harmony of our social system will be again restored—awakening the face of our oppressed and impoverished land—our glorious Union will acknowledge the impulse, and again bound forward with great strides towards the accomplishment of its high destinies—the sovereign members of which it is composed, relieved from the heavy pressure of the General Government, will begin to breathe more freely as they feel their giant frames quickening with the returning circulation—and the powerful State of Pennsylvania, will leap from her recumbent posture, and her sons instead of upholding on bended knee the throne of Federal power, or crouching like trembling vassals at its feet, will once more stand erect in the dignity of their native manhood, encircling the ark of the Constitution, with their arms, and compose the proudest of its ornaments, and the stoutest of its defenders.

SENATORS.—Thos. Williams, Allegheny; C. B. Penrose, Cumberland; R. P. Maclay, Union; S. M. Barclay, Bedford; Nat. W. Brooke, Chester; Tho's E. Cochran, York; John Killinger, Lebanon; W. Purviance, Butler; J. M. Bell, Huntingdon.

REPRESENTATIVES.—Jno. K. Zeilin, Delaware; Dan'l M. Smyser, Adams; Wm. Albright, do.; Geo. Ford, Jr. Lancaster; A. N. Cassell, do.; B. G. Herr, do.; Benj. Kauffman, do.; Jas. Higgins, Huntingdon; George Darsie, Allegheny; G. R. Smith, Philadelphia; Jonas Keim, Somerset; D. Washbaugh, Bedford.

Harrisburg, June 27, 1840.

A SOUTHERN FACTORY.—The Baltimore American states that Laurel Factory, in Prince George's county, Maryland, contains about 4500 spindles, working up about 2200 bales of cotton per year, and turning out daily upwards of 7000 yards of heavy sheetings. Connected with the works is a large machine shop, saw mill, grist mill, and a store extensively supplied, which does a large business. The hands employed are regularly paid off once in two weeks, and the amount thus disbursed is \$45,000 per annum. There is a school maintained at the expense of the proprietors, where the children of the village are gratuitously taught; and a suitable building for Divine worship is also provided.

ABSENCE OF MIND.—The latest case.—The New York Journal of Commerce tells of a down east cooper, who, experiencing a difficulty in keeping one of the heads of a cask he was finishing, in its place, put his son inside to hold it up, but was much astonished, on completing his task, to find no aperture for the boy to escape, except THROUGH THE BUNGHOLE.

VERY SHARP.—We find in an Eastern paper an advertisement of vinegar:—Vinegar sharp enough to make a boy strike his father.