John Catrup

EASTERN-SHORE WHIG AND PEOPLE'S ADVOCATE.

"THE PRICE OF LIBERTY IS PERPETUAL VIGILANCE."

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NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

[CONCLUDED.]

The limits of an address will not permit an enumeration of the instances, since the memorable one above named, in which the aristocratic party has attempted to def at the popular will by kindred efforts. Sufficient for our present purpose it will be to refer to passages in the history of the election of the people, in the patriotic States of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, of recent date, and yet but partially developed to the astonished view of our young country. They sufficiently show that the principles which gave rise to the contest between Jefferson and Burr yet exist, is still in active exercise, and is one of the strong dependencies for success of the modern Whig party.

We are not alarmists. The cause of the Democracy has nothing to gain from representations of imaginary benefits to be derived from the action of Government, or to lose from similar representations of sufferings, equally imaginary, to flow from the same source. The people are, in effect, the Government of our country: they are its sovereign, and their will is its law. When we appeal to them, we do so under a deep conviction of these truths, and an equally deep consciousness that we appeal to rational intelligent, patriotic men; possessing judgment to discriminate between truth and falsehood; firmness to pursue the course of principle, unswayed by prejudice, or passion, or interest, and integrity to defend and preserve those constitutional rights upon which their lasting prosperity so safely reposes.

To that people we now appeal, and, standing among them, desirous to submit our acts to their calm reflection and judgment, we entreat them to look well to their rights and interests, to guard the elective franchise, as the sheet-anchor of their liberties; to protect themselves from imposition and falsehood, and, as necessary to this great object, from hasty and undue excitements, artificially stimulated and attempted to be supported by the power of money.

It was to have been expected that a nominating a candidate for the Presidency, the Whig party would select some individual whose political principles, so far as they have been disclosed in his public acts and declarations, are in accordance with their own—This expectation has been fulfilled, in the nomination of General William Henry Harrison by the Harrisburg Convention. He may be justly regarded as a true exponent of the political doctrines of the party which put him forward as their leader and representative. Before the contest between Tho. Jefferson and the elder Adams in 1798, he had been already in public life; and upon the separation of parties on the leading political questions of that day, he became a supporter of the latter. From that time to the present, nothing has appeared in his public acts evincing any change of opinion on his part in respect either to the questions referred to, or to others which have grown out of subsequent divisions upon measures involving great principles of government and policy. Indeed, those who now take upon themselves to speak for him authoritatively, and to be the expounders of his principles, have publicly declared that on all the exciting questions which formerly agitated, and still agitate the public mind, his opinions remain "unchanged."

We may, therefore, justly appeal to his former course and opinions as the criterion by which he is now to be judged. He stands confessed as a supporter of the most obnoxious Federal measures—the alien and sedition laws, and the standing army of the eldest Adams; the high toned doctrines of the younger and the administration of both. From both he received confidence and favor, and from both public office. If other proof of his Federalism be necessary, it will be found in the position he now occupies as the sole candidate of the modern Whig party for the highest office in the gift of the people.

Relying, as we do, for the success of our cause, upon the great principles of constitutional right and popular liberty, we do not feel called on to make a direct issue with supporters of Gen. Harrison, on the question of his claims, to the title of a Hero. We cannot, however, but remember the expressed apprehensions of the party that support him, uttered by their great leader a few years since, that the elevation of a Military Cheiftain to the Presidency would be of more fatal tendency than "war, pestilence, and famine." It is true, we might question his claim to a place in history as a great military leader: and on this issue we might call for the universal judgment of his country. Acts should speak for themselves, and most especially military exploits; and the General who requires from his subalterns their written testimonials to prove the wisdom of his conduct, the fact of his presence in danger, or the value of his services to his country can scarcely aspire to the dignity of a hero. Are we mistaken in the fact that doubts and questions surround the military reputation of Gen. Harrison? Did they not exist even in his camp and among his most brave & efficient officers? Did they not reach the Congress of the United

them to look to the conduct of their representative servants, and see whether, in the discharge of their high duties, insidious approaches cannot be gradually making, if not upon the freedom of popular elections, at least upon their efficiency as the first constitutional step, under our systems, State and National, in carrying into execution the popular will.

The course of the Opposition in Congress calls for the most serious consideration of the people. Charged as that body is with the guardianship of the great interests of the country, the public have a right to expect that those who compose it will devote themselves with undivided attention and unremitted zeal to the execution of that high and responsible trust. In what manner this just expectation has been fulfilled will be seen in the history of the present and the three preceding sessions. Its proper deliberations have been perpetually disturbed by discussions having no relation to the subject matters of legislation before it, producing interminable delays in the transaction of the public business, and embarrassing and postponing ordinary and indispensable measures, essential to the common defence and general welfare, and clearly demanded by the expressed wishes of the people. Nor are these the worst features in this picture of degenerate legislation. Controversies of personal character have more than once usurped the place of calm reasoning and fair debate, marked in their progress by angry recrimination, and sometimes terminating in acts of violence: thus converting a Hall, which should be dedicated to the sacred purposes of legislation, to the protection of the rights of the people and the preservation of the public honor, into a theatre for the exhibition of vindictive passions.

The brief review which we have given of the conduct of the Opposition in Congress, is in perfect accordance with the course of the Federal party during our second war of independence. They propose no measures, though professing an earnest desire to relieve the country from prevailing embarrasments. They have steadily resisted every effort of the Administration to carry into execution the plan which it has proposed for seperating the fiscal operations of the Government from incorporated institutions, and which has a direct tendency to restrain that dangerous banking power which, by their agency, and under the influence of their counsels, had grown up almost to an equality with the Government itself. Thus have the constituted authorities of the land been left powerless as to the control of the money of the people and the punishment of defaulters who have violated the trusts confided to their hands. They have charged the Democratic party with wasteful extravagance because the expenditures under this, and the preceding Administrations have been necessarily increased by a removal of the Indians from within our settled borders, a measure alike wise, and essential to the safety of our citizens, and distinguished by the most paternal clemency to the unfortunate savage.—They have founded a similar accusation upon the exertions of the Government to arrest the burnings, the tomahawk, and the scalping knife, which have covered Florida with blood and desolation. The have superadded to all this, attempts to obstruct the regular course of legislation, by technical objections and motions, and by every statagem which parliamentary forms would permit, and the most fertile ingenuity invent. By this course of conduct, they have so impaired the high dignity and bearing of the great representative body of the people, as to excite the most serious apprehensions in the breast of every lover of order, and of every friend of his country, as to its moral consequences, and its tendency to lessen the confidence of the world in our free institutions.

were recent, and the means of our information full, induce the Senate to refuse to him those honors which were unanimously awarded to others with whom his name was associated? Did he not leave the military service of his country at the most gloomy period of a desperate war, thus making his own act, and the time chosen for it, a confirmation of these doubts and qustions? To General Harrison we would render strict and impartial justice, and we propound these inquiries because the history of the times not only suggests them, but furnishes a positive and affirmative answer to each. Will his friends reply that we are proving their candidate not to be a military cheiftain? Be it so. Their inconsistency in claiming for him that character as a merit and a qualification for the Presidency, is not the less apparent, if they shall be found to admit that the claim has no foundation in fact and history.

Beyond this single claim to the support of a free people, as distinctive of the Federal candidate for the Presidency, we are unable to speak from any ground as yet assumed by himself or his friends. In reference to his principles, opinions, and acts, beyond his military cheiftainship, there is an organized silence, as studied as it is singular. The country has been told, as it would seem by authority, that he is to write no more "for the public eye," until after the Presidential election, and his supporters very carefully follow this example of their selected leader. His public history is certainly not a history of civic triumphs, nor has a life spent in public employments, mostly civil, presented him as the author of measures, or a leading supporter of the measures of others, essentially connected with the principles of our Government, or with the interests of our people. We are compelled, therefore, to dismiss General Harrison; and, beyond what we have already said, to follow the example he has set and his friends sanctioned, to say nothing, because, as we are forced to presume, nothing is to be said. We leave him, therefore, with his Federalism established beyond question, and with his questional claim to a military reputation.

Once more, we repeat, we are not alarmists; but our duty to the Democracy we are here to represent, would be ill-discharged, did we not call their seirous attention to the desperate efforts which their opponents are every where making to carry the approaching election, and to gain possession of the General Government. If they were to succeed in the accomplishment of their object, and thus be enabled to carry into execution their schemes of policy; those especially which relate to the management of the public finances by the agency of a great moneyed institution—there is danger that our Republican institutions, though they might preserve their form, would not long retain their simplicity, or their strength. But our confidence in the discrimination and patriotism of the people is unshaken; and we confidently trust and believe that they will not only see the coming danger, but that they will meet it with all the necessary measures of precaution.

The history of all Republics is replete with instructive lessons to every American citizen; lessons peculiarly applicable to a Government like ours, formed by a union of independent States.

One, and perhaps the most important of all these lessons, is the consistent danger of a foreign influence, exerted through the power of money. The approaches of this influence have been gradual and imperceptible, until within the last few years; within which the progress has been rapid, and the diffusion almost universal. The ordinary operations of trade between commercial countries are reciprocal and salutary. Enabling each to exchange the commodities of which it has a surplus, for others which it wants, the industry the convenience, and the comforts of all are promoted, the wealth of all, both individual and national, increased, a healthful and useful intercourse secured, and harmony of feeling produced, without any necessary sense of dependence. If, however, the reciprocal relation of trade be changed for the relations of borrower and lender; if one country, or its citizens, become borrowers from another country, or its citizens, for purposes not commercial, the consequences are wholly different, and the truth, that "the borrower is servant to the lender" of money, will be found to have its application as strongly and much more dangerously, than when that dependent relation exists between citizen and citizen of the same country.

We are not to be understood as condemning, in all cases, loans between country and country, or between the citizens of different countries. The demands arising from a state of war, and perhaps other great exigencies, frequently render such loans, by a nation, indispensable, while the transactions of commerce are constantly creating credits between commercial men of all countries. In the first class of cases, the war must be prosecuted, or the other great national exigency met, and the relation of debtor endured, until returning peace, or renewed prosperity, shall have wiped out the debt. In the second, the operations of commerce are anticipated, and ordinarily depended upon with safety to balance the accounts, and terminate the unpleasant relation. To no transactions of these classes are any of our subsequent remarks intended to be applied.

A very different description of foreign loans and foreign debts have become common in our country, and to these it is our wish to draw the public attention. We refer to loans made by banking institutions, either to relieve themselves from embarrassment caused by improvident expansions in banking, or to enable them to extend their operations beyond the limit intended by those who granted their charters; by companies and associations, to enable them to monopolize an entire branch of internal trade, or to embark in some enterprise of questionable productiveness, and by the States of the Union, without the provision, by taxation or otherwise, of a safe and certain fund to meet the interest upon their loans.

We think we are not mistaken in the assumption that all the early State loans were sought in our own market and from our countrymen. We believe, also, that one of the first acts of the borrowing State was to establish and set apart a fund to meet the payments of interest upon the money borrowed. A wise policy prevailed for many years, & until deleterious examples, proceeding not from the States of the Union, but from incorporations, the creations of the State and Federal Governments, produced the change, the consequences of which we consider so fearful and alarming.

The Bank of the United States was the first to make the standard of its credit in London the measure of its business in the United States. Other leading State institutions followed this practice of evil tendency, and none of the incorporations which once adopted this standard, failed to make their interest conform to it. Thus a change in the value of money in foreign countries would become the measure of bank expansions and contractions in the United States, so far as the business of the Bank of the United States, and many of the larger State banking institutions were concerned.

A long period of general peace, and of great prosperity in all the branches of trade and industry, rendered expansions, graduated by this standard, much more prevalent than contractions; and thus, from the known excessive profits of banking in the country, engendered an appetite for the multiplication of bank charters, before unknown to us.—Hence the number of banks in this country was at least doubled, in the course of some three or four years, and the banking capital was enlarged in a still greater proportion.

This multiplication of banks and banking capital in so short a period, could not fail to produce a proportionate expansion of our paper circulation. Such was the effect, with the further consequences of increased prices of property, and almost universal passion for speculation. The multiplied banks found customers, because almost the entire community were stimulated to become borrowers, and the great mass borrowed, not to expend the avails of their loans in aid of productive industry, but to purchase to-day for a high price, property which it was believed some other borrower would purchase to-morrow at a still higher. In a process of this sort, employing hundreds of millions of credit, in the shape of bank paper and bank discounts, the amount of interest annually accruing in favor of the banks was enormous, while the property upon which the money was expended was actually producing nothing.

Influences of this powerful character, communicated to the great body of the citizens of our country, could not fail to be felt in the Legislatures of the States of the Union. They felt the impulsion, and acted under it. Large loans were proposed, and it soon appeared that the increase of banks, and other demands, had absorbed too much of the American capital to enable them to find a ready or cheap market in our own country. The markets of Europe were naturally sought, as not the Federal Government, and not the Government of the States alone, but local corporations in our commercial cities, had there found such a market for large loans upon their credit.—For a time the state stocks of all descriptions were greedily taken; but as in all ca-

of over tasked credit, the supply became more than equal to the demand, and the market fell. The consequence was electric throughout our country, and the depressions we now feel in commercial transactions in every branch of trade, in the prices of property, in our domestic industry, in the wages of labor, flow from these excessive uses of credit at home, and these attempts to overstock the foreign markets with our credits abroad.

We are aware that these are plain suggestions; but can we be mistaken in placing them before our constituents, and asking their awakened attention to them, when we see the mere bankers of London publishing to the American public a proposition that the United States shall become endorsers for the individual States, a surity for their engagements, as a condition, not simply to their obtaining further loans, but to the favorable sale, in the British markets, of their stocks and bonds, now resting there in pledge for advances of money?

Such a proposition as it seems to us, should startle the whole American people. It is a bold attempt, upon the part of foreign bankers, to compel the government of the United States again to assume a fearful amount of debt, or to punish the States of the Union by a refusal of further loans, and depression of their securities now in the foreign market.

We have spoken of the danger of a foreign influence pervading our country, and exerted through the power of money. Can we have stronger evidence of the existence of that influence, and of the disposition to exert it, than we have already given. When foreign bankers call upon the Federal Government to endorse for the States of this Union, and threaten them with a suspension of their credit, in case that endorsement is not procured, can we measure the influence which is exerted from the same quarter over private and corporate debtors in this country?

If, then, these influences of a foreign debt are an evil to be deprecated; if our expansions of credit at home have been excessive, and require to be checked; and if both are objects which call for the serious consideration and action of the people of the country, to which of the existing political parties are they to look for a remedcal policy?

The universal suspension of the banks, in May, 1837, met Mr. Van Buren at the threshold of his administration; and from that moment to this he has been laboring assiduously to lay the foundation for a [illegible] currency and business; a foundation equal and just to all, and resting upon the Constitution of the country. It has not been the object of his policy, as is falsely alleged, to destroy credit, but to make it safe and dependable; not to overthrow the banking institutions of the country, but to separate them from the management of the public revenues, not to cripple commerce, but to give commerce a standard of currency so far as the action of the Federal Government can do it, which shall not disturb it by expansions and contractions dictated by private interests, and monopolizing efforts; not to suspend trade, but to restore it to a healthful activity, and give it a sound and stable circulating medium to sustain it; not to depress the wages of labor, but to afford the honest laborer full and constant employment at fair wages and to secure to him the pay for his sweat and his toil, in a currency upon which he may sleep quietly, without the fear of finding it dross in his pocket when he rises in the morning. Such is our policy, and that of the administration we support.

Of Gen. Harrison and his policy, upon all these important subjects, we have already declared we can say nothing. Silence, profound and unbroken, is the order at present resting upon him, and we have already expressed our ability to raise the latch which closes the door upon his opinions.

Of the favourite policy of his party, however, we can speak; but because in this ancient party, dating its existence from the administration of the elder Adams, and never more apparently confident, since the time of his defeat, than at this moment, there have been, and now are open doors and unsealed lips.

This party, then, would create a new National Bank, with the vain hope of still rather expanding our present system of excessive credits. They would not only increase the State debt, but they would prosecute a system of internal improvements under authority of this Government, to be extended within and through the States at its pleasure. They would take from the General Government some of its proper sources of revenue, at a time when the national Treasury is driven to loans to supply the ordinary demands upon it, and would borrow money in Europe, or increase the taxes upon the people, or both, to carry out their plan of a more splendid administration. And, finally, they would deliver over again to the banks, State or National, all the revenues of the country, subject to be used by them with the inevitable consequence of increasing bank expansions, until the appropriations of Congress should call for the money, and then to be the cause of, or the apology for, bank contractions, to an extent far beyond the amount of money involved.

Before we dismiss this subject, we cannot forbear to refer to the well known fact, that large sums of money have, within a few years past, been expended upon elections, with a view to overrule and defeat the wishes of the people. These contributions are manifestly, from the evidences of their effects so large in amount as to excite the most painful suspicions as to the sources from which they are derived. Time will determine what ground there may be for such suspicions. But from whatever quarter these pecuniary aids may come, it is the duty of all who value the independence, of their country, who would exclude foreign interference, under any form, from our elections and our councils, and who regards the purity of the elective franchise as the best safeguard of our free institutions to meet the crisis with unslumbering vigilance, and with the determination to expose and frustrate all attempts to control political results by any other influences than those of reason and argument.

But our opponents do not alone depend for their anticipated triumph over the Democratic party on the influences to which we have referred. They have enlisted the fanaticism of the old and new world in their cause. They have associated with one of the most dangerous political sects that has been arrayed against the sacred union of the States, which the Farther of this Country, in his last address to his children, thus solemnly commends to their care:

"It is (he says) of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it, accustoming yourself to think and speak of it as of the palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon any attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts."

Such are the parting words of the great and good Washington! The Federal Whigs pretend to cherish his principles, and to be governed by his admonitions and example. Yet they have, at this very time, made common cause with the Abolitionists—a political sect whose objects and measures have a direct tendency to dissolve that Union which he so earnestly and pathetically recommends; whose organs have denounced the written compact on which it rests, as containing principles at war with the rights of man and the laws of God; who have openly declared that they prefer emancipation without union, to union without emancipation; who have, by calumny and [illegible] contributed to one other; to foster sectional interests, and excite sectional feelings; to change brotherly love into bitter anti pathy; and who, if we may credit the declarations which some of them have made, would willingly see the political fabric uprooted from its deepest foundations, provided their favorite system of measures could be built upon its ruins.

The social duties, the rights of property, the charities of life, the domestic relations, are all distributed by the conduct of this misguided sect, and if it were possible that their influence could so far prevail, as to produce an interference on the part of the National Legislature, with the institutions of individual States, these great interests would become a sacrifice to a wild, visionary, and impracticable, if not a designing scheme of pretended philanthropy. In the prosecution of this scheme, portions of our fellow-citizens have been denounced as robbers and man-stealers; foreign emissaries have been encouraged to travel through the country, uttering and disseminating atrocious misrepresentations and inflamatory harangues, calculated to excite servile insurrection, and intestine war; and money has even been solicited and procured of enthusiasts in other countries, & expended here, in scattering the firebrands of discord and disunion throughout the land. Those who see these results, and persist in the measures which have produced them, will not be deterred by the sketch we have drawn; but if there be among them others, whose attention has been turned away by exaggerated and exciting representations, from the great principles of forbearance, mutual concession, and compromise, upon which the Union was founded, and by the sacred preservation of which alone it can be upheld, we appeal to all such to say whether a connection, which impeaches their judgement, their patriotism, their justice, and their devotion to our Republican institutions, should not be renounced at once and forever.

The limits of an address will not permit us to extend our remarks, though the field is broad, and the harvest could not fail to be rich. We must, therefore, leave the decision of the great issues we have raised to the sovereign people of our beloved country, and to the intelligence, honesty and patriotism of our fellow citizens; not under the belief that we have sufficiently discussed those issues, but in the hope that we have said enough to awaken their attention to them.

Our principles and objects have been avowed.—The purity and freedom of the elective franchise; the exemption of our country from a dangerous foreign influence and the preservation of our Union against the unconstitutional and fanatical spirit of Abolitionism, are the great points in the pending contest, and we proclaim them to our free institutions.

The candidate we present as the exponent of our principles, has been tried. His views upon all those questions are distinctly known, and have been severely tested. As to him, therefore, the people may act with confidence and certainty.

Not so with our busy and confident opponents, and their candidate. When assembled, as we are, in National Convention, "their policy" directed that they should make to the country no declaration of principles; and since that time, an Executive Committee has taken possession of their candidate, not to declare his principles and opinions to the country, but to proclaim to a nation of freemen that those principles and opinions shall not be declared, "for the public eye" until after the election.

Freemen of the United States, choose between these parties and these candidates! The decision is yours, and the stake is yours!

Confiding in the intelligence and republican spirit of our countrymen, we do not doubt of success in the important contest which is now pending. The people achieved a revolution in 1800, which transferred us from under the iron rod of Federal rule, and we cannot question, that in 1840, they will maintain, successfully, the same high position with the same great principles. In the close of the present memorable campaign, which has been opened on the one side by costly and stately pageants, addressed merely to the senses, it will be found that the Democratic party, sustained by truth and by reason, will have continued its march of uninterrupted triumphs.

From the Pennsylvanian.

Extract from a letter, dated

WASHINGTON, May 15, 1840.

Mr. Kendall's resignation burst upon not only Congress, and the public, but, I believe, even the Cabinet; one of whom I could name, who said so. Yet it has been some time, if not his desire, at any rate his determination, known to the President, who resisted it with all his might, going so far in his deep knowledge of men and faction, as to urge, among other reasons against it, that those opposed to him would say, as they actually do, that it is a mere stratagem; that Mr. Kendall has not, in fact, resigned, but left the Post Office Department to serve at the press during the Presidential campaign, thereafter to resume the Post Office, to be held *interim* by some *locum tenens*—a sort of bishop *in partibus*. Mr. Kendall proved firm against all these expostulations. His health is wretched. Half the time this winter, he has been compelled to transact the interminable business of that vast office, in bed. His conscientious sense of duty is very strong; and no consideration could [illegible] of which he deemed himself disabled by disease. His respectable physician likewise told him, without reserve, that his alternatives were resignation or death. He chose the former; and has thus superadded another to the numerous proofs by which nearly all men of all parties here are convinced, and acknowledge, that the much abused Amos Kendall is a first rate man; a great man. A candidate for the Presidency, one of the three nominated at Harrisburg last December, says that he owns a feeling of remorse and shame for having been misled so far as to deny hitherto those superior talents, and that noble probity superior to all talents, which he now recognises in the late distinguished Postmaster General. Punctilious rectitude, which utterly repudiates any distinction in the honesty of politics as contradistinguished from other dealings among men, and requires the most rigid impartiality in dealing with public men in public affairs, without regard to the party they may be attached to; a firmness equal to Jackson's; a clear and quick perception; a polemical pen at least equal to any other in the country; indefatigable industry, and total abstraction from all trivial pleasures and mere idle recreations, are among the unquestionable characteristics of Mr. Kendall. He is a poor man, with a large family, of six children; from all I hear, it is probable that his whole fortune consists in freedom from debt—no surplus. Out of a moderate salary, he saved enough to pay all his debts, and now stands a free man from that most unmanning of all bondage at fifty years of age, not afraid to resign 6000 dollars a year, and the largest patronage in America, to fall back on that post of honor—a private station; not to fall down, but to stand up more erect and independent than ever. His pen is his fortune, and his integrity his reliance. You will find his contributions to public intelligence through the press, like Towson's battery at the battle in Canada—a stream of fire striking terror into enemies, and furnishing light for all friends to rally to. It will be the most powerful battery of the whole party press during the Presidential contest.

Having always felt strong and growing respect for Mr. Kendall, I rode out of an afternoon to pay my respects to a great man who had just performed that greatest perhaps of all statesmanlike exploits—resigning a high and lucrative office, power, patronage and place. He lives about three miles out of Washington, in a house rented at two hundred dollars a year, on the range of hills overlooking Rock Creek; a very lofty and picturesque locale, as the house itself is a pretty good one, with a small vestibule in front, then a large parlor, and behind that a small green house filled with the exotic plants which it is one of Mr. Kendall's enjoyments to cultivate. The servant boy at the door told us he was in the garden, and I walked down part of the lofty hill to look for him. He was hoeing potatoes. He and his little son, each with a hoe in his hand, were at this work by