EASTON GAZETTE.

WHERE THE PRESS IS FREE—"Literature well or ill-conducted, is the Great Engine by which all Popular States must ultimately be supported or overthrown—RELIGION purifies the Heart and teaches us our Duty—Morality refines the Manners—Agriculture makes us Rich, and Politics provides for the enjoyment of all.

VOL. XXII. EASTON, (MD.) SATURDAY MORNING, SEPTEMBER 28, 1839. No. 40.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED EVERY *Saturday Morning*, BY

Alexander Graham.

TERMS.

TWO DOLLARS AND FIFTY CENTS per annum, payable half yearly in advance

ADVERTISEMENTS

Not exceeding a square inserted three times for ONE DOLLAR; and TWENTY-FIVE CENTS for every subsequent insertion.

We invite attention to the following extract from an oration of Jonathan Chapman, Esq. It is written in an animated and impressive style, and is filled with just and patriotic sentiments.

Yes, fellow citizens, if there was ever one truth established by experience, it is that which we have gone far to prove, that no matter what your form of government, *if bad men control it*, its fruits will be mischief, and eventually, ruin.

And how do they obtain this ascendency? The answer to this question will show us the chief danger of the republic. That danger is not from outward force, but from internal corruption —*inte nal corruption* introduced by bad men, who first acquire control by hypocrisy, deception and fraud, and maintain it by bribery, proscription and abuse.—Let us briefly trace the process of reasoning and action by which they do it.

Here is a republic, they say, containing citizens of every grade of talent, property and character, and by the theory of the government, all equal. The controlling offices are all elective, and accordingly to obtain them, we must get votes.—But the people are naturally true republicans, who will seek only the most honest and competent rulers and therefore, if left to themselves, or the truth only be told, there is no chance for us. But is there not something besides truth, that will answer our purpose? Are there not some taking words that we can use—some easily engendered prejudices that we can rouse—some forms which property assumes, that we can handle to advantage? Or if all else fails, can we not devise some *monster*, of which we can tell such horrid tales, that whilst the people are gazing with astonishment, we can mount upon their backs? Can we not, by some contrivance, hoodwink, cajole, and cheat the people of their votes —by means of them, obtain control and when we have once secured a foothold and seized the powers and treasures of the government, we will take the responsibility of maintaining the possession of them.

This is the cunningly devised plan and how is it to be executed? Of all the words that have a charm for American ears, and justly so in its true sense —that of *democracy* is the most potent. To this title, of course, they vociferously lay claim. Yes, fellow citizens, it is a startling fact, that all the perversions of your government, and all the disasters to your interests, have been commenced, continued, and are still supported, by the foulest abuse of that very name, which was the proud and most cherished title of the founders of the government.—What is true democracy? Its real meaning, as we have seen, is a government of the people. Where the sober sense and virtuous principles of the people, are alone appealed to, and reign, there, alone, is democracy. And who is a true democrat? He who knows no motive in himself, and would inspire none in others, but sober sense and virtuous principle. He who would sooner die, than stain or wound that fair form of freedom, that can live only in the pure air of honesty and truth. This is the standard which the past has furnished. How compares with it the modern democracy —first, that which is employed to get office, and then, that which is used to keep it, for you will find the two to be very different things?

In a republican government, the honest, the industrious, the orderly, the only true republicans, are the appropriate guardians, & should fill the offices of the State. But in such a government these very persons are the most likely to accumulate property, not in large overgrown masses, but sufficient for a decent and respectable livelihood. It is accordingly, amongst this class of individuals, the middling interest,—that the great bulk of the property of the country is divided. The overgrown capitalists, the men of a million, are rare, extremely rare. It is the middling interest, who own the property, and who, not because they own the property, merely, but from their numbers and appropiate character, should be entrusted with the control of government. *True democracy* invites them to this trust, looks to them for support, protects their honest earnings, and blesses their exertions. It is against these, therefore, that the reckless politician and the selfish demagogue must prevail if they would effect their unholy purposes. And how?

There has come down from the old world with its thrones and nobility, an association of wealth with oppression, true enough, *where every institution was designed to confine wealth to the few, but wholy inapplicable, where the whole theory and practice of government distributes it amongst the many.* But it is a convenient instrument. It is just the thing to excite prejudice against their natural foes, and therefore the ambitious aspirants, wrapping themselves in *the stolen garments* of democracy, proclaim a crusade of the poor against the rich. It is a miserable trick a base fraud. Had not its consequences been so disastrous, we could but smile at the shallowness of the pretence. 'The poor!' would they who incite the outcry, in their comfortable mansions, and with their easy incomes, be deemed poor, in anything but principle; and is the poverty of their followers, if they be poor, any thing but voluntary, in a land like this? 'Against the rich!'—why, the more than moderately rich, in this country might be surrounded by a sergeant's guard.—And the few that are scattered here and there, so far from exerting a formidable influence, are, rather, liable to censure, for the little interest they take in public affairs. And even should they rouse themselves, and gather their forces, with a view of subjecting liberty to wealth, their scheme would be about as chimerical as that of the individual, who undertook, unaided, to surround a numerous army.

But it is not against these, that the plot is really laid, nor, alas, to them, alone, or chiefest, that injustice is done. By means of this hue and cry against the dangers from wealth, in this country, a blow is intended, and in fact is inflicted, upon the industrious mechanic, the hard-working yeoman, the ingenious manufacturer and the enterprising merchant. These are the real objects of attack.—The fact that they are the chief owners of the property of the county is seized upon as the vulnerable point. And it is to wound them in that point, and thereby neutralize and destroy their political influence, that the selfish and intriguing set on foot the ancient yet captivating war cry of the poor against the rich.—The poor against the rich! I would that the shallowness of this pretence, and yet the atrocious injustice of its effects, might be fully understood. I call, not upon the rich to rise in self defence,—but upon the middling interest of the country, against whom the cry is really directed, to vindicate their rights. It is you, the sober industrious, orderly farmers, mechanics, manufacturers and merchants, who by this trick, are cheated of your proper influence. It is you who are made to give place to selfish demagogues and political charlatans,—you who are the natural guardians of the State, and whose only crime it is, that you would guard it well, and neither make it a matter of merchandize nor hold it up as a party spoil.

As a consequence of the great diffusion of property in this country, into small parcels and amongst many hands, there must be for every enterprise, and kind of business that requires a large accumulation of capital to one point, an association of individuals, each contributing a proportion. Hence arise, for the purposes of commerce and trade, banks; and hence, for other purposes, our manufacturing and rail road corporations. The objects to be attained by these associations are beyond the reach of individual means, *unless you impart some of those political institutions, by which the wealth of the country can be confined to one favored class.* These objects are of vast importance being none other than the advance of trade and internal improvement, which has multiplied your population & increased your strength, to the astonishment of the world. And how can they be accomplished in a more republican mode, than by an association of persons, each of limited means, under the sanction of a charter, and the control of your government? A bank,—what is it but an association of individuals, by which the man or the woman, who has acquired a little surplus capital, can, without interruption to their regular business, keep it in profitable use, both for themselves and the community. I say nothing of it, as a means whereby the community can reap the benefit of the wealth of the larger capitalists, for it is a fact, that a vast proportion of the stock in these institutions is owned, in small sums, by this same middling interest.

Here again, however, you are met by these same moderate democrats. There is a story from the dark ages of monopolies and soulless corporations. This is another most convenient weapon of attack. Seeking, as before, to arouse jealousy and embitter prejudice against you, they find you committing the unpardonable sin of uniting together in the manner and for the purposes I have described. Down in some secret council hall, the leaders of reform,—many of them engaged all the while, in these same anti-democratic associations,—gather together the lean and hungry band. By their incantations they raise up the ghost of an antiquated abuse, and placing it at the head of the marshalled troops; command them to shout with one voice, of monopolies and soulless corporations. The mandate is obeyed. And

> "At once there rose so wild a yell,
> Within that dark and narrow dell,
> As all the fiends from heaven that fell,
> Had pealed the banner cry of hell.

Forth rush the democratic hosts. It seems as if every bank must disappear before this clamorous encounter. Surely wherever these sincere friends of democracy and reform prevail, every one of these despotic institutions will be levelled with the ground. But not at all. The leaders have only availed themselves of the uproar, to take possession of your government, and of the nominal object of attack,—the banks,—not one is found in ruins, excepting those, whose exclusive business it had been, to furnish supplies for the invading army.

Look at it in its details. *You are a Farmer.* You started in life with no inheritance but a kind providence, and the lessons of a faithful mother. You have toiled on from youth to manhood. By industry, economy and thrift, you have become the owner of the farm you cultivate. Your children are growing up around you. Your labors have been successful. You have gathered a little capital beyond the wants of your occupation and in order that there may be something for them, more than you had, at life's hard entrance, you seek a safe investment and a lawful income in a neighboring bank. You know at the same time, that you are a citizen of a republic; you would see honest men only in office; you dare to call your tongue your own; you resist the unprincipled in whatever disguise they may attempt to delude you. And straightway you are denounced as a bank-bought aristocrat. And by whom? By a man who either never had a trade or an occupation, or having started with one, has failed and broken down, through idleness or vices, and who, by shouting for a party, or a party leader, is now living upon a salary from that treasury which your toil and earnings have contributed to fill. And this is a modern democrat.

You are a mechanic or a trader. Providence has smiled upon your labors, too, and as the safest inheritance which you can leave to your sons, you determine, in your honest old fashioned republicanism, to give them the best education which the best colleges can supply. As they go out from the paternal roof, and are striving to make the most of the advantages which you kindly furnish them, though you never enjoyed them yourself, your ears, and their's are assailed by the hoarse cry of aristocracy, uttered perhaps by one, who having himself passed through the aristocratic hot bed, is now promoting the cause, & securing to himself the honors of modern democracy.

But I cannot dwell longer upon the disgusting story of fraud and imposition. And yet these are the means and the only means, by which our disasters have been caused. Read the documents, follow the lecturers, listen to the conversation of modern democrats frequent and voluminous as they are, I have yet gone over the entire raw material. Perpetual change is the burning upon the same crafty devices words, and phrases.—prejudices are excited, passions aroused and the real interests, and true honor of the State becomes the prey of interested partizans. This is the modern democracy that gains office and power,—commonly and peculiarly, the poor against the rich—the people against banks, republicanism against aristocracy,—but in fact and in fact the idle, the reckless, the unprincipled, headed by ambitious aspirants and political demagogues, against the best, industrious, orderly and truly republican standing interest.

MARTIN VAN BUREN.

It is true that, upon many important questions he has, by a non-committal policy, artfully managed to disguise his real sentiments—but upon one point of great interest to the southern people, he has unveiled himself, and exposed his principles. Heretofore it has been supposed that some difference existed between the white and black population, and few were so visionary as to entertain the notion that the latter could be safely and beneficially entrusted with the exercise of the elective franchise. Whatever humanity might dictate for the amelioration of the condition of the blacks, it was not conceived possible, in the slave-holding states especially, to advance them to an equality with the free white citizens; nor could a proposition to that effect be entertained by any class or party in such states. But it appears that Martin Van Buren either entertains so high an opinion of the blacks, or so low an opinion of the whites as to have desired to establish perfect equality among them on the subject of voting: as will be seen by his vote in the New York Convention, which we subjoin, that all doubt may be removed. We make the following extract from the New York Star—and that we might be assured that there was no mistake in the statement, we have examined the volume containing the votes and proceedings.

"In the Convention which assembled in 1821 to form a new Constitution for this State, General *Erastus Root*, a republican of the old school, moved to allow every *white* man of the age of 21 years and upwards, the right to vote at all elections. On a motion to strike out the word *white* and allow the *blacks* to vote it was carried in the affirmative. *Mr. Van Buren voting to strike out the word white.* The following is the vote—

The following are the yeas and nays on the question for striking out the word "white."

Ayes—Messrs. Bacon, Baker, Barlow, Beswith Brinkernoff, Brooks, Buel, Burroughs, Caver, R. Clark, Collins, Cramer, Davy, Dodge Duer, Eastward, Edward, Ferris, Fish, Hadock, Hooe, Hogeboom, Hunting, Huntington, Jones, Jay, Kent, King, Moore, Munro, Nelson, Park, Paulding, Pitcher, Platt, Rheeve, Rhineford, Richards, Reteburg, Sanders, N Sanford, Seamen, Steele, D. Sutherland, Swift, Sylvester, Talimage, Tuttle, VAN BUREN, Van Ness, J. R. Van Rensselear, Van Vechten, Ward, A. Webster, Wendover, Wheaton, E. Williams, Woodward, Wooster, Yates—63.

Noes—Messrs. Bowman, Breese, Briggs, Carpenter, Case, Child, D. Clark, Clyde, Dyckman, Dubois Farlie, Howe, Humphrey, Hunt, Hord, Knowls, Lansing, Lawrence, L Sferts, A Livingston, M'Call, Minkin, Pike, Porter, Prince, Pumpelly, Radcliffe, RCOT, Ross, Russell, Sage, Sandford, Schenck, Seeley, Sharpe, Sheldon J. Smith, R. Smith, Spencer, Starkweather, J. Sutherland, Taylor, Ten Eyck, Townley, Tapp, Van Horne, Verbyck, E. Webster, Wheeler, Woods, Young—56."

Here we find that Mr. Van Buren not only was willing to place the black man on a political equality with the white, and allow our polls and ballot boxes to be surrounded by a band of negroes, and to give to them the right to decide who shall rule over us, but he actually *voted in favor of it.* He solemnly recorded this vote in its favor at a time when he had no motive to play a double part—when his true feelings and his unbiassed attachment could be safely avowed; at a time when the contingency of his being supported in the North as a Northern man and in the South as a Southern man, never presented itself to his imagination. He could not vote with Erastus Root, that old and stern democrat, in favor of his *white* fellow citizens. He could not vote with Fairlie Lefferts, Porter, Russell, Sage, Schenck, Sharpe, Spencer, and Young, all old democrats—he decides on placing *blacks and whites* on a political equality."

We submit this vote to the consideration of the citizens of the state. They are now again called upon to say at the approaching elections whether they approve or disapprove this levelling vote of Mr. Van Buren and adhere to the right of suffrage the free negroes of the State.—It [illegible] will [illegible] to give to that class of people political importance, & the right to determine elections. This is an important matter to this state, at the present critical moment, when the most strenuous efforts are being made by fanatics and incendiaries, to array the black against the white population, and to involve the Southern states in all the horrors of a servile war. We ask the citizens of Mary and to pause and reflect upon the consequences which may result from their support of a man holding the principles avowed in the above vote of Mr. Van Buren, before they deposite their hands in the box:

UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE.

In Maryland every free *white* male citizen, of lawful age and residence is entitled to vote at elections. This provision was engrafted on the constitution by the then democratic party of the State and has been in force ever since. Amidst the various fluctuations of party, it was always been deemed unjust, impolitic and anti-republican to attempt the introduction of a property qualification. Not could any man be elected to the legislature who would avow the intention to change this feature of the constitution.

This being the fixed and unalterable policy of Maryland, how can her citizens support for the presidency a man who votes for restricting the right of suffrage in the case of *white* citizens, whilst he liberally extends the privilege of voting to negroes? That Mr. Van Buren is hostile to the poorer classes of society, and thinks them unworthy to enjoy rights which he would confer on the blacks will be seen by the following extracts *from speeches delivered by him* in the Convention of New York. We ask that these extracts may be carefully read.

27th Sept 1821.—"Mr. *Van Buren* felt himself called upon to make a few remarks in reply to the gentleman from Delaware, [gen. *Root*.] He observed that it was evident, and indeed some gentlemen did not seem disposed to disguise it, that the amendment proposed by the honorable gentleman from Delaware contemplated nothing short of *universal suffrage.* Mr. V. B. did not believe that there were twenty members of that committee, who, were the bare naked question of universal suffrage put to them, would vote in its favor; and he was very sure that its adoption was not expected, and would not meet the views of their constituents."

6th October. "Mr. *Van Buren* said, that as the vote he should now give on what was called the highway qualification would be different from what it had been on a former occasion, he felt it a duty to make a brief explanation of the motives which governed him. The qualifications reported by the first committee were of three kinds, viz: the payment of a money tax, the performance of militia duty, and working on the highway. The two former had met his decided approbation; to the latter, he wished to add the *additional qualification*, that the elector should, if he paid no tax, perform no militia duty, but offered his vote on ration of the great leader of the experi-

the sole ground that he had labored on the highways—*to be a householder*; and that was the only point on which he had dissented from the report of the committee."

AND AGAIN—Mr. Van Buren observed—"At this moment he would only say, that among the many evils which would flow from a wholly unrestricted suffrage, the following would be the most injurious viz: First. IT WOULD GIVE TO THE CITY OF NEW YORK ABOUT TWENTY FIVE THOUSAND VOTES; WHILST UNDER THE LIBERAL EXTENSION OF THE RIGHT ON THE CHOICE OF DELEGATES TO THIS CONVENTION, SHE HAD BUT ABOUT THIRTEEN OR FOURTEEN THOUSAND. THAT THE CHARACTER OF THE INCREASED NUMBER OF VOTES WOULD BE SUCH AS WOULD RENDER THEIR ELECTIONS RATHER A CURSE THAN A BLESSING: WHICH WOULD DRIVE FROM THE POLLS ALL SOBER MINDED PEOPLE—and such, he was happy to find, was the united opinion, or nearly so, of the delegates from that city."

And yet again—"One word on the main question before the committee. We had already reached the verge of *universal suffrage.* There was but one step beyond, and are gentlemen preparing to take *that step?* We are *cheapening* this invaluable right. He was disposed to go as far as any man in the extension of rational liberty, but he could not consent to undervalue this precious privilege, so far as to confer it with an indiscriminating hand upon every one."

The Sub-Treasury.—The agitation of this measure, upon the success of which Mr. Van Buren seems resolved to stake his political existence, was during the Virginia elections, suffered to sleep, because in Virginia it is decidedly unpopular. But now that silence can gain no more converts there, and it becomes necessary that some leading act of his administration should be held forth for the admiration of the State which calls him a favorite son, and to which he is now executing a political mission—this Independent Treasury is reanimated, and made the battle-cry for the faithful.

What this project really means, is not indeed, always frankly stated or admitted by its advocates, especially in commercial and manufacturing communities, where dread of change is so great that concerning the currency and finances of the country, is generally so susceptible.

There are, however, occasional indications which go to prove very conclusively what *the real drift* of this cry for an Independent Treasury is. Of these, we propose now to notice two.

Senator Benton will be admitted as authority in this matter. Hear how—in a recent letter, declining an invitation to a public dinner at Springfield—this leader in the Independent Treasury ranks, explains 'the permanent object of the Administration,' in pressing for the measure:—

'Hard money payments to and from the Federal Government, and the keeping of its own money by its own agents, (which are two essential features of the Independent Treasury) are indespensable necessary to save the federal government from bankruptcy every time the local banks shut up, or blow up; also to prevent such banks from expanding their currency upon the credit of the federal government; also to keep up a sufficient quantity of gold and silver in the United States to make it safe not to have any banks at all, and to prevent the exclusive circulation of paper money also to prevent the resuscitation of a national bank. The Democracy of the Union are now nearly united in support of this great measure, and, if not established soon, the next explosion of the paper system will do the business. I look upon the establishment of the Independent Treasury System as an event, which, sooner or later, must take place; but it may be that another *suspension*' must be added to the argument before it can be carried.'

'Hard money' alone, it is here avowed, is to be the medium for the Government; and another 'suspension,' if necessary, is to be hazarded, or brought about, in order to coerce the country into submission to this barbarian scheme.

Then, again, in another and distant quarter from Missouri—but one in which personal and party devotion has long since eradicated, or at least smothered, the old spirit of New England—in New Hampshire—we have this hard money doctrine put forth, without reserve. In the course of a series of resolutions, recently adopted by the Legislature, and approved by the Governor, we find the following:

'*Be it further resolved*, That in the opinion of this Legislature, no medium or currency should be received in payment of the revenues of the General Government, except gold and silver.'

Now, when it has been charged upon the advocates of the independent treasury, here in this commercial metropolis, that the real object was to destroy our present mixed medium of circulation, so far as payments to and from the government are concerned, and to go back to hard money, thus creating an injurious and unjust distinction between the currency of the people and the currency of the government and its office-holders,—the charge has been repelled as unfounded.

Now, however, in the explicit declaration of the great leader of the experimental humbugs which have convulsed the business and enterprise of this nation for several years past; and in the recorded sentiments—sentiments uttered and recorded, as we entertain very little doubt, by order from Washington—of the unhesitating lieges of New Hampshire, we have incontrovertible proof that the great aim of this Independent Treasury is, gold and silver for the government and its creatures, or 'hirelings,' as Amos Kendall, with good knowledge of their general character, styles the subordinate officers of the administration—and paper for the people. This object, moreover, we are told by Mr. Benton, shall be accomplished, even at the expense of another 'suspension'—as Congress were told before by Mr. Cambreleng, that the Sub-Treasury should be carried, in spite of lamentations there or elsewhere.

We only ask that the question should be placed frankly and explicitly before the people, in the full confidence that they will decide it rightfully. We are therefore grateful to Senator Benton and the New Hampshire lieges, that they have done so much to strip it of the false coloring with which, according to the region and the opinions to be conciliated, it is so industriously invested by the journals and declaimers of the party.

On the naked question of a hard money currency, in this country of little capital, but *great industry and resources*—there can be no danger of the people making a wrong judgement, and that, it is now admitted, is *the* question.—[New York American.

PLAIN FACTS.
"RETRENCHMENT."

It cannot have been forgotten by the American people that during Mr. Adams' Administration, a great outcry was raised by those who wished to get the government into their own hands, against the *extravagance* of the Administration. The people were told and made to believe that the various departments at Washington and the Custom Houses in New York, Philadelphia and other cities, were filled with mere drones who did nothing but live upon their substance: A committee on "Retrenchment and Reform" was raised in the House of Representatives, and one also in the Senate, for the purpose of examining the various Executive offices at Washington, and reporting what clerks might be dispensed with and what expenses might be curtailed. The Committee of the House made their report in May, 1828, and stated that, "by a judicious system of 'reform,' at least "ONE THIRD OF THE CLERKS IN THE DEPARTMENTS MIGHT BE REDUCED WITH SAFETY TO THE PUBLIC INTERESTS." And on the 27th day of February, 1829, only four days previous to the inaugural speech of Gen. Jackson, in which he declared that "the recent demonstration of public sentiment had inscribed on the list of Executive duties; in characters too legible to be overlooked, the task of *Reform*," the same committee, by their chairman, Gen'l. Hamilton, of South Carolina, reported to the House the following resolution: *Resolved*, That this House has a right to expect that the Executive will submit to Congress, at its next session, a *comprehensive scheme of* RETRENCHMENT, which shall extend to *the lopping off all the useless offices*, and of securing a *more effective accountability* in those which are retained."

Did the Executive, at the next session, or ever thereafter, submit to Congress "a comprehensive scheme of retrenchment?" Were any of those officers which the committee pronounced "useless," ever "lopped off?" Were the clerks in the Departments ever "reduced to *one third*," as the committee informed the country could be done "with safety to the public interests?" These questions will be best answered by the following.

STATEMENT

Showing the number and compensation of the Clerks, &c., in the Custom Houses in New York and Philadelphia, and in the various departments at Washington, in 1828, & also in 1837; from public documents.

Number and compensation in 1828.		Number and compensation in 1837.	
	Custom House, N. Y.		
174,	$119,062	414,	$450,000
	Custom House, Philadelphia.		
68,	81,265	83,	88,933
	State Department.		
16,	27,750	40,	56,515
	Treasury Department.		
19,	18,600	17,	27,106
	Solicitor of the Treasury.		
None,		5,	7,450
	War Department.		
20,	28,650	42,	53,816
	Commanding General's Office.		
None,		2,	1,800
	Adjutant General's Office.		
3,	2,950	8,	8,226
	Paymaster General's Office.		
3,	3 900	3,	4,299
	Quarter Master General's Office.		
None,		7,	7,300
	Ordnance Department.		
3,	2,950	10,	9,225
	Subsistence Department.		
4,	2 950	6,	6,600
	Surgeon General's Office.		
1,	1 500	2,	1,666
	Indian Department.		
None,		14,	19,600

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