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THE TREE OF TIME.*

In the south land far, where the blue seas flow,
And the bright birds sing, and the rare flowers blow,
And the pale stars swim 'bove the heights of snow,
On the fair green isles the old Palm trees grow.
Age rolls o'er age, and scar on scar doth rise
Up their high trunks; leaf falls on leaf and dies,
Food to make strong the tree, which as time flies
Ever lifts its head and bears it to the skies.
Yet yields no fruit, but when long years have pass'd,
Its roots grow deep; shook by the fierce, wild blast,
Still its broad leaves down to the earth are cast,
And the ripe fruit crowns its raised head at last.
So grows the Tree of Time, and long has grown,
And reared her head, as age on age has flown—
Dread storms, which through all lands her leaves have
strewn,
From zone to zone since birth of earth—have blown.
I see their scars marked plain—Rome, Greece, and all—
The storms of sin and strife caused them to fall—
And sleep low in the dust; and blind, we call
Them lost, and mourn, and weep them in their pall.
Not lost! their Death feeds life—wipe now thine eyes,
And see Time's Palm Tree lift up in the skies;
They tell, that powers, strong in their strength might
rise—
Rich in their wealth, and in their life's end wise.
Our leaf may fall as fell old Rome and Greece,
And leave its scar on that proud king of trees;
Leaves long may fall, yet never its growth shall cease
Till crowned with fruit of Love and Truth and Peace.
M.

HAVERFORD COLLEGE, 8th Mo., 1859.

*This poem is suggested by the "Fall of Man," written by Angelina Weld. There is no word in it of more than one syllable.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY:

Its Responsibility, its Practice and Policy, since the Inauguration of Franklin Pierce, March 4th, 1853.

SPEECH OF HON. JAMES HARLAN, Of Iowa—delivered June 22, 1859, at Des Moines city, before the Republican State Convention.

FELLOW CITIZENS:

Whether disposed to praise or censure the Administration of James Buchanan and Franklin Pierce, all must admit,

1st. The responsibility of the Democratic Party for the present condition of public affairs.

It succeeded Mr. Fillmore's Administration in 1852, by the election of a President, a Vice President, and a majority of the members of both branches of Congress. The heads of the executive departments, and officials throughout the country were promptly superseded by the appointment of Democratic incumbents. Having complete control of the entire machinery of government, it was able to inaugurate and enforce its own peculiar policy. The justice and majesty, the good name and fame of the "Great North American Republic," among the nations of the earth, were committed to its keeping.

Clothed with this great trust, it startled the ears of the friends of Republicanism everywhere, and delighted the despots of the Old World, by an unblushing denial of the truth of the elementary principles of civil liberty, as proclaimed by the revolutionary fathers, established in the adoption of the Federal Constitution, and observed in the administration of the Government for three quarters of a century. It assailed the compromise measures of 1850. It repealed the law extending the principles of the Declaration of Independence as embodied in the Ordinance of 1787, west of Mississippi river, and inaugurated its Kansas policy. It enacted, by government officials, a slave code of laws for a free people, and enforced their observance with Federal bayonets. It inaugurated its foreign policy by the bombardment of Greytown without authority of law, and the fulfilment of the "Ostend Manifesto"—bearing the names of James Buchanan and the other Ministers Plenipotentiary from this Government to the great powers of Europe, as disgraceful in principle as dangerous in practice.

During the XXXIVth Congress, the House of Representatives was divided between the Democrats, Republicans and Americans. Neither had a majority of all its members. But the Senate and all the executive departments of the Government, with all their patronage and influence were still in the hands of the Democratic party.

At the close of Mr. Pierce's Administration, in 1855, the Democratic party continued its power by the election of a President, a Vice-president, and a majority of the members of the House of Representatives, it maintained its supremacy in the Senate, and acquired political dominion over the Supreme Court.

During this period of more than six years from March 4th, 1853, to the present moment, every department of the government, except the House of Representatives for two sessions, when no party had a majority, has been unequivocally in the hands of the Democracy. A Democratic President has presided over a Democratic Cabinet: a Democratic Vice President over a Democratic Senate: a Democratic Speaker over a Democratic House of Representatives: a Democratic Secretary of War, over the armies of the nation, and the construction of her public buildings:—a Democratic Secretary of the Navy over our national fleets: a Democratic Secretary of State, and Democratic Ministers, Embassadors and Consuls, over our foreign policy: a Democratic Secretary of the Interior, over our great land system, Pensions, Patent Office and Indian af-

fairs: a Democratic Post Master General, over our Post Office system, extending into every city, village, neighborhood, and across the seas: a Democratic Attorney General and Supreme Court, over our Judiciary system and national police, ramifying all the States and Territories: a Democratic Secretary of the Treasury, over the custom houses with the immense machinery for collecting the revenues.

No one man is exclusively responsible for the acts of this Administration; whatever of evil or good we receive at its hands is not attributable, individually, to Mr. Buchanan or Douglas, to Hunter or Toombs; to Sidel or Davis—it is due to the past organization—to the aggregation of the influence of men, of committees, of conventions, township, county, State and national, which control its machinery—it is due to the tenacity with which individuals cling to the party name, and vote for its nominees, even while condemning its policy and measures. It is not Mr. Buchanan alone, who has done the mischief of which the whole country is complaining—the machinery of government is too vast for this—he must have the support of the heads of Departments, of Democrats in the Senate, in the House, in the Courts, in subordinate offices: of the hopes and fears of ten thousand score of small politicians, who cling to the party name for future preferment—it is the Democratic Party, which is responsible for the acts of this Administration. Does any one vote for its nominees? if so, he is responsible for its acts to the full extent of his influence as a citizen. You must abandon the organization, and repudiate it by your votes, to escape responsibility for its acts. Any other Democratic President would have been compelled to do substantially as Mr. Buchanan has done, by the Democratic party as now constituted.

2nd. The Democratic Party in the Free States has abandoned all its cherished principles, and has adopted a new platform, with a single plank.

From 1836 to 1854, its distinguishing doctrines were:

1. An ad valorem duty on imported goods, or direct taxation, for the support of the National Government.
2. An independent Treasury for the safe keeping of the public money.
3. The unrestricted "veto" by the President.
4. Opposition to the distribution of the proceeds of the sales of the Public Lands among the States.
5. Opposition to the construction of works of internal improvement, by the Federal Government.

On these questions, the American people were divided from Maine to Oregon, and from Michigan to Texas. They were discussed all over the Confederacy in every political contest. But since 1854, they have been abandoned. The Whig party has been dispersed, and the Democratic party re-constructed on a new platform. Any one, now, in the Free States, without regard to his opinions on the tariff, bank, sub-treasury, veto power, distribution of the proceeds of the sales of the public lands, or internal improvements, who concedes the constitutional right of the slave-holder to emigrate with, and hold his slaves in all of the territories of the Republic, is a good Democrat. A "Webster Whig," a "Clay Whig," a "Native American Whig," a "Moderate Whig," an "Ultra Whig," without recanting a single doctrine maintained in 1840, '44, '48 or '52, and standing on this platform is now a good Democrat. Then these Whig measures were as "wormwood and gall" to the Democracy; but now, coupled with the toleration of slavery in free territory, they are "sweet as honey in the honey comb." These "Old-line Whigs"—these national men," such as Reverdy Johnson, and Pearce, and Pratt, and Choate, and Everett, and J. C. Jones, and Benjamin, and Clingman, and Toombs, and Stephens, and Thos. W. CLAGGETT, and H. W. STARR, and H. C. DEAN, are leaders in the Democratic party, and are sent forth to proselyte the nation: whether, when they have made a proselyte, he is, as the scriptures say, "twofold more the child of hell" than before, I will not delay to inquire, farther than to remark that ever afterwards, it is extremely distasteful to such to hear politics mentioned by the pious in their prayers, or the moral delinquencies of Statesmen referred to by ministers of the gospel. But they have recanted nothing—they believe now as they did then with Mr. Clay, that Congress has constitutional power to improve harbors and rivers, to distribute the proceeds of the sales of the public land among the States—to levy duties so as to favor American workmen, &c. They have not changed one hair's breadth from the old landmarks of the party. But now they are Democrats—Democratic leaders—apostles of the faith—then, they were enemies, bitter and unrelenting: with all these political tenets and nothing more, they are not now Democrats: with all of them, and something else, they are Democrats! What is this "something else" that makes the change? that converts a bitter, unrelenting opponent of the Democracy, to a Democrat? that transforms a political heathen to a political Christian—a political demon to an angel of light—which like the cloven tongues of fire regenerates political heretics by the thousand, but without the formality of repentance, faith or baptism? What is this political alchemy, which turns every base

metal which it touches into gold? This philosopher's stone is "THE EXTENSION OF SLAVERY INTO FREE TERRITORIES." This is the only Democratic test—this is the only thing required, in the Free States, for admission into the Democratic fold: without this, none are eligible to membership: with this, any one is received with acclamations of joy. This, then, is the only essential plank in the Democratic platform.

3d. The Democracy of the Free States have surrendered the Administration of the Government to southern men.

The Democracy of the Slave States control every department of the Government, Legislative, Executive and Judicial. Here is an official list of the 22 standing committees of the Senate, as arranged at the last session of Congress:

On Foreign Relations.—Mason, Va., chairman; Douglas, Sidel, Polk, Crittenden, Seward, Foot.
On Finance.—Mr. Hunter, Va., chairman; Pearce, Gwin, Bright, Hammond, Fessenden, Cameron.
On Commerce.—Mr. Clay, Ala., chairman; Bigler, Toombs, Reid, Allen, Hamlin, Chandler.
On Military Affairs.—Mr. Davis, Miss., chairman; Fitzpatrick, Johnson, Ark., Chestnut, Broderick, Wilson, King.
On Naval Affairs.—Mr. Mallory, Fla., chairman; Thompson, N. J., Sidel, Allen, Hammond, Bell, Hale.
On the Judiciary.—Bayard, Del., chairman; Pugh, Benjamin Green, Clingman, Gollamer, Trumbull.
On Post Office and Post Roads.—Yulee, chairman, Fla., Bigler, Gwin, Rice, Ward, Hale, Dixon.
On Public Lands.—Stuart, Mich., chairman; Johnson, Ark., Pugh, Johnson, Tenn., Chestnut, Foster, Harlan.
On Private Land Claims.—Benjamin, La., chairman; Polk, Shields, Thompson, Ky., Durkee.
On Indian Affairs.—Sebastian, Ark., chairman; Brown, Fitch, Rice, Bell, Houston, Doolittle.
On Pensions.—Jones, Iowa, chairman; Thompson, N. J., Clay, Bates, Thompson, Ky., Foster, King.
On Revolutionary Claims.—Shields, Minn., chairman; Bates, Crittenden, Durkee, Chandler.
On Claims.—Iverson, Ga., chairman; Mallory, Ward, Simmons, Clark.
On the District of Columbia.—Brown, Miss., chairman; Mason, Johnson, Tenn., Kennedy, Hamblin, Wilson.
On Patents and the Patent Office.—Reid, N. C. chairman; Thompson, N. J., Toombs, Simmonds, Trumbull.
On Public Buildings and Grounds.—Bright, Ind., chairman; Davis, Douglas, Kennedy, Clark.
On Territories.—Green, Mo., chairman; Douglas, Jones, Sebastian, Fitzpatrick, Gollamer, Wsdo.
To audit and control the contingent expenses of the Senate.—Wright, N. J., chairman; Johnson, Tenn., Dixon.
On Printing.—Fitch, Ind., chairman; Cameron.
On Engrossed Bills.—Wright, N. J., chairman; Bigler, Harlan.
On Enrolled Bills.—Jones, Iowa, chairman; Doolittle, Brown.
On the Library.—Pearce, Md., chairman; Bayard, Fessenden.

Of the 20 chairmen of these committees, who control the legislative business of the Senate, 14 are from the Slave States, and 6 from the Free States: the 14 representing a white constituency of about 6,000,000, and the 6 a constituency of between thirteen and fourteen millions. The same injustice to the overwhelming millions of people and capital in the free states, was maintained in the organization of the committees of the House of Representatives. The President of the Senate and Speaker of the House were both Southern Democrats. The legislation of both branches of Congress was thus placed under the control of the Southern Democracy.

The Supreme Court of the United States is composed of nine judges; five of them are from the Slave States, and four from the Free States. The judicial circuits are so formed as to require the appointment of a majority from slaveholding communities, embracing less than one third of the white population of the country, leaving the minority to represent the feelings and public opinion of more than two thirds of the people and the business of the nation.

Of the heads of the seven executive departments of the government, four are from the Slave States and three from the Free States. The disparity in the patronage they control, is much greater than the disparity in their relative number. The Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Interior, the Secretary of the Treasury, and the Post Master General, all from Slave States, disburse four fifths of the public treasure, and control the appointment of more than nine tenths of the officers of the Government; leaving the people of the Free States with a representation without numerical power and almost destitute of official patronage.

4th. The increase of the expenses of the Government under this Southern Democratic rule, has been enormous and unnecessary.

This is manifest from a comparison of the expenses for the last six years with preceding years. The expenses since June 30th, 1843, to July 1, 1857, were as follows:

Years.	Expenditures exclusive of public debt.	Total.
1843-4	20,650,103 01	33,642,010 85
1844-5	21,895,369 61	30,490,408 71
1845-6	26,418,459 69	27,682,282 90
1846-7	53,801,569 37	60,520,851 74
1847-8	46,277,454 77	60,655,143 19
1848-9	39,933 542 61	56,386,422 74
1849-0	27,165,990 09	44,604,718 25
1850-1	44,018,948 48	48,476,104 31
1851-2	40,389,954 56	46,712,608 83
1852-3	44,078,156 35	54,577,061 74
1853-4	51,142,128 42	65,473,119 68
1854-5	56,312,097 72	66,164,775 96
1855-6	60,333,836 45	72,726,341 67
1856-7	65,032,659 78	71,874,487 37

The Secretary of the Treasury in his last annual report, (see page 2, Finance Report) says:

"The expenditures during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1858, were \$31,885,467.76." Also:

"The expenditures of the first quarter of the current fiscal year, ending Sept. 30, 1858, were \$21,708,198.51; the estimated expenditures during the remaining three quarters, to June 30, 1859, are \$52,357,698.45."

Making in all, actual and estimated for the present year, \$74,065,896.99; But he proceeds to say:

"To this estimate should be added the sum of \$3,838,728, required for the service of the Post Office department, during the present fiscal year."

This increases the actual and estimated expenses for the current year ending June 30, 1859, to \$77,904,624.99; other deficiencies will have arisen, growing out of new legislation, which the departments could not have anticipated, to the amount of \$2,000,000 or \$3,000,000; hence the aggregate for the year will probably exceed \$80,000,000.

The estimate of appropriations and expenses for the fiscal year commencing July 1, 1859, and ending June 30, 1860, amount to \$73,217,947.46. This includes \$7,082,900, for deficiencies in the Post Office department. But the Post Office Bill which passed the House of Representatives, appropriated \$200,495,788, in addition to \$700,000 under a standing law. This was increased in the Senate two or three millions. But in consequence of the inflexible determination of Democratic members to increase the rates of postage on letters and newspapers, and as stern an opposition to this increase by the Republican members of Congress, the Bill failed to become a law. Yet it furnishes incontrovertible evidence of the amount thought to be necessary for that service by a Democratic Post Master General, and a Democratic Congress. But the Post Master General estimated the gross revenues of the department for the year ending June 30th, 1860, at about eight millions; add this to the standing appropriation of \$700,000 per annum, and the deficiency included in the Post Office Bill, of \$6,382,900, and subtract the aggregate from the gross amount, and it leaves an additional deficiency of \$6,112,888, to be added to the Secretary's estimates, making in all for that year, the sum of \$79,330,835.46. This will be increased, probably, as before explained, to over \$80,000,000.

This result is reached as certainly by other data: a computation of the amount of money at the control of the departments. The Secretary of the Senate and the Clerk of the House of Representatives compute the definite appropriations made at the last session of Congress at \$41,367,699; the Secretary of the Treasury, on page 3 of his report of estimates, states the appropriations made by former acts of Congress, applicable from year to year, and not included in the annual appropriation bills, at \$8,497,721.50; and balances of appropriations extending into this year, at \$12,478,907.23—amounting in all to \$62,344,327.78, to which add the amount of the Post Office Appropriation Bill, \$20,495,788, now being anticipated by the Post Master General, and we have \$82,840,115.78, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1860. To this sum must be added the amount of the indefinite appropriations, and the interest on the new public debt of \$20,000,000, authorized at the last session of Congress. Hence it is not probable that the expenditures will fall short of \$80,000,000, for the year ending June 30th, 1860.

It will be seen from the official records cited, that the expenses of the government have increased from an average of about \$30,000,000 in 1840, to the enormous amount of above \$80,000,000 per annum, under the rule of this newly organized Democratic party.

And when the attention of the people is called to this profligate use of the public treasure, the more candid leaders of the party in Iowa admit the expenditure of the money, but defend its necessity, and deny that the amount is extravagant.

As an illustrious example of all the rest, I have before me a carefully prepared printed speech, "on the expenditures of the government," purporting to have been delivered before the Democratic Club, on the 19th of last September by Charles Mason, Ex-Chief justice of the Supreme Court of Iowa, and Ex-Commissioner of Patents, in which, after a verbal criticism, *ad hominem*—better suited to a smaller man, as puerile and inconclusive in logic, as incorrect in data—the author labors through twelve or fourteen pages of solid matter in a masterly defense of the expenditure of \$84,400,000,000, by this Administration, as justifiable and economical! The argument when analyzed, is a deduction from a comparison of the average annual expenses of the government, during the eight years of Mr. Monroe's Administration, which he states at \$12,500,000, with the expenses of the current year, considered in connection with the increase of our population, claimed by him to have become three-fold, and the expansion of our territories, said by him to have quadrupled, and the diminution of the value of the dollar, as he says, to less than two-thirds, and the exclusion of certain revenues and expenditures, (as those of the Post Office Department) now included in the estimates, which were then excluded. He suggests that an increase of expenses in proportion to the increase of population would require \$37,500,000 per annum, and if in proportion to the expansion of our possessions, \$50,000,000 per annum, and adopts as a mean between them, \$40,000,000; and ob-