

THE STAR OF THE NORTH.

R. W. Weaver Proprietor.

Truth and Right—God and our Country.

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**SPEECH OF
HON. CHARLES B. BUCKALEW.**
Delivered in the Court-House, Bloomsburg,
Monday evening, August 11th, 1851, upon
the Sinking Fund of 1849, and the Slave
act of 1847.

THE SINKING FUND.

GENTLEMEN:—
Were we to judge from the pretensions
advanced, by Gov. Johnston and his friends,
we would conclude that in 1849, shortly
after his election, he had projected a plan for
the payment of the state debt such as had
never before been conceived by the wit or
wisdom of man, had induced the Legisla-
ture to sanction it in the form in which it
now stands upon the statute book, and had
subsequently managed it with such fidelity
and skill that the most salutary consequen-
ces, with reference to the finances of the
state, had been the result. Johnston him-
self, upon the occasion of his recent re-nom-
ination at Lancaster, sounded loudly the
trumpet of self-praise upon this subject, and
distinctly invited the attention of the people
to himself, as a public benefactor.

In view of these self-laudations, so arro-
gantly made, and since so pertinaciously
repeated, it is both amusing and instructive
to examine the undeniable facts in the case.

The sinking fund plan was neither inven-
ted by William F. Johnston, nor projected by
him for enactment by the Legislature of
Pennsylvania. It originated an age ago,
and with a statesman as superior in intel-
lect and acquirements to Johnston, as the
latter is inferior, in those respects, to the
humblest boot-black in this land. The ma-
terial, the vital portions of the act of 1849,
consist of the first three sections; and they
are simply the sinking fund system of Pitt
the younger, introduced into the English
Parliament in 1786 for the purpose of pro-
viding a mode for paying the national debt
of England. In 1786, Lord North had gone out
of power, and the debts created by the Revolu-
tionary war, and the French and Indian war,
which preceded it, began to press heavily
upon the English treasury. A new adminis-
tration, avowing reform as the object, brought
forward the plan of a sinking fund and secured
its enactment. The debt upon which it
was to operate amounted in 1786 to two
hundred and fifty million pounds sterling;
but with the sinking fund in full
operation it grew rapidly, (during the unjust
war waged against France to impose upon
her a form of government which she had re-
jected,) until in 1810 it amounted to
eight hundred and eleven million pounds
sterling, or near four thousand million of
dollars, and that immense and massive debt
is unpaid to this day. It is to be hoped,
that no similar result, to wit, the increase of
our debt, will follow upon our adoption of
Pitt's sinking fund in Pennsylvania.

You perceive, gentlemen, that our sinking
fund was not an original conception in 1849;
that it was then two thirds of a century old,
older in fact than our present national gov-
ernment founded in 1788, and that it was an
importation from England, the country from
whence we derive the great body of our
laws and many of our political ideas and
arrangements.

But this is not all. It was projected in Pen-
sylvania and introduced into the Legislature,
long before Johnston was thought of for Gov-
ernor. Repeated recommendations were
made by Gov. Foner and Gov. Shunk to the
Legislature in relation to providing revenues
to meet the permanent indebtedness of the
state, as well as its current outlays; and a
series of measures were adopted looking to
this end, so that before the decease of Gov.
Shunk not only had the state credit been lifted
up and placed on a firm basis, and large
amounts of debts been paid off by cancel-
ling relief notes, paying domestic creditors
and otherwise, but the solid foundation had
been laid for commencing the payment of
the permanent loans of the commonwealth.
And in 1846, two years before Johnston was
elected Governor, Col. Bigler introduced into
the Senate, of which he was then a member,
a bill to create a SINKING FUND, for the gradual
extinguishment of the State Debt. At the
same session Mr. Barrell of Westmoreland,
who is now the Democratic candidate for
Judge in his District and then the chairman
of the committee of Ways & Means in the House
introduced a similar bill in that body, and
succeeded in passing it in an amended form.
In the Senate it was reported from the Fi-
nance Committee by Col. Bigler and a part
of the bill was finally passed, and became a
law. Under the provisions of this act alone,
two thirds of all the money that has been
paid on the state debt since Johnston be-
came Governor, is raised, as I shall have oc-
casion presently to show. Those portions
of the Bigler and Barrell project of 1846, re-
lating to the sinking fund, which were not
passed, were then opposed as premature in
the existing condition of the treasury, relief
notes and other incumbrances, then in the
process of payment, still constituting a hea-

vy charge upon the treasury. From 1846 to 1848 (those years inclusive) the amount
of relief notes paid off and cancelled
amounted to \$550,300, which was, of course
a payment of precisely that amount upon
the indebtedness of the state.

But in 1849, upon the 10th day of April,
the Legislature finally passed the Bigler bill
of 1846, and it has since remained a law of
the state, and is now claimed by Johnston as
the crowning glory of his administration. Is
there not a good deal of assurance required
in playing off such an imposture upon the
people? Here, the Sinking Fund projected by
Col. Bigler is coolly assumed by his oppo-
nent to himself, together with the credit, if
there be such, resulting from it! and the
people are called on to endorse the impor-
tance of this assumption, against the very
person who should receive credit if credit is
given at all!

The sinking fund plan of 1849, as con-
tained in the first three sections of the act of
that year, can be stated in a few words, and
we will recollect, in the meantime, that in so
stating it we have placed before us the
Bigler bill of 1846, and the Pitt system of
1786, in every essential particular. The
plan is, that certain taxes when received at
the State Treasury, shall be set apart and
paid over to the State Treasurer, Auditor
General and Secretary of the Commonwealth,
who shall act as Commissioners of the fund
so created, and therewith purchase the debts
of the state, at the market price, not exceed-
ing their par value, and hold the certificates
representing the same. So far the plan does
not differ materially from what has been
previously done under acts of assembly. But,
by the third section, it is provided that
after the Commissioners have bought up cer-
tificates of the state debt, with the taxes
paid them out of the treasury, interest shall
continue to be paid upon the debt so redem-
med to the Commissioners, out of the treasury.
This interest, so paid, is to be used by the
Commissioners in the purchase of more
stock or debt, in the same manner as they
use the other funds paid them out of the
treasury and the process, so arranged, is to
go on until arrested every third year, in a
manner to be presently mentioned. That is
the whole plan with nothing added or omit-
ted, and it presents no feature either original
or wonderful in legislation.

But, the act of 1849, contains some
sections additional to those already men-
tioned, which are, without any doubt, both
original and extraordinary; although they constitute
no necessary part of the system contem-
plated by the act. It is to these additions to
the sinking fund, that I desire to call your
attention particularly, as there is good reason
for yielding to Johnston the claim of their
paternity, as nothing like them exists in the
legislation of any country on the globe.

The 4th section, is in these words:—
"Section 4. That it shall be the duty of
the said Commissioners (of the sinking
fund,) on the first Monday of September in
the year one thousand eight hundred and
fifty one, and on the same day in every
third year thereafter, to certify the amount of
the debt of the commonwealth, held by them
to the governor, who shall direct the cer-
tificates representing the same to be cancelled,
and on such cancellation issue his proclama-
tion, stating the fact and the extinguishment
and final discharge of so much of the prin-
cipal of said debt."

Now what is the true significance of this
section? for it has an occult as well as an
apparent meaning. Let it be kept in mind
that the fiscal or business year of the Com-
monwealth begins on the first day of Novem-
ber, and ends on the last day of Novem-
ber. This division of time is found con-
sistent and is consequently recognized in our
legislation. The closing up of the annual
transactions of the state at that date permits
all the various public officers to have their
reports made up to lay before the Legisla-
ture at its meeting in January; and such is
accordingly the practice. The Governor,
Secretary of the Commonwealth, Auditor
General, Canal Commissioners, and State
Treasurer each communicate to the Legisla-
ture at that time under provisions of the
constitution and laws; the first by message
and the others by report. And the Treas-
urer and Auditor General in particular, (the
operation of whose departments are very
much connected) report fully upon the sub-
ject of the finances of the Commonwealth
including the operation of the Sinking Fund.

Why then does the 4th section of the act
of 1849, which I have just read provide that
a report shall be made by the Commissioners
of the Sinking Fund at an unusual time in-
stead of the usual time in January? Why
on the first of September, during the fiscal
year of the State, and not at its close? Why
is this report to be made every third year
and the first report exactly on the 1st of
September 1851? The purpose was to re-
elect Wm. F. Johnston! Recollect, the act was
passed 10th of April 1849 and that those re-
ports spoken of in the 4th section, were to
be made at the end of every third year. But
three years from the passage of the act
would extend to the 10th of April 1852, six
months after the Governor's election this fall;
in consideration of which circumstance
doubtless, the time of making the report
was pulled backward and fixed on the first
of September.

How beautifully the matter was arranged
to effect the purpose intended; and how
clearly may this fourth section enshrine us
as to the intention and purpose entertained
in 1849. The main object was not to be-
friend the people of Pennsylvania in the
payment of their debt, but to re-elect an
Armstrong county lawyer—the father of

Relief notes and the friend of the Abolition-
ists—to the office of Governor. You will
observe that this triennial report is to be
made not to the Legislature where such re-
ports appropriately belong, but to the Gov-
ernor; that up to the time of such report the
debt paid off is considered unpaid and draws
interest; that upon receiving the report the
Governor is to order the cancellation or des-
truction of the certificates of debt, so that
the actual extinguishment of debt shall
appear as his act; and that thereupon, just
six weeks before the election, he shall issue a
flaming proclamation to the people announc-
ing the payment of so much of the public
debt! And then we are to be told that Gov.
Johnston and his wonderful Sinking Fund
have done the whole business! And that the
financial abilities of the Executive are at
least equal to those of Alexander Hamilton
and Wm. Pitt. Do you not perceive that in
pursuance of the intention in view the Gov-
ernor struck the key note of the music in
his speech at Lancaster and has been follow-
ed by his liege lords all over the State in a
paeon of praise to the Sinking Fund? It
was desirable to direct the public mind
beforehand in such manner as to give a full
and salutary effect to the September procla-
mation! That wonderful document, gen-
tlemen, is soon coming, in all the beauty
of large type and under the great Seal of the
Commonwealth. It will become as you
peruse it with thankfulness and gratitude,
and to recollect that it is the production of a
sublime personage who has borrowed a pro-
ject from his competitor and prepared it for
electioneering purposes.

The fifth and sixth sections of the act,
are clearly inconsistent and contradictory;
the one providing that the Legislature may
reduce the taxes payable into the Sinking
Fund, and the other pledging the faith of
the State that the revenues payable into that
fund shall inviolably remain to it until the
whole of the state debt is paid. There
seems to have been so much attention be-
stowed upon the fourth section, to render it
perfect for electioneering purposes, that the
character and consistency of the remain-
der of the act was not particularly re-
garded. The sixth section of the act
gravely provides that if any person
chooses to give his property to the state he
can do so, and upon report to the Legisla-
ture his name is to be entered upon the journals.
Nobody has yet been found willing to give
his property to the state upon those terms!
I have gone over all the material provisions
of the act of 1849, except those relating
to the collection of taxes, and the general
conclusion in relation to it must be that
the purpose in adopting it was to delude
the people and affect the present election.
In 1849 Johnston had a virtual control
of the Legislature; one half the House
and a decided majority of the Senate
being Whig. The act I have been explain-
ing was the contrivance then got up to se-
cure his re-election; and it is reasonable to
believe that that was the great reason why
it was then enacted.

It may be worth while to inquire from
what sources and under what particular acts,
the principal revenues of the State are de-
rived. Too little information of this char-
acter is circulated among the people; and
from this circumstance it is possible for such
unscrupulous men as Johnston to attain un-
deserved credit, by statements which are really
both arrogant and false. It may be useful
to all to know that nearly the whole of the
public revenue is raised under acts existing
before 1849; that the greater part even of
the monies absorbed by the Sinking Fund
arise under an act passed in 1846; that the
amounts received at the treasury from the
general taxes on realty are no greater since
1848 than before; and that the most marked
improvement in the sources of revenue in
recent years has been in regard to the public
improvements controlled and managed by a
Democratic board of Canal Commissioners.

By the act of 7th April, 1826, the Collateral
Inheritance tax (which is now paid into the
Sinking Fund,) was fixed at 2 1/2 per cent.
By the act of 22d April 1846, Sec. 14, it was
raised to five per cent. and has remained at
that rate ever since. The latter act—the
Bigler and Barrell bill—is justly en-
titled: "An act to provide for the reduction
of the public debt;" and beside the collateral
inheritance tax imposes a tax upon stages
and other vehicles, annuities, trust property
or personal monies at interest, public or
corporate stocks and corporate loans and
upon vendors of merchandise the product
and manufacture of the United States. The
previous act of 29th April, 1844 which
bears in its title the description of "an act to
reduce the state debt," is the most important
act now in force on the subject of taxation.
It imposes the general three mill tax upon
property—subjects all real and personal estate
not particularly exempt to taxation and
taxes bank and corporation dividends, loans
and stock, carriages, watches, salaries,
trades, occupations and professions—debts
due upon mortgages, judgments, notes, bills,
bonds, agreements and accounts, and estab-
lishes the Board of Revenue Commissioners
to meet every third year for the adjustment
and equalization of the taxes upon and
among the counties of the Commonwealth.

As the state recovered gradually from
the crash that came upon her shortly after
the close of the Ritten administration, it became
the duty as it was the desire, of her public
men, to husband her existing resources, to
provide new sources of revenue in the man-
ner least burdensome to the people, and, in
short, to adopt such measures as would place
her in that position of honor and credit

which she held before sinking crippled and
crushed for a time beneath the load of her
obligations. Among the foremost in this
work of usefulness and necessity, was Wil-
liam Bigler of the county of Clearfield. A
Senator for six years, during the very period
to which I am alluding, he embraced the
opportunity afforded him, to render essential
service to the people of the commonwealth.
Go to the men who sat with him in the Sen-
ate from 1841 to 1847, and they will tell
you, that his judgment, sagacity and zeal,
were constantly and effectively employed in
the public service, and that to no man, per-
haps, in public life, are the people more in-
debted for the placing of the finances of the
State upon a safe and solid foundation. He
addressed himself, throughout, with intelli-
gence and energy, to the performance of his
public duties. Such are sterling men for
public life; the men who wear well—and from
whom the public confidence, when once
given, need never be withdrawn. Col. Big-
ler's position in the Finance Committee of
the Senate, placed him in prominent con-
nection with legislation upon fiscal affairs,
and it is undeniable, that to the acts passed
while he was a member of the Senate, is to
be attributed the present ability of the state
authorities to pay off any portion whatever
of the public debt.

Col. Bigler recommended the creation, or
increase, of revenue from estates, by proper
enactments, as the burthen least harsh upon
the people; imposed as it is, not upon prop-
erty in actual possession and enjoyment, but
upon property in its transit from one owner
to another, and when the claim of the latter
is not founded upon purchase but upon prin-
ciples of succession. The heir or devisee
usually pays nothing for the property trans-
ferred to him; he receives the results of an
industry in which he has not participated, and
that it should be taxed for the public neces-
sities, before his right attaches, or is enjoyed
is expedient and reasonable. To the extent
to which such tax is imposed, property
in possession is relieved from a burthen.
A tax upon estates is shown by Mr. Beutham
with clearness of reasoning for which he is
distinguished, to be less inconvenient and
oppressive than almost any other; and it
has long been recognized as a proper
source of revenue, in Pennsylvania.

In accordance with these views, the leg-
islation of 1846 imposed the tax of five per
cent upon collateral inheritances. Mark the
result! The amount of the collateral inher-
ence tax paid into the sinking fund in the
years 1849 and 1850, was \$282,807.68.
The whole amount of money paid into the
sinking fund in those years was \$3,352,770.
So that five thirds of the whole amount paid
on the state debt, in 1849 and 1850, was deriv-
ed from this tax upon Estates, passed at the
instance of Col. Bigler, and during the ad-
ministration of Gov. Shunk!

Johnston may arrogate credit to himself,
with as much verbiage as he chooses, for
the sinking fund plan projected in 1846 by
his competitor, but he cannot deny that all
the monies absorbed by it, have come out
of the pockets of the people, and that the
greater part had been provided under acts
in existence before he became Governor. He
has been expending money provided by the
legislation of Bigler, Shunk, and others, and
now impudently claims the credit of the im-
proved financial condition of the common-
wealth, with which he has had nothing to
do, and which it was impossible for him to
prevent. The credit of the state, and the
ability of the state to meet its engagements,
stand, at this moment, mainly upon the acts
already mentioned, of 29th April 1844 and
22nd April 1846; and if honor is to be given
in any direction, it is due, in the first
place, to the people who have paid the taxes,
under those acts, out of their earnings,
and secondly, to those statesmen who had
the sagacity to perceive those sources of
revenue, and the boldness and ability to ren-
der them available.

The only way in which our public debt
can be paid, is by taxation upon the people.
Upon them rests the entire burthen, and it is
a virtual mortgage upon their whole property
and industry, and payable by them to the
utmost farthing. The contrivance by
which the taxes are applied upon the debt,
is of secondary importance, and deserves
but slight consideration. Away then with
those boastful pretences, founded on the
sinking fund, got up for the purpose of de-
ceiving and deluding the people.

Every intelligent person can know, by a
moment's reflection, that in Pennsylvania
our financial affairs are confided to other
hands than those of the Governor. It is to
the State Treasurer and Auditor General,
and to some extent also the Canal Commis-
sioners, that their management and adminis-
tration are committed. Johnston has there-
fore had no control over, or connection with
the actual management and administration
of the finances of the state, but those
political trusts have been in the hands of his
political opponents. He could not have pre-
vented the present improved condition of our
monetary affairs, and it is certain he has not
caused it. The main thing he could do to fa-
vor the treasury would be to economize in
the expenses of the government; but, he
spends more money than his predecessor
Gov. Shunk. The Government expenses un-
der Shunk's administration, were as follows:

For 1845	\$229,304.20.
" 1846	216,532.22.
" 1847	200,113.37.

Under Gov. Johnston, the government ex-
penses have been:—

For 1849	\$237,105.33.
" 1850	262,899.71.

For the year 1848, during which Gov.
Shunk died and was succeeded by Johnston,
the expenses were \$230,550.78. It is there-
fore manifest, that instead of economy under

the present administration, we have had in-
creased expenditures.
The Governor must stand upon his election-
eering additions to the sinking fund plan
alone, for almost all the laws creating reve-
nue, were in existence before he came into
office, and have remained untouched since;
and the state finances have been actually
managed, since he came in, by Democratic
officers, without the slightest interference, or
power to interfere, by him.

Prior to Johnston's administration, the
claims of domestic creditors and the cancella-
tion of Relief notes, constituted serious
burthens upon the treasury, from which it
has been subsequently relieved, and this
fact, in connection with the increased pro-
ductiveness of the public works, and some
other sources of revenue with which the
Governor had no concern, has enabled the
Legislature, not only to set apart a fund
(not much exceeding that before applied to
cancel relief notes,) to be applied on the
state debt; but also, to make appropriations
to the Potomac Railroad, and the North
Branch Canal. The extent of Johnston's
friendship for the latter work, in our im-
mediate neighborhood, has been at all times
measured by a calculation of votes. And
as the politics of the section interested, had
not been agreeable to the Executive, appro-
priations have been tendered on terms.
No longer ago than the last session, the attempt
was vigorously made, to make the North
Branch and Potomac appropriations, carry a
project for issuing a million of small notes!
Money was not grudged—it could be poured
out of the treasury—if votes for a paper
swindle were given as the consideration.
This proposition was spurned, and the Ex-
ecutive, and the friends of the Executive,
succeeded in reducing largely, (against the
will of a Democratic House,) the appropria-
tion to the great outlet from the coal fields
of Wyoming to the markets of New York.

But I am, perhaps, consuming too much
time in reviewing the financial pretensions
of Wm. F. Johnston, as they do not deserve
any protracted consideration. The unusual
pains recently taken, however, to persuade
the people that the Governor is really a fi-
nancial genius, must be my excuse for the
consumption of time in the remarks already
made.

THE ABOLITION QUESTION.
At the session of the Legislature in 1850,
owing in part to the discussions in Congress
on the subject of slavery, attention was
strongly directed to our act of 1847, on the
subject of kidnapping, &c. That act was
introduced, avowedly, to conform our State
legislation to the decision of the Supreme
Court of the U. S. in the case of *Piggot vs. the
Commonwealth*, and it was passed without
discussion, or particular examination. When
it came to be examined, however, it was
found to be highly objectionable, and its
repeal was promptly proposed and pressed.
The repealing act, was pushed through the
House at the session of 1850, but fell in the
Senate. At the session of 1851, it was intro-
duced into the Senate amended so as to re-
peal only the 6th section of the act of 1847,
and in that shape passed the Senate and
House, and was sent to the Governor. He
has, thus far, smothered it by a pocket veto,
and will, probably be ready, after obtaining
the Abolition vote at the coming election, to
return it to the Legislature next winter with
his objections. Now, gentlemen, what is
the character of this act of 1847, and how
do parties stand toward it, at this moment,
in the State? Leading provisions of the act
are copied from a law of Massachusetts,
which the present Whig National adminis-
tration, about the time of the Boston dis-
turbances, flatly pronounced to be unconsti-
tutional. You will recollect, that at the time
of the Boston outrages, the President and
Mr. Webster were in tribulation upon the
subject; and wrote proclamations and let-
ters of a very patriotic character, imploring
and enjoining their former Abolition allies,
to pay some regard to appearances and the
laws of the Union. In these patriotic effu-
sions, or some of them, with a great deal of
truth and justice! the Massachusetts act,
creating obstructions to the reclamation of
fugitive slaves was declared to be unconsti-
tutional; which stinging condemnation
derived, of course, apply to our act of 1847,
derived as essential parts of it were, from
the act of Massachusetts. Almost all our
political heresies in Pennsylvania, are some-
how derived from Old England, or New
England; but among them all, Abolitionism
is the most destructive and deadly. It is an
Upas tree, within the poisonous shadow of
which nothing green can flourish, and un-
less we extricate it before it take deep root
in our soil, and spread wide its branches, it
will blight the whole land as with a curse!
Already, we have the spectacle of a struggle
in Pennsylvania, between those who are
loyal to the constitution of the Union, and
those who disregard and contemn its in-
junctions. An act has been adroitly slipped
in among our statutes, which is both unconsti-
tutional, and insulting to other states of
the Union; and the struggle has gone on for
two years, in regard to its repeal. And it
stands yet among the laws of the state, un-
touchered; for no reason in the world, except
that the Governor of the state has been op-
posed to its repeal. His position has given
him power to check for a time the will of
the people; and he has thus far used that
power to prevent the repeal of the act. The
repeal bill, which passed the House in 1850,
was smothered in the Senate, where the
Executive could control results. At the
session of 1851, the repeal bill was intro-
duced in the senate early in the session, by
Mr. McCaslin of Greene county; but a mo-

tion to proceed to its consideration was voted
down by the friends of the Executive. Af-
terwards, when public opinion compelled
action on the subject, the bill was taken up
in the Senate, and set up and emasculated
until there was nothing left of it but a pro-
vision repealing the 6th section of the
act of 1847. In this shape, it passed by a
strong vote, and went to the House. It was
obvious that executive influence was used in
the House on the subject, and as a conse-
quence, when the bill came up there for action
every political friend of the Executive, except
two, voted against it. One of these two inde-
pendent voters was Alexander E. Brown of
Northampton, a man immensely superior to
Johnston in ability and everything else that
goes to make up public character, and who
did not choose to turn Abolitionist at the beck
of the Executive.

But the bill, razed down as it had been
by the Senate, passed the House and went
to Johnston, and went into his breeches
pocket, and remains there to this time, un-
signed and inoperative. That is the plain
history of the transaction; commencing
with the session of 1850, and ending with
the pocketing of the bill by Johnston in
1851.

You will recollect, gentlemen, that *Free
Soil* was the toast in 1848, and that by the
rule of contraries, it elected a slaveholder
President. What is more to the present
purpose, Johnston conceives it elected him.
His speeches, in fact, in that campaign were
specimens in their way and constructed
upon the principle of Taper and Tadpole in
D'Israeli's *Coningsby*. Those wretched
were politicians, as the story represents
them, and upon one occasion were in tribu-
lation for an election cry. Now, in the
judgment of the Tapers, Tadpoles, and
Johnston's of politics, an election requires a
watchword or cry, as much as a sermon re-
quires a text, or a newspaper a motto; and
upon the occasion referred to, the story be-
ing of English location, the cry got up after
much cogitation was, "our young Queen and
our old Institutions!" Johnston's election cry
in 1848, was, "The Tariff and Free Soil!"
with a special emphasis upon Tariff in the
iron and coal counties of the State, and a
special emphasis upon Free Soil in Bradford,
Mercer, and other localities, where an anti-
slavery sentiment was supposed to prevail.
For the first time, in the history of the state,
a candidate for Governor was seen upon the
stamp, traversing the state in all directions,
and appealing to every popular impulse ac-
cording to locality and interest. The Gov-
ernor conceives, that it was to this system
of tactics, that he owed his election, and
that of all the strings to his bow in that
campaign, it was that of free soil in particu-
lar, that bore for him the arrow of power
upon its tremblings.

Based his calculations upon that result,
he has deliberately chosen to ally himself
more closely with the Abolitionists, in the
expectation that they will assist to carry him
successfully through the present campaign.
He has stood, and he now stands, with them
against the repeal of the scandalous and
unconstitutional act of 1847. He has open-
ly proclaimed his hostility to the Comprom-
ise measures of Congress. He has in the
most emphatic manner suggested further
agitation of the slavery question, in full
view of the evils and mischiefs which such
agitation would necessarily produce. He
advocates the amendment of the Fugitive
Slave act, when the purpose and result
of such amendment, can be nothing else,
than to destroy its vitality and defeat its
operation!

If the people of Pennsylvania desire to
abolitionize the State, so far as the election
of an Executive can effect such result they
have now the golden opportunity. But they
will not endorse a candidate who has been
found wanting, and whose success
would place our noble state in a position both
humiliating and dangerous.

It is high time that the people of Pen-
sylvania awake to the results depending
upon their action. The hypocrisy, fanatis-
m and selfishness, which enter into the
abolition agitations, render them disgusting
to the attentive observer, but do not deprive
them of their capacity for mischief. An
unscrupulous man, uniting himself with
impure elements of commotion, may inflict
lasting injury upon society. Regarding only
his personal and temporary interests, and
careless of the rights and interests of others
he looks not to the ultimate consequences
of his conduct, however destructive and
direful. If by pandering to the dark and
deadly spirit of discord, he can accomplish
a temporary purpose, he regards not what
may follow. A man like Johnston, Govern-
or of the second state of the Union in re-
gard to population and power, and from his
position necessarily at the head of a large
political party, has a temporary capacity for
mischief of fearful magnitude. An intrigue
or combination by him with the Abolition-
ists commits his party for the time being, and
if he is still supported, and especially if he
is successful the union is consolidated
which he had planned for selfish purposes.
Connections thus formed, sanctioned by
common effort, and common peril, are not
to be shaken off after the occasion has
passed that produced them. To go back-
ward to an independent position, is imprac-
ticable; and the result is, that the connec-
tion planned by selfishness, and which leads
to evil, becomes knit and cemented by time.
There is a plain and infallible remedy in
this case—and it is comprised in the word
—defeat. Nothing extinguishes a dema-
gogue, or dangerous politician like beating

him. It not only deprives him personally
of the power to do mischief, but it crushes
his intrigues and combinations, and deters
others from attempting the same career.

It is well said, Gentlemen, by William
Cobbett, that "the experience of the world
has proved, that commotion, when once on
foot, is seldom limited to the accomplish-
ment of its original object." Observe the
progress of agitation as it goes on, step by
step, in its mission of evil! Who would
have stated it five years ago, as a matter of
dispute in Pennsylvania, that the provision
of the constitution for the rendition of fugi-
tive slaves, should be enforced in good
faith—that it should not be cavilled at, nulli-
fied or evaded! Observe, the agitation of
1848 was solely against the extension of
slavery into the territories, and was accom-
panied with the strongest disavowals of any
attempt to tamper with the institutions in the
States. These were empty professions,—
how unfounded and false the result has
shown. For the adjustment of all the ter-
ritorial questions has not disposed of agri-
cultural and clamor. They rage as heated and
vindictive as ever, and will never be satis-
fied until the constitution is trampled in the
dust, and the union broken in fragments.
For abolitionism is the embodied spirit of
destruction, and its cravings are remorseless
and insatiable as the grave. No concessions
will conciliate it or modify the bitterness of
its spirit. It is a blind and uncalculating antago-
nist of our system of confederate govern-
ment; and regardless of results, seeks in the
work of destruction the gratification of its deadly
and insensate passions.

Let no one assert that there are no solid
grounds for apprehension upon this subject.
Behold the Methodist Episcopal Church—a
religious body among the most prosperous
and powerful—rent in twain by an abolition
agitation! A few years since it was an
united body, embracing all the states in its
action. It is now divided, and its dividing
are waging a lawsuit with each other in re-
lation to the property of the church. Take
this case; the fact of this rupture, with-
out going over the merits of the dispute; and
weighty instruction and warning may be
drawn from it. Here is a great ecclesiasti-
cal organization, embracing the whole coun-
try with its circuits and missions, and em-
bracing the whole country in its action.—
Those who founded it in this country, and
labored to build it up, and perpetuate its
usefulness and power—the men who re-
sisted it into remote settlements, and gave it
footing in cities and towns—were actuated
as were those who founded our political in-
stitutions, by a common spirit of unity, con-
cord and zeal. But disputes about slavery
produced dissension, and the southern and
northern conferences have gone off from
each other, to revolve in orbits of narrower
circle than those in which they formerly
moved.

Now, Gentlemen, what shall hinder the
same result in our political system, from the
same cause? Nothing whatever, can pre-
vent it, but a prompt, stern, steady and
vigorous crushing down of abolitionism among
us, by all lawful and legitimate means. To
tamper with it is to surrender to its power,
to unite with it for election purposes, and
achieve success in its company, is to give it
control of our after action. For, by a law of
association, its passions will become ours;
and what was at first a union of mere in-
terest, will become a union of sympathy.

Look at Massachusetts, gentlemen, looking to
Ohio. Politicians in those states, looking to
Abolitionism as an element of success, have
kneet to it and nursed it, until it has become
powerful and insistent. It has gathered to
itself, and uses for its own purposes, those
who formerly stooped for its aid. And
destined to such humiliation in Pennsylvania!
Not the election of Col. Bigler will announce
to all, that in the state of Franklin and Pa.,
the victory is to him who does not "stoop to
eququer," but spurning all intrigues, stands
forth an open and manly advocate of good
faith and good feeling among the States of
the Union.

The defeat of such a demagogue as John-
ston would be salutary at any time, but un-
der existing circumstances it deserves to be
ranked in the highest class of public bless-
ings.
If I speak with warmth on this subject it
is because I have viewed it with attention
and have formed convictions in relation to it,
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