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SPEECH

CHARLES R. BUCKALEW,

It will be appropriate after hearing read the most famous of Mr. Jefferson's productions, to consider the origin, career and character of the party which he founded; and also the existing condition of public affairs, in order to obtain a just comprehension of the course

It is not by extravagant, high-wrought eulogiums upon our ancestors, but by performing the duties that press upon us, that our country is to be conducted to the position for t was destined. But an examination of the past in the light of reason and truth. will aid us in selecting the path we are to pursue. In this spirit the examination of our nistory is seldom made. The record of events that have occurred in our country, and the writings of able men who have distinguished its history, are ordinarily examined simply for the purpose of giving force to a party creed, or establishing some foregone concluelon. Therefore, the sincere, earnest inquirer, constantly encounters distorted statements of history that tend to mislead his judgment in the brief limits which the occasion permits, to bring forward, without perversion, some historical facts necessary to the true forma-

tion of opinion upon pending issues.

The Constitution of the United States went

into operation on the first Wednesday of March, 1789. The population of the States year following was under four millions and their number seventeen. The States and Territories are now thirty-nine in number and their population exceeds twenty-five millions. Eight of the Territories afford space for twice as many additional States, and some of the States already formed will doubtless be subdivided. What a growth is here! and what prospects yet present them-selves! In viewing this spectacle we are provoked to enlarged thought and exuberant stantly upon the amazing power to which we the future. The glars of prosperity—the bounding pulse of matured power—the omens of greatness that present themse!ves-are not. vever, to be permitted to blind, to corrupt, or to mislead us. There are weighty and stern duties that challenge performance; dangers that require grave consideration and heroic effort; difficulties that labor and pa-tience and patriotism must surmount. It is

The Union under which we have prospered arose out of certain national necessities and is to be considered with reference to against foreign powers: the preservation of peace and the regulation of commerce be-tween them; the judicial determination of controversies where State jurisdiction was mperfect or wanting, the control of postal nation and the subject of coinage; ly demanded a common government found-ed upon union. But nothing can be clearer than that the powers of that Government are not placed in power of that Government are but by a congressional election.

The amazing growth, progress and prosit was instituted. Practically, they are measured and defined by the written grants conbeing express, particular, and limited, exclude all implication of power beyond them.

"Faithful and true" therefore have been those public men of the country who have d the exercise of ungranted and doubtful powers by the general government, and the plain path of its constitutional duties .-And the public policy which they have promore necessary to the welfare of the people

Not long after the organization of the govferences arose regarding the nature and exof parties, the struggles of which for suprethe present century in favor of the party tution. The author of the Declaration of ranted by that instrument. And its successes Independence was installed as President on have arisen from this fact, inspiring as it has the 4th of March, 1801, and proclaimed a done, the confidence of the people, and re-declaration of principles which has since sulting as it has in a wise, sale and salutary constituted the creed of the party he estabublic affairs, ocnew measures and a modified policy, but evil report, and has more than once under-the principles of Jefferson yet constitute the landmarks of party faith with the democra-

cy of the country.

The war of 1812 broke up the Federal

oppose democratic supremacy: in consequence of which, in conjunction with other circumstances, there succeeded under Mr.
Monroe a period described as "the era of Monroe a period described as "the era of good feeling," when party spirit was at a low ebb, and regular, formal, political division of good and not of evil. No doubtful, are of good and not of evil. No doubtful, of 1824 feawoke the spirit of contest, and there were formed parties of administration and opposition, the latter substantially a reor-ganization of the Democratic party, with ac-cessions from that branch of the Federal way, under Mr. Buchanan and others, in the great popular decision in favor of Gen. Jackson. The majority given by our State on that occasion is one of the proud spots in its history, and exhibited sagacity, a sense

of justice and a due appreciation of public services on the part of our people.

In the year 1840, a struggle of almost un exampled violence occurred, resulting in the lefeat of the Democratic party and its ejection from power. The causes of that reverse lie patent upon the history of the times, and were mainly connected with convulsions of the currency and consequent commercial distress. Time has vindicated the party then defeated from the charges made against it and relieved it from the temporary obloque under which it labored, by proving the wis-dom and solidity of the measures it supported. Nor is it without instruction that we no-tice, that the party then successful enjoyed but a barren victory and was found incapa-

ble of maintaining the position it had won.

The election of Gen. Taylor in 1848 was a popular misjudgment, the causes of which are to be sought in democratic divisions, en-thusiasm, for services in a popular war, and opposition to the then recent legislation of 1846 including the revision of duties on imports. In the year 1850 sectional passion, which had been gathering head for some years, formed practical issues regarding the Territories, producing new and unusual di-visions of public men and convulsing the whole country with agitation. The adjust-ment then arrived at was followed and sanctioned by the election of 1852, and passed into the history of the country to the high honor of those concerned in securing it. The year 1856 opens upon us under new condiacter, to which your attention will be presently invited.

Au obvious reflection upon the history of

parties, to which allusion has been made, is the almost uninterrupted success of the De-mocracy. Rarely, and for short periods only, have they failed in maintaining their ascend ency, and the organizations in opposition, when successful, have almost invariably won their triumphs in a sinister or accidental manner. The election of Mr. Adams in 1824 was not by the popular voice, but in opposition to it, and through the instrumen-tality of Congressional action. The elections of 1840 and 1848 can scarcely be regarded as party triumphs, and besides upon both sistency and cohesion in the elements opposed to us, and of the accidental decease of the President elected, power speedily passed into other hands. In fact, the administration of Tyler which supervened upon the decease of Gen. Harrison, became essentially democratic. The slavery issues of 1850 mitigated the partisan character of President Fillmore's administration, to such an extent that his nomination was refused by the Whig convention of 1852. Excluding his administration from account, there has been no anti-democratic administration of the Government for a full term since the year

re than half a century, have been under Democratic rule, and constitute a fair claim to popular confidence. Until, therefore, it is shown that this organization is changed in plishing the chiects it has heretofore achiev ed and giving to the country the blessings of good government, there is good reason for that it is more neccessary at this juncture to led, is every year becoming the public welfare, than at any former perio of our history. It is a national party, con-

hean expected, dif-the nature and ex-ence the formation cratic party t cratic party to the constitution, or rather to a legitimate and just construction of it. It has stood up, consistently, against all measure and anyeline of public policy not plainly war administration of public affairs. It may be the proud boast of our party that it has stood ples to which it held. It has not "bowed the knee to Baal," nor been unfaithful to its constitutional duties, even when interest and the clamor of the time invited it. As lately

it for the preservation of its interests and honor, and without hesitation or doubts may

desperate, or hopeless struggle impends, but one in which patriotism and honor will di-rect our efforts and victory crown them. At last, in follness of time, when the pressure of national necessities and the security of sound party which had been least offensive in its course in previous struggles. The Democratic passions of this country took fire at the congressional decision in the election of President, and in 1828 Pennsylvania led the conservative and patriotic sentiment of the country, and, in the judgment of many sagacious observers, was requisite to the harmony if not to the permanent union of the States. The times demanded Mr. Bucharan's nomination, and the popular voice indicated him with a distinctness that could not be mista-ken or disregarded. The national convention has therefore been true to itself and to the country in its action, and deserves commendation and praise. Shall we not respond to this decision of the national convention, with signal alacrity and zeal, and put forth our utmost efforts to procure its endorsement by a decisive vote of the people? No ordinary majority in this State, will be worthy the occasion and candidate. Pennsylvania has the opportunity of speaking for one of her own sons, who has achieved reputation for himself and for her, and her voice be uttered with emphasis and power! She must speak in no faltering or uncertain tone in 1856, but with a generous enthusiasm prompted by affection, confidence and re

debate upon irrelevant questions.

It is required also that our candidate have, opposed to us. We know them of old, and may count upon their pureoing their accusions debate,) but whether they are not demoralized tomed channels of action. Agitation, violence, abuse and falsehood, are ordinary weapons of faction, as distinguished from party, and especially of faction organized upon fanatical and spiteful weapons. will rage in vain. They will retire discomfited from all the assaults they may adventure upon our candidate, and with a repetition of the lesson heretofore given on more than one occasion by the American people, the republic is as profitless as dishonora-

ble.

I have characterized the organizations opposed to us as factions, and that this term accurately describes them is manifest. Mr.

Madison, in the Federalist, says:—"by a faction of citizens, tion I understand a number of citizens, whether amounting to a majority or a mi-narity of the whole, who are united and acnative of the whole, who are united and actuated by some common tripulse of passion, or of interest, adverse to the rights of other citizens, or to the permanent and aggregate consciences, however determined, is to the common tripulse of passion, or of the permanent and aggregate conscience, however determined, is to the common tripulse of the common tripuls. This struggle between duty and conscience, however determined, is to the common tripuls. the Government for a full term since the year 1800, except that of Mr. Adams, which was not placed in power by a vote of the people but by a congressional election.

The amazing growth, progress and prosperity of the country during this period of perity of the country during this period of perity of the country during this period of the mount of the state of the term of the t

As to the American order, bigotry the most injustifiable underlies it, and it might be deinitigate indignation and inspire contempt.—
Adopting the opinion of Weishaupt, the authors established it in oaths and privacy, and, in fact, undertook to contend against Catholicism upon a plan of action thoroughly Jesuitical. The order of the Jesuits was a secret association, in which the members were bound by solemn forms of initiation, and was established with the double object heresy. The sincerity of motive actuating eded without embarrassment,) did not prevent its degeneracy into an engine of mis-chief and evil. Originating in fanatical imoulses, it was destined, from its very consti tion, to become an instrument of ambition ntrigue, corruption and tyranny. Singularly mough, those who have been most eloquent amongst us in denunciation of jesuitism, are who, acting upon its principles would establish the age oaths to control opinion, the policy of the government and the rights of the citizen!— But freedom has never prospered with such The war of 1812 broke up the Federal party and covered with peculiar oddium that branch of it which opposed the country in its struggle. Those among the Federalists to do evil? in the proscription of adopted with whom party malignity did-not overcome particlic impulses, were left in a respected position and with little inclination to

The partial abandonment of secrecy by the American lodges, is an unwilling but necessary concession to the spirit of the age; but the inevitable result of it must be their disbandment and the absorption of their membership into other organizations. But, meaning membership into other organizations. But, meaning membership into other effects of which of the proport is unlawful, or which are exacted from us by one to whom they cannot be lew-timely the general government and in common with our either acquisitions has been or is held in and under circumstances which amount to the people theretime, much evil is done the effects of which will long endure. Doubtless some religious societies and persons receive a stain which if not indelible should be felt as a wound at a vital point. The apparent opportunity of dealing a blow at popery was a fatal tempta-tion to many devout and zealous men who gainst "doing evil that good may come," and the admonition "that they who take the sword shall perish by it." Nothing can be sword snail perish by it." Nothing can be clearer to an intelligent and dispassionate ob-server, than that the mode adopted by them for putting down or crippling an obnoxious seet, must always fail of its object and recoil injuriously upon those concerned in it.

Nor are the effects of Know Nothingism

upon morals to be overlooked. The cam-paign of 1840 was justly denounced as demoralizing by reason of the tactics adopted to insure success. Moderation and truth were discarded and under the phrensy of the time, created by interested and unscrupulous interests, a scene at once disgraceful and in-jusious was presented to the world. But tha scandal was temporary and did not rest in a system deliberately established for the debauchment of the people. But American ism, (so called,) originated in "malice afore thought;" was concocted with deliberation and systematized into an instrument of sec tarian and political aggression, upon mode of procedure copied from the worst of the al leged abuses of catholicism, and dealing with sacred obligations as the playthings of ambi-tion, interest and imposture. For the first The country at this time requires a conservative candidate, who, while true to principle, will inspire confidence and a sense of security against an extreme or irritating administration of the government. And the thorough union of the patriotic, intelligent men of the country against extreme opinions and dangerous agitations, is best secured by of leaders as fallible as themselves, and temptthe nomination of a candidate, who is every-where acceptable upon the leading issues of and interest to abuse their power. Is it not the campaign, and whose nomination closes debate upon irrelevant questions.

evident that the morals of the country must suffer grievously in the carrying out of such It is required also that our candidate have, in his personal character and history, a basis, of strength and popularity to withstand the party, and especially of faction organized action a sanction the most tremeusous, con upon fanatical and spiteful passions. But, neeting itself with the hopes and fears of the garded as possible.

Two remarkable mountain ranges separate. Almighty. Not lightly or causelessly is this sullied by dishonor, and culminating in a high and solemn invocation to be made, and tunantmous nomination by the great party of perhaps the occasions when it is permissible to each of these parts peculiar and distinct the constitution, the madness of the factions should be prescribed by the laws. At all

> plore fully this question of obligation in extra by be relieved of harassing doubts, and the would appear to all, as it really is, a work of

> duty, virtue and patriotism.
>
> Upon this point I may dwell a moment.— Rosseau exclaims "that to keep a criminal oath is to commit a second crime," and a greater author has pronounced that "no one can be compelled to do a dishonorable and tion even though bound by oath to its per-formance." Dr. Paley states the following formance." position :-that "as the obligation of a promse depends on the circumstances under which it was made, it cannot be enforced if binding where the performance is unlawful
>
> * * there may be guilt in making such promises, but there can be none in breaking them: and moreover, if in the in-

rement of the sword. he oath would not be binding." Milton in ritory have been acquired

duress; which oblige to the performance of of all the States or rather of the people acts inconsistent with the duties of a citizen, duress; which would dures of a citizen, and which constitute the bond of a mnon or conspiracy against the constitutional rights and equality of a portion of the people, are as plainly within the condemnation of the doctrines quoted, as they are hostile to the spirit and nature of republican institutions. In a word, they are unlawful and therefore in the formation of the mouths of our great river, of the great streams that are connected with it, in a common system of out-let, and of soil, the fertility and capacity of which required enterinvalid, because unwarranted and against ex-isting rights; nor can their extent, or the lact that those who administer and those who take them go unpunished, change their es-

Let, therefore, the sincere, patriotic men who have joined the American party without due reflection, abandon it at once and forever, without regard to void obligations or engagements, and act hereafter with the great national Democratic, and truly American party, opposed to proscription and sectionalparty, opposed to proscription and sectional-ism, and to all new fangled notions and isms in political action. This is the best armends they can make for the error into which they have fallen, and from which, as good citizens, they should extricate themselves as speedily

sa possible.

But another topic demands notice. We are required to turn our attention to the geography of the country. For the first time in our history a formidable party appears, located exclusively in one part of the Union and inspired by resemment and distrust of another part. We are required to renew our another part. The old and remarkable feature in political struggles of almost every township and neighborhood throughout the United States being divided, and not often unequally divided, between political parties, no longer exists. -A party appears, struggling for triumph and presumptuous of success, without an electoral ticket in fifteen States, or the intention of forming one therein except for purposes of bravado or insult, and resting its hopes of success in pitting one section, as such, a-gainst another. All the arts by which animosities between neighboring States and countries are blown into a flame, are resort-

should be prescribed by the laws. At all events its limit, in use, should be to cases of necessity and charity and thas its solemnity and force be upheld and insured. Oaths are degraded when they become common, and may even become scandalous in the mouth of one to whom they are habitual.

Now Americanism hasscattered oaths broadcast over the land, and those too neither of necessity or benevolence, nor recognized by constitution or statute, but in "derogation of both. No one contends that they are binding in morals. Bat ill informed, and tender consciences are entrapped, and thousands find their engagements impelling them in one

spurn them with contempt. But to each class territories and its leading features are the they constitute an influence and a recollec- coast range of mountains, the strip of land unjustifiable underlies it, and it might be detion for evil, and the example presented to
interposed between it and the ocean, and
interposed between it and t equal rights and toleration, were it not that equal rights and toleration, were it not that would be a public benefactor, who, with bounds between which run north and south unitigate indignation and inspire contempt.—

abilities and leisure for the work, would excountry presents three great divisions, the bounds between which run north and south, are to occur, should be of a corresponding founder of the Illuminati, that "every secret individual oaths and would plainly demonstate engagement is a source of enthusiasm," its to the popular mind their futility and immorant west corresponds with natural boundal tendency. Many honest men would there- aries, or can in any event be permitted. To casting off of fetters forged by craft and folly municated, divide the Mississippi valley by the regions drained by the Columbia and its own faith the standard of uniformity,) no those drained by the Sacramento, is not a project of folly merely but of madness; nor if entertained would such division terminate the process of disruption. It would probably go on until half a dozen governments would succeed the single government of the Union, and the country would be parcelled and the general detriment of the peo State from a central State it was unlawful at the time in which it was become a border one, subject to the shock made, or if it has become so since, or if it of war if it arose between the fragments of was extorted: tional disputes would be settled by the arbit-

> Far different has hitherto been our caree Instead of divisions, extension; a going out and spreading abroad of our institutions and national power instead of a contrary process; a deepening and strengthening of the founa deepening and strongstrong dations of our greatness with the onward course of the years. Large parts of our terzation of our government by the sagacity of our fathers or the precipitation upon us of

upon grounds of high necessity and policy, the commanding, imperative character of which can now be seen by the humblest citizen. The extension of our limits still for-ther west toward the Pacific I think was also without reproach, justified by the most weighty reasons, and of incalculable value to civilization and the national welfare.-Since the thirteen colonies after a common ments and the wigwams of savage tribes former republics, the sages of 1787 united the Atlantic States then organized, and com-menced the experiment of free government which is still going on amongst us. Not without difficulty; not without labor and effort was their work accomplished. The at-tentive student only can duly appreciate that period in our history. The common sympa thies, and if you please passions, of the rev olution were necessary to the work, which otherwise would scarcely have been accomplished, or so well accomplished upon mere considerations of interest. Nor is their work to be preserved by the force of mere materia considerations. The just and generous spirit with which they acted must still inspire and direct us, in order that their work be preserved and all the beneficent results of it within

our reach be secured.

There are certain features in our American experiment which have never been duly considered. Never in the history of the world were so many different races brought togethe in the same community and made to live and act together without constraint or any external influence whatsoever. The whole process has been voluntary, and eminently successful. Discord has been kept down inhabitants and their utmost improvement and progress been developed, is to the credit of our system and proves its excellency. These populations have not been crushed together by military force nor united by fanatical impulse, nor been kept together all the individuals concerned. We have from the great northern lakes to Mexico nearly overthrown the long established the demonstration has been made, in part, unpromising and discordaut materials.

In the next place, never before were so many religious sects established in the same country, in other words never were a people so much divided in opinion rega religious affairs and worship. Unity of faith has not been accomplished though striven for by every set (each desirous of making is it apparently to be obtained within any reasonable period, or until some great change occurs in existing conditions. We have suc-ceeded, however, in holding the various eligious organizations in toleral and their respective capacities for usefuleducation and improvement of the people Where else upon the face of the earth societies working separately and yet in con-cert to the public good, and without the government of the country? No one of our sects is allied to the State, or the object of either State patronage or hostility. Each and all are left to pursue their own course, so far as government is concerned. tility. The attempt recently made to em-broil the civil power in religious disputes is arts of our ter-ce the organi-sult, to have been a signal failure.

The contrasts of climate, production and scenery which it affords are extreme. Our territory abuts upon the two main oceans of the globe; its northern parts approach lie within the heated tropics. But instead of any part of the country having broken off from us, additions to it have been remanner without convulsion and by provinces of Rome came by conquest and vere held by force, and all other governments over extended territory have been founded in yiolence, injustice and ambition. Ours is the first instance of great extension by peaceful and voluntary means. And it fers from others also, in this, that all its parts remain united not by compulsion but

All wealth is the product of labor, and the great wealth of our country, created in a short period from its settlement, indicates industry, skill and perseverance in the peo-ple. A greater amount of labor by an equal number has never been performed else-where in all history. Attendant upon this necessities unued together, we have gone on step by step toward the west, removing from our faith the jurisdiction of other governments and the wiswarms of the step of the st rapidly in our race. But we have both service and free labor. The former extends through fifteen States, the latter in the remainder; and it is upon this fact, or rather mainder; and it is upon this fact, or rather upon questions growing out of it, that the attempt is now being made to organize political parties. Greatly is it to be desired that it should fail ignominiously and finally, for it is full of danger and evil and withou redeeming feature.
Political parties have always existed in

free States and have existed with us from our first attempts in constitutional govern-ment. They are probably inseparable from free institutions, and, at all events, may be expected to continue amongst us. But history teaches us that by their corruptions and violence many good governments have been everthrown and patriotic hopes blasted and lestroyed. With us they have never heretofore seriously menaced our national exist-ence or welfare. But if they should come to correspond exactly with geographical di-visions of the country, the case would be widely different. But without proceeding further in this line of remark, let us inquire what particular leading feature in our sysem distinguishes it from most others and term distinguistics it from most others and Constitutes its peculiar excellence. The answer in short is, its allowance of local government for local concerns. The school district, township, county, borough, city and state, manage respectively their own affairs in their own way and at their own pleasure.— No officials from abroad are put upon them to dictate to, or oppress them. No costly and corrupt government from a distant point, lays upon them its heavy hand to oppress or to plunder them. The life of the govern-ment instead of locating itself at a central point is in all parts, and with equal vigor in all parts. State governments are largely curbed and limited by constitutions, and the powers of the national government are cautiously and sparingly dealt out to it in an instrument which indicates throughout a fear that extensive powers would be abused.

The people hold in their own hands large which they have never granted, re or national, and through the various municicure the transaction of such business as per tains to each locality. The division and subdivisions of political power, the retention of popular control over all government establishments, and the reservation by the tablishments, and the reservation by the people in their own hands of all powers not strictly necessary to government purposes, are the features of our system that have caused its success, and if maintained will insure its continuance. Our boundaries may be extended from on without danger because along with the extension and with the course of settlemen there goes the principle of local governmen for all local concerns. And this is the principle of the Nebraska bill. It is str logically in accordance with our system, and therefore through good and through evil re port is to be defended and maintained. No misconception or clamor, no seduction of interest, no invocation to peace, must cause its abandonment. By its enactment what ever may be said to the contrary, we stand by the old landmarks of principle and vindicate our American system from a palpa ble and pernicious error.

A mistake was made in 1820, in the assumption and exercise by Congress of leg-islative power over unsettled territories, and it arose in this manner: Missouri ap plied for admission as a State with every reasonable claim to admission under that for the admission of new States shall be republican. Resistance was however made to her admission and a slavery agitation begun which was disposed of by was a congressional declaration looking alone to the future and dependant for its effect up-on future events, it effected the State of Miser, and it could not affect the terr Very rarely has a country under a single government been as extensive as ours.—

It until that territory came to be segovernment been as extensive as ours.—

It was therefore simply a congressional It was therefore simply a congressional de