

Democratic Banner.

BY MOORE & THOMPSON.

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Col. Doniphan's Address.

The Whigs condemned by one of their own Officers!

[The arrival of Col. DONIPHAN, and his command, at St. Louis, afforded the citizens of that place an opportunity to make one of the most magnificent displays of patriotism. They were welcomed to the city by the ringing of bells—firing of cannon, and by thousands of citizens of all sects.—The Hon. Thomas H. Benton was present, by invitation, to welcome the guests, which he did in an address of stirring interest. We have not room for Mr. Benton's address, but invite the reader's attention to the following remarks of Col. Doniphan. The withering rebuke he gives the Federal party—to which he formerly belonged—is severe indeed, but not less so than they deserve.]

FELLOW-CITIZENS: I return to you, on behalf of my command, our most heartfelt thanks for the distinguished reception which we have this day received at your hands. Such a reception entitles you to our warmest gratitude, and is deeply felt by those to whom it is extended. The honor conferred is greatly enhanced by the consideration of the medium through which it is presented. No selfish considerations could, we are satisfied, have induced the honorable Senator to have passed this flattering eulogy upon us. The part which he has taken here to-day, can add nothing to his fame. From an early day, his history has been identified with the history of the State of Missouri, and a feeling of State pride has induced him to give a favorable consideration to the services rendered by the volunteers of Missouri.—To him, and yourselves, I again return our warmest thanks. The minute description given by the orator of scenes through which we have passed has excited our wonder. Indeed, so correct and minute are his details, that they resemble history, and I might almost say that they have become a part of history.

The few brief remarks which I shall make to you, fellow citizens, will of necessity be disconnected. Man seldom speaks of himself, without vanity; and it is a habit in which I do not often indulge. Officers of the regular army, whose lives are devoted to their country, may, by their prowess—by their long continuance in the service, obtain promotion. The ladder of fame is before them; and, by their deeds of chivalry, they may at length reach the topmost round. Not so with volunteers. They only enlist for a limited period, at the call of their country, in her emergency; and then return to mingle with their friends. The only reward that awaits a volunteer is the gratitude, and warm reception, and honor of his fellow-citizens. If our services have merited honor, then we have been more than repaid.

Upon returning from our arduous campaign, and when entering upon the bosom of that noble stream that washes the borders of your city—when, in passing the magnificent country seats, bright eyes and smiling faces greeted us, and white handkerchiefs were waved in honor of the returning volunteers, we felt that we were sufficiently rewarded for all our toils.—When we arrived at the great city of New Orleans, we were all unknown. That city is the thoroughfare through which have passed the heroes of Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma, Monterey, Buena Vista, and Cerro Gordo—indeed, the heroes of all the brilliant victories achieved in Mexico—and it was to be supposed, that they would have been wearied long ago. Yet their patriotism, their regard for their country is unceasing. There was not a volunteer in this corps who was not proffered a welcome hand. The hospitalities of the city were extended to all. Men who arrived there in rags, were clothed—the wealthiest merchants, who never had seen them, proffered them every thing they wished for their comfort, and on credit.

FELLOW-CITIZENS: It has been said of Republics, which have existed heretofore, that they have been ungrateful. However true the charge may be with regard to former republics, it is not true of our own. Patriotism, talent, and virtue, have ever been remembered, in this government, and they ever will be.

It is not for me, fellow-citizens, to discuss the merits of this war. But, it is natural that I for one should say something in relation to it. It is a strange war; when first commenced, it was denounced by a large party in our country—the party to which I belong—as a war for political purposes. But when soldiers were to be raised for its prosecution, you find that men of all parties—the opposers and the advocates, the accusers and the accused—were ready to engage in the war, to rally under the same standard, to fight in the same tented field. What a spectacle for the people of the old world to look upon!

Men who were engrossed in the strife of political prejudices, were willing, like Roderick Dhu and Fitz James, to lay aside those prejudices, for a time, when a common enemy was to be engaged—to renew their dissensions, if ever when peace should be restored. Fellow-Citizens—I wish that the same patriotic feeling had existed in the councils of this nation: I wish that Mexico could have seen the same unanimity in our people, in the prosecution of this war, that they have seen in our forces, in the field. I recollect well the impression made on my mind on one occasion, when an express sent by me to Gen. Wool, brought me such stray papers as had found their way to the General's camp—our latest dates were of the 29th November—consequently, we had seen nothing of the proceedings of the last session of Congress, or of the President's message. The first thing I cast my eye upon was a speech of Mr. Corwin, Senator from Ohio, denouncing the war, and those engaged in it, as little better than a band of robbers. Gentlemen, a winter shower bath would have been pleasant compared with my sensations on reading it! Freezing—chilling! Such speeches might have been deemed patriotic in the United States; but, place yourselves where we have been and endure what we have undergone, and then imagine our sensations. We were in a city numbering in population at least twenty times our force, surrounded on all sides by enemies. We had crossed the Sierra Madre, and found, when we had arrived in Chihuahua, that we were looked upon as little better than a band of robbers! Fellow-Citizens, the speeches which are made in opposition to this war, are said to emanate from the Peace Party; but I say that they are made by those who are postponing the peace eternally!

If the honorable Senator's (turning to Mr. Benton) plans had been adopted, the war would have terminated long ago. If our Government had placed at the disposal of Generals Scott and Taylor, each 20,000 men, they would, ere this, have subdued the whole Mexican power. To talk about guerilla warfare is nonsense, against such forces as this. If Gen. Taylor, with 4,500 men, whipped Santa Anna at Buena Vista with 20,000, he would have crushed him. If Gen. Scott had had a sufficient force on his march from Vera Cruz to Mexico, to establish a line of communication between his army and Vera Cruz, he would, long ere this, have marched into the city of Mexico, and there dictated the terms of peace.

Fellow citizens! What have we gained by this war? Of Gen. Taylor I can safely speak, having been through all his line of operation. He has gained four distinguished victories—perhaps the most brilliant victories that have ever been gained on this continent—and yet he has gained nothing. Why, sir, (turning to Mr. Benton) is it that the efforts of our army are like the efforts of a fevered patient, who spends all his strength in spasms, and as soon as they are over, is prostrated? After the brilliant victories which they have achieved, they have been forced, for want of men, ammunition, money and conveyances, to lie idle until the enemy have been able to gain strength anew, and then the battles have to be fought over again. In our victories nothing has been gained. Suppose General Taylor remains where he is, will we have gained any thing? He has been there ever since last September, and unless some better means are afforded him, he will remain there until next October! The expense of this war is enormous. I have been told that \$1,000,000 a week has been paid to sustain the war, and yet Gen. Taylor lies in the very position where he was eight months ago, and there he must lie.

Although I have not been over General Scott's line of operations, yet it is clear that he cannot sustain himself for want of means. He may take the city of Mexico, but he cannot sustain himself there—take it may, but it is impossible for him to keep it. For Santa Anna, although he was stoned when he went to the city of Mexico, from some cause has gained new strength, (some have thought that it arose from Gen. Scott's proclamation,) and he will soon have an army sufficient to cope with Gen. Scott.

It is true, fellow citizens, that this war has not been without its effect. It has had a great moral effect upon Europe. We now present to the world a spectacle such as we have never before presented. It has been said that the United States could not wage a war of invasion. We have shown that we have waged it successfully. We have shown to the astonishment of the world, that volunteer troops can be depended upon—that private citizens can be transformed into good soldiers by proper discipline. We have shown it at the battle of Buena Vista, where the whole force was composed of volunteers; and I defy the world to produce a parallel to that battle. The whole left wing was turned, and the myriads of Santa Anna's army came pouring down on that handful of volunteers, almost surrounding them on all sides; yet they were sufficient to drive this superior force, and victory perched on their standards. This, fellow-citizens, was done by volunteers alone; it was done by volunteers disciplined in the school of Taylor, and of that scientific officer and accomplished gentleman, Gen. Wool.

Fellow-Citizens—I deem it unnecessary to consume your time by the detailed account of our operations, as I had intended to do before I closed, for Col. Benton has anticipated me in many of the remarks which I had intended to make. But, I think it my duty to address something to the soldiers who have been under my command. It is natural, that many of you whom I now address will never meet again. It is natural that I should be endeared to you, after having been united with you for more than a year, and by the battles in which we have been engaged—by the sufferings which we have endured. You have endured much toil and hardship. It is now about to terminate. You have arrived once more in the land of civilized society, and again we are citizens mingling with our fellow-citizens. Your lot has been a hard one in many respects. Before reaching New Mexico, by two hundred miles, you were on half rations, and never afterwards, for a single day, during our long and arduous march to Saltillo, did you receive full rations. Yet all this you have borne, and you have borne it with fortitude. The order which you received to march in Major Gilpin's command, with a large column, over the Sierra Madre, covered with perpetual snow—proceeding on your march on shortened allowance, without tents or transportation, and many other comforts, because the government was unable to furnish them; yet you bore it all, and were ready to resume your march in two days, on the city of Chihuahua. You have travelled over five States of Mexico, and five very large ones, in point of territory. Perhaps the citizens of St. Louis do not know what a Bonava is—but I will answer for every man in my command knowing what they are. I may assure you, had you crossed them, you too would have known what they are. The shortest one that we crossed was fifty miles, and one ninety-five miles, which we crossed in three days in December, without wood, without water, without tents, at an elevation of 7,000 feet above the Atlantic ocean. In sending expresses to the distance of 600 miles, when I was unable to furnish them with the means of carrying provision and other comforts with them, over immense sand plains covered with snow, I have never made a detail, but all were volunteers; or when I have sent out parties for the purpose of watching the enemy, who have had to starve for days, I never made a detail in this column, but all were volunteers, and I am proud to say it.

But your labors are over, you are now again to return to the enjoyments of civilized life; you are now to return to your homes; you are now to make glad the hearts of your fathers and mothers, and sisters, and brothers; you are again to mingle together with your friends. But you have not all returned—many a gallant now lies cold in a far distant country, whilst the hearts of the fathers and mothers, and sisters and brothers of some are made to mourn, others are to be made glad by the return of their friends. No soldier dreads to die upon the battle field; but to be worn down by slow disease, far from home, without the attendance necessary to the sick bed; without the tender care of mother or sister—dragged over a rough country in rougher wagons, for hundreds of miles without water to moisten the fever parched mouth—to be worn down thus with slow disease, this, is death indeed. And many a gallant spirit has thus yielded up his life, and now lies buried in the arid plains of Mexico, if the wild fanaticism of the country have not dragged them from their resting place, and left them to bleach in the storms and winds of Heaven. They will be remembered gratefully by their country. Their friends will have the consolation of knowing that they yielded up their lives in a patriotic cause. But you have been more fortunate. You have fulfilled every trust with faithfulness, that has been reposed in you; you have performed faithfully every duty required of you. You carry with you the gratitude of the country; you carry with you my gratitude, which never can be effaced. Your noble, heroic conduct on the battle fields of Brazito and Sacramento will ever be remembered with gratitude by your countrymen. No peculiar generalship was displayed in these battles. If ever the rank and file of an army should have the honor of a victory, such as the case at the battle of Sacramento. At the battle field we found the enemy. You were marched until you came in view of the enemy's redoubts planted with cannon. You were told that there was the enemy. You were marched until within the proper distance when you were turned loose! The enemy first recoiled, then gave way, then fled. The charge was impetuous. The battle was won! It was yours. It was the battle of Sacramento. Fellow-citizens, I have no time to say any thing about the battle of Oka choo bee; but it is sufficient to say that whatever annoyance it has been to you, however our fair fame may seem to have been tarnished, you will remember that the battle of Oka choo bee, and the battle of Brazito were both fought on Christmas day. Fellow-citizens, I will not detain you longer; may your destiny be onward, and as rapid as the great stream that washes the border of your great city. [Tremendous applause.]

ADDRESS

OF THE State Central Committee.

To the People of Pennsylvania:

FELLOW-CITIZENS:—In a government like ours, where the sovereign power is practically, as well as theoretically, vested in the people, the highest political duty that devolves upon the citizen is to feel the responsibility that rests upon him, and to take a proper part in all that concerns the public weal.

In ancient Greece there was a law that compelled every citizen, under a penalty, to declare his sentiments upon all public questions. Here there is no such law, but it is not therefore less a duty in the citizen to declare his sentiments in regard to public measures and public men, and he who fails to do so, does not discharge his duty to his country as becomes a patriot and good citizen. The price of the liberty we enjoy was the toil and blood of the patriots of the Revolution, and the admirable institutions by which our rights are secured, are the results of their patriotism and wisdom.

How can any man who has a mind to perceive, through the traditions and history of his country, and a heart to realize and feel what the men, ay, and women too, of the Revolution endured to secure the blessings of religious and political freedom, and of good government, be indifferent to the preservation of the holy heritage? If there be such a man, he is unworthy of "the land of the free, and the home of the brave."

But are there not too many amongst us who do not properly estimate the value of our institutions—who view the rights they possess as ordinary common place things, and who are content to enjoy, in inglorious ease, all the blessings of good government, without sharing in any of the perplexities which are unavoidable in its preservation. These characters are generally the first to complain when any thing, in their judgment, goes wrong, and are the loudest in their condemnation of others, neglecting and indifference, at the proper time, that caused all the mischief which constitutes the ground of their complaints. Their neglect, perhaps, to attend a primary meeting, by which some unfit person obtained a nomination and election, may be the cause of the very evil of which they complain most bitterly. No man can estimate the value of his influence and vote at a primary meeting to select candidates, or at the general election. Many of the most important events in the history of our country have been determined in our conventions and legislative bodies by a majority of a single vote; and going back to the primary assemblages of the people, it will, perhaps, be found that this vote in the State convention or Legislature, depended upon the vote of a single individual in some township meeting or county convention. These occurrences have been frequent, and they go to show the influence that every individual voter may exert upon the institutions of his country.—It has been said by the great apostle of Democracy, Thomas Jefferson, and very often repeated, "that the price of liberty is eternal vigilance," and of the truth of this there can be no doubt. It is, therefore, important to understand what is meant by this vigilance. It is to be constant and continuous, and relates to that watchfulness and care which is required from the people in selecting their public agents—in scanning with jealousy, but at the same time with candor and liberality, their conduct—in distinguishing between the man of sense and integrity and the demagogue and political schemer—in sustaining the faithful and just public servant, and discarding the unfaithful and dishonest.

To an honest and patriotic public servant, there is no reward for his services so highly prized as the approbation and confidence of his fellow-citizens, and no censure so unjust as a withdrawal of confidence and support without cause.

We have made these general observations with a view to impress upon each and every voter the importance and responsibility of the trust confided to him, and the obligation he is under to exercise it, not only for his own benefit, but for that of the whole community. We know of causes which induce many good citizens to abstain from an active participation in political concerns, but we know of none that is sufficient to excuse or justify them. Those who say that political affairs are managed by men in whom they have no confidence, and that therefore they have ceased to take part in them, offer the very worst reason for their conduct. If they believe what they say, the obligation resting upon them, to endeavor to correct what they regard as an evil, is so much the greater, as no good citizen will abandon what he believes to be the interest of the republic, in despair.

Having made these preliminary remarks with a view to their application to the approaching election, we will proceed to offer some comments on the main question now under consideration.

The coming election is one of great importance to the people of Pennsylvania, and never was the duty of people, to examine the questions involved, and decide correctly, more strongly suggested by their interests, than at the present time.

It is a question of whether an honest and competent man, who has devoted himself faithfully to the promotion of the best interests of the people, and under whose administration the public confidence is revived, and the State prospering in an unprecedented degree, shall be removed to make place for a man without any known qualifications for the place, except his adherence to a party without principles or measures which they dare avow—which has on all occasions heretofore shewn itself incapable of administering the government without the perpetration of the most signal abuses, for which the people have, in every instance, ejected it from power the first opportunity. During the administration of Francis R. Shunk, we assert boldly and fearlessly, that the Executive department of our government has been honestly and faithfully administered, with an impartial and strict regard to the rights and interests of the people. To this assertion we challenge truthful and successful contradiction from any responsible source. We invite any responsible friend of General Irvin, the Federal candidate, to point to any official act of Gov. Shunk that has been at variance with the interests of the people at large.

He has, on all occasions, advocated the necessity of maintaining the public faith unimpaired; he has urged the necessity of practicing the most rigid economy, and of holding public officers to a strict accountability, so as to enable the Treasury to meet the demands upon it, and, ultimately, to form a sinking fund to liquidate a portion of the principle of the public debt. During his administration the accounts of public officers have been more promptly settled, and more outstanding balances, due from former delinquents, collected than during any preceding administration. He has advocated the necessity of maintaining a sound currency, and without aiming at the destruction of the banking system, he has adverted emphatically to the evils of its excesses, and urged upon the Legislature and the people the importance of restraining and keeping it within reasonable bounds, in order that its benefits may be enjoyed, and its mischiefs avoided.

As a means calculated to effect this great object, he has recommended that bankers, as well as other corporators who engage in business for private gain, should be liable to pay their debts as other individuals are. He thinks it unjust that a set of individuals should obtain a charter to carry on business of a private nature, and, if successful, pocket the profits of their enterprise, but if unsuccessful, throw the loss, or at least a portion of it, on the community at large. He does not believe that such a system is calculated to make men either prudent or honest, and that it, in many respects, of kin to the principles of the bankrupt act, which discharged men, for all time, from the payment of their just debts, even when they are abundantly able to pay. He believes that honest industry and frugality, and men engaging in such business as their means and talents bring within their reach, much better calculated to promote real independence and permanent prosperity, than the aggregation of capital under the control of a few irresponsible corporations. At all events, he believes that whatever system may be adopted in regard to any interest or business, it should be regulated by general laws, operating alike upon all the citizens, of which all who are disposed may avail themselves; and that the whole system of partial legislation, by which special privileges are conferred on some which others cannot obtain, is at war with the spirit of the Constitution, and the genius of our free institutions, which regard the rights of all as equal.

In these views of public policy, we believe a large majority of the people of the State of all parties concur; and were it possible to obtain a vote in relation to them, irrespective of other party considerations, we have no doubt they would be sustained by four-fifths of the citizens.

In regard to the views of Gen. Irvin, the Federal candidate, we are left in the dark. He has never, that we are aware of, avowed any views of State policy himself, and as he is the representative of a party whose settled policy it is to avow no principles for the public eye, we can only judge of him by the conduct of those in whose company he is found. When in Congress, we know he was the willing supporter of all the Federal aristocratic measures of the day, and followed humbly in the lead of the great "Revolutionizers," Henry Clay and John Sergeant. We know he voted for a Bank of the United States, and denounced John Tyler for vetoing it. We know he voted for the Bankrupt Act, & against its repeal. We know he was the supporter of the distribution of the proceeds of the public lands—the abstraction of which from the public treasury would have rendered it necessary to tax the poor man's tea and coffee to supply the deficit. We know that he was in favor of the most ultra protective duties, for the benefit of special interests regardless of the other great interests of the country. Whether he will avow himself in favor of any or all these measures now, no man can tell, for it is characteristic of the party to which he belongs, not only to deny their principles and measures; but their very name and identity. We take it for granted, however, that these are still favorite Fed-