## AN ORATION,

BY JAMES BUCHANAN, ESQ.,

*Delivered before the Washington Association of Lancaster, on the 4th of July, 1815.*

Thirty-nine years ago, upon this day, we were declared an independent people. At that time the Continental Congress burst asunder the chains which bound them to Great Britain, and resolved to be free, or perish in the attempt. Upon that day they presented to the world a spectacle of wisdom and firmness which has never been excelled.

To make a proper estimate of their conduct, we must take into view the then situation of this country, compared with that of our enemy. On the one side, the armies of Great Britain were numerous and veterans; they were led by commanders who had acquired military reputation in every clime; they were supported and furnished with every implement of war by a nation whose wealth has, upon different occasions, purchased the services of all the crowned heads in Europe. On the other side, our armies were small and unacquainted with military discipline; our officers were destitute of experience, and we were so miserably poor that our brave soldiers were not more than half clothed, and their winter marches over the frosty ground, which they were defending, could be tracked by the blood that flowed from their naked feet.

But even these were not the only disadvantages under which we labored. Whilst our enemy invaded us from without, the torch of discord and of treason was lighted up within.—When Independence was declared, the mother country had a powerful party throughout all the middle States, and many adherents in every other part of the Union.

HE BECOMES VERY PATRIOTICALLY INCLINED.

Dreadful, therefore, was the responsibility of that Congress. Had not victory carried their banners, their names would have been cursed by the people of this country as the promoters of a destructive civil war, whilst their blood would have flowed on the scaffold as a sacrifice to appease the spirit of British vengeance. In this awful situation, whilst the dark cloud of destruction appeared ready to burst upon them, they declared to the world our Independence. They thought that

"One day, one hour of virtuous liberty,
Was worth a whole eternity of bondage."

Everlasting honor to their names! The gratitude of a free people will forever hallow their memory.

It is not my intention, at this time, to give you a narrative of those glorious events of the revolutionary war, which led to the recognition of our Independence by Great Britain and by the world. They have been the subject of so many orations, and of such general interest, that they are familiar to every mind. The present oration shall contain a short historical sketch of the most prominent actions of the party now in power in this country, and their consequences; and also enquiry concerning the course which sound policy dictates, that the government of the United States should pursue in future. The importance of those subjects, although not strictly connected with the celebration of this day, will, I trust, be their apology to every mind.

HE TOUCHES THE DEMOCRACY LIGHTLY.

*There was a powerful* FACTION *in the United States opposed to the adoption of the federal Constitution.* The individuals of which it was composed were called anti-federalists, *and were the founders of the Democratic party.* They glorified in setting themselves in array against our present admirable form of government.—*The authors of this opposition were chiefly* DEMAGOGUES, who might have risen to the head of a state faction, but who felt conscious that their talents would be eclipsed, when the luminaries of the United States should be collected around the General Government. To gratify their ambition, they wished that this country should continue divided into a number of petty state sovereignties, without any efficient government for their control.

This they desired, although they had the example of ancient Greece before their eyes, and well knew the clashing interests of the States and their mutual jealousies kept alive by alliances with different foreign nations would have made this country a perpetual theatre of contention and civil war, until it had fled for refuge into the arms of despotism. They therefore sounded the alarm throughout the Union against the federal Constitution. They produced ruin to the State government and to the liberties of the people, from the powers given to the federal government. By these means they succeeded in alarming the fears of many good men, and induced them to believe that government, which is now the palladium of their safety, would be the instrument of their destruction. Notwithstanding their desperate efforts the constitution was adopted, and Washington was elected President.

It might have been supposed that these factionaries would have been awed into silence by his wisdom and virtue. This was not the case. The opposition which they had given to the federal government was now transferred to its administration. At first, indeed, the voice of calumny dared only to whisper against Washington and his measures, but ere long it was heard in thunder.

When the French revolution commenced, it was hailed by the people of this country, generally, as the dawn of rational liberty in Europe. But when, in its progress, it had become the destruction of religion and morality—when thousands of citizens were daily sentenced to death and butchered without trial and without crime—when all the horrors of anarchy were poured out upon that devoted country at home—and when, Attila-like, it had become the scourge of God to foreign nations, the Washingtonian party began to entertain fears of its result, and thought it necessary to stem the torrent of French influence, which was rapidly overflowing our country. To this duty they were imperiously called, as it was not only in theory one of the avowed objects of that government to spread revolutionary principles over the whole world, but they had actually attempted to sow the seeds of rebellion throughout the United States.

HE ACCUSES THE DEMOCRACY OF LIBELLING WASHINGTON.

True to their original principles and their first love, *the Democratic party of that day became more the friends of the French,* AS THEY BECAME MORE THE ENEMIES OF SOCIAL ORDER. When the proclamation of neutrality was issued by Washington—that proclamation which is now almost universally admitted to have been the salvation of our country—that proclamation which impartially placed England and France upon the same footing, and laid open the commerce of the world to America, they were enraged that we had not entered into an alliance with the French Republic, and waged war, under their banners, against the human race. But when the treaty of peace with England, commonly called Jay's treaty, was ratified by Washington, TORRENTS OF PERSONAL ABUSE WERE POURED OUT BY THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY UPON HIS HEAD.

They openly charge the father of his county WITH AN INTENTION OF DESTROYING HIS OWN BELOVED OFFSPRING. To such a pitch of ingratitude were they carried BY THEIR DIABOLICAL PASSIONS, that they dared publicly, and without the slightest foundation, TO ACCUSE HIM OF SECRETLY PUTTING HIS HAND INTO THE TREASURY LIKE A FELON, and appropriating without authority the money of the nation to his own individual use. That man, the vigor of whose youth had been worn out in those splendid military achievements which made our country independent, and whose age and experience had been devoted to the creation and organization of the Federal Government—that man who had never received one farthing more of the public money than what he had expended in the public service, was ACCUSED OF BEING A BASE PECULATOR OF THE PUBLIC TREASURE. During this cruel persecution his noble mind felt sensibly the stings of his countrymen's ingratitude. In the bitterness of his soul he complained that he had been abused, in his own emphatical language, in "such exaggerated and indecent terms, as could scarcely be applied to a Negro—a notorious defaulter—or even to a common pickpocket."

SAYS THE DEMOCRACY ARE NOT THE DISCIPLES OF WASHINGTON.

What must be our opinion of an opposition, WHOSE PASSIONS WERE SO DARK AND MALIGNANT as to be gratified in endeavoring to blast the character and embitter the old age of Washington? After thus persecuting the savior of his country, HOW CAN THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY DARE TO CALL THEMSELVES HIS DISCIPLES?

But no opposition could divert the steady soul of Washington from his purpose. He had digested a system of policy which he steadily pursued, amid the storms of faction. His successor in office for the most part walked in his footsteps.—To continue at peace a nation must be ready for war, was a maxim by which the Federal administrations were constantly directed. Under their auspices, therefore, public credit was well established, as the best means of public defence.

The debt of the revolutionary war was funded, and moderate taxes were imposed. A navy was built for the protection of commerce. We considered all nations equally, in war, as enemies, in peace, as friends; and therefore a strict neutrality towards all nations was preserved. It would be impossible to enumerate every wise measure of the Washington administrations; suffice it to say, that during their continuance, the prosperity of this country was unexampled in the annals of time. The dreams of fancy were almost realised. Cities rose up as if by magic throughout our country, and wealth flowed in upon us from all nations. The wilderness yielded to the hand of agriculture, and fields loaded with the richest harvests covered those gloomy forests where wild beasts, but a few years before, had used to roam. Happy, indeed, were those people, had they but known their own happiness. Notwithstanding their prosperity, faction still continued to rage and to increase.

WHAT THE DEMOCRACY WOULD DO FOR POWER.

*The possession of power was the end of the opposition; about the means they were regardless.*—Their leaders pretended to tender solicitude for the welfare of the people. Their voices were loud in favor of public economy, and against a navy, an army and taxes. Although France had wantonly captured a number of our vessels without cause, had actually demanded tribute from us, and had threatened our country with invasion, and with the dreadful fate of Venice, if it were paid; although she had twice refused to recognise our ministers, who went supplicating for peace, they were opposed to raising an army or navy for our defence.

After an army had been raised, notwithstanding it was commanded by Washington, and destined to act against a foreign enemy, that loudly expressed their apprehension, that it was intended to destroy our republican form of Government, and substitute monarchy in its stead, the taxes, necessary for its support, afforded them a fresh theme of declamation. By means such as these, they at length became the majority of the nation, and got its destinies placed in their hands. How they have used their power, it will now be my endeavor to show.

WHAT THE DEMOCRACY HAD DONE.

*They began with the destruction of the Navy.*—It had been supposed by the Federal Administrations, that the a navy was our best defence.—From the locality of our country, and from the nature of such a forte, they knew that it would be peculiarly calculated to protect our shores from foreign invasions, and to make us respected by the nations of the world; without, like a standing army, endangering our liberties. It was also foreseen by them, that, without a navy, our commerce would be exposed, as a rich temptation, to the avarice of all nations: and, in consequence of our weakness, we would be subjected to constant insults and injuries upon the ocean, without the power of resistance. It had, therefore, been their policy gradually to erect a navy, and they had built a great number of vessels at the time when the first Democratic Administration came into power.

At that moment the scene changed. They had promised the people an exemption from taxes, and unless they could perform, their popularity was in danger. They did not hesitate what course to pursue. THEY IMMEDIATELY SOLD OUR NATIONAL SHIPS—THEY DISARMED THE COUNTRY—LEFT COMMERCE UNPROTECTED AND INVITED INSULT AND INJUSTICE FROM ABROAD, that they might not be under the necessity of imposing a trifling tax, and thereby injuring their popularity at home.

Thanks be to Providence, the delusion upon this subject has vanished, and their conduct now appears in its proper light before the public! The little remnant of that navy, which has been fondly cherished by Washington and his adherents, but which was despised by the patriots of the present day, has risen triumphant above its enemies at home, and has made the proud mistress of the ocean tremble. The people are now convinced that the navy is their best defence.

HE ACCUSES THE DEMOCRACY OF ATTEMPTING TO DESTROY OUR COMMERCE.

The Democratic Administration next declared war against commerce. They were not satisfied with depriving it of the protection of a Navy, but they acted as though they had determined upon its annihilation. At a time when the nations of Europe were convulsed by dreadful wars, the United States being neutral—and when, in consequence thereof, all our native productions were in greatest demand, and the carrying trade presented to our merchants a rich harvest in every quarter of the globe, *they shut up our ports by embargoes and non-importation laws.*

By these means, the streams of wealth, which were flowing into our national treasury and into our country, from the thousand fountains of commerce, were suddenly dried up. These acts of parricide gave an instantaneous and a dreadful blow to our prosperity. The voice of business was no longer heard in our cities. Dejection and despair sat upon each man's countenance. The newspapers of the day, instead of being filled with arrivals from abroad, and sales of merchandise, teemed with bankruptcies. And our ships were laid up to rot, AS MELANCHOLY MONUMENTS OF THE WEAK AND WICKED POLICY OF OUR GOVERNMENT.

Who that had witnessed these things cannot observe the hand of the Corsican despot, like that dreadful hand upon the wall of the Babylonish monarch, writing our destruction? Who can avoid believing that Bonaparte was the source of this policy, and that it was intended to operate in unison with his continental system? It might perhaps be unwarrantable to assert that our administration were actually corrupted by France; but that their politics were biased by a warm and improper partiality for that country, there can be no doubt.

HE ACKNOWLEDGES THAT HIS TONGUE CANNOT PORTRAY THE CORRUPTIONS OF THE DEMOCRACY.

TIME WILL NOT ALLOW ME TO ENUMERATE ALL THE OTHER WILD AND WICKED PROJECTS OF THE DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION. Suffice it to say, that after they had deprived us of the means of defence, by destroying our navy and disbanding our army; after they had taken from us the power of re-creating them, by refusing the bank of the United States a continuation of its charter, embarrassing the financial concerns of the Government, and withdrawing the only universal paper medium of the country from circulation; after the people had become unaccustomed to, and, of course, unwilling to bear taxation; and, without money in the Treasury, they rashly plunged into a war with a nation more able to do us injury than any other in the world. What was the dreadful necessity of this measure?—Was our country invaded? No. Were our liberties in danger? No. Was it to protect our little remaining commerce from the injuries sustained by the orders in council? No. Commerce was not such a favorite, and the merchants wished for no war on that account.

HIS IDEA OF DEMOCRATIC DUPLICITY IN REGARD TO FOREIGNISM.

Besides, if the existence of the orders in council had been its true cause, after their repeal, our country would have accepted the olive branch which was offered to England. What then was the cause? The one for which we professed to draw the sword, and risk our all, was to determine an abstract question of the law of nations, concerning which an opinion different from that of our administration was held by all Europe: To decide whether a man can expatriate himself or not. In the decision of this question our administration pretended to feel a deep interest. THE GREATER PART OF THOSE FOREIGNERS, WHO WOULD BE AFFECTED BY IT, HAD LONG BEEN THEIR EARNEST FRIENDS. THEY HAD BEEN ONE OF THE GREAT MEANS OF ELEVATING THE PRESENT (DEMOCRATIC) RULING PARTY, AND IT WOULD HAVE BEEN UNGRATEFUL FOR THAT PARTY TO HAVE ABANDONED THEM.

HE SAYS FOREIGN INFLUENCE CONTROLS THE ADMINISTRATION.

Superficial observers may suppose this to have been the real source of the war, but whoever will carefully and impartially examine the history of our country, will find its true origin to have been far different. It took its rise from the over-weening partiality which the Democratic party have uniformly shown for France, and the consequent hatred which they felt against her great adversary, England. To secure this foreign feeling has been the labor of their leaders for more than twenty years, and well have they been repaid for their trouble, for it has been one of the principal causes of introducing and continuing them in power. Immediately before the war, THIS FOREIGN INFLUENCE HAD COMPLETELY EMBODIED ITSELF WITH EVERY POLITICAL FEELING OF A MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE, PARTICULARLY IN THE WEST; ITS VOICE WAS HEARD SO LOUD AT THE SEAT OF GOVERNMENT, that the President was obliged to yield to its dictates or retire from office. The choice in this alternative was easily made by a man (Madison) WHO PREFERRED HIS PRIVATE INTEREST TO THE PUBLIC GOOD. We were, therefore, hurried into war entirely unprepared.

THE ADMINISTRATION CONQUER A DISGRACEFUL PEACE.

What have been its results? Exactly what reasonable men expected at its commencement.—We declared our intention of conquering Canada; whether for the purpose of annexing to the United States or of compelling our enemy to yield the doctrine of imprisonment, is immaterial to the present question. Instead of conquering it, we have ourselves been invaded in every quarter, and the best blood of our country has streamed in defence of our soil. The very capitol of the United States, the lofty temple of liberty, which was reared and consecrated by Washington, has been abandoned to its fate BY HIS DEGENERATE SUCCESSOR (Madison) who ought to have shed his last drop of blood in its defence.

After the (Democratic) Administration had entered upon the war, instead of coming forward *with manly confidence*, and taxing the people for its support, *they basely shrunk from their duty*, in order to maintain their popularity, and adopted the odious system of carrying on the contest by borrowing money. What were the effects of this policy? Does not every man in the country know, was it even disguised by the Administration, that the United States would, in a short time, have become bankrupt, had not peace been concluded? Thanks to Heaven, that we have obtained peace, bad and disgraceful as it is; otherwise the beautiful structure of the Federal Government, SUPPORTED BY THE SAME FEEBLE HANDS, might have sunk, like the Capitol, into ruins.

HOW THE DEMOCRACY EMBARRASSED THE COUNTRY.

This system of anticipating our revenue has left an immense load of debt upon the country, the payment of which will be a grievous burden, not only upon the present generation, but upon posterity. This burden has fallen more heavily upon our country than upon any other part of the Union; on account of our numerous and extensive distilleries. The late additional duty imposed upon whiskey has almost destroyed its manufacture. In its consequences it has not only affected the distillers, but it has given a severe blow upon the prosperity of this country generally.

Whilst the distilleries were in active operation the cattle and grain found a good and ready market at home. The balance of trade was greatly in our favor, and wealth was rapidly [illegible] our country. But Congress, by imposing a tax upon the article more grievous than it was able to bear, have destroyed the very revenue which they intended to raise. This instance, among many others of a similar nature, SHOWS HOW TOTALLY DESTITUTE ARE OUR PRESENT RULERS OF WISDOM AND FORESIGHT, even upon subjects immediately regarding the pecuniary interest of the government.

These are not the only evils consequent upon that timid and time-serving policy. It has embarrassed the government so much, that it must be a long time indeed before we can dare again to go to war with any powerful nation, even for the maintainance of our dearest rights. All these evils would, in a great measure, have been prevented by sufficient independence in the administration, to have imposed moderate taxes at the commencement of the contest. The credit of the nation would then have continued good, and we might have avoided the painful spectacle of seeing the public stock sold in the market, at an enormous discount, and greedy speculators enriching themselves by its purchase, at the expense of the toil and sweat of the honest yeomanry of the country.

Instead of exempting seamen sailing under our flag from impressment of the war, we have altogether relinquished that principle; because it is a well-established truth in the law of nations, that if war be waged by one country against another, for a specified claim, and the treaty which terminated the contest is silent upon that object, it is forever abandoned. Thus the Government have at least yielded the very point for the maintenance of which they professed to go to war, after having expended nearly two hundred millions of dollars.

We have not only not obtained by the war anything which we were taught to expect, but we have lost many valuable privileges. All the numerous rights and advantages guarantied to us by Jay's treaty have been relinquished. Nay, we have not only been compelled to conclude a treaty which does not contain one solitary stipulation in our favor, except that there shall be peace, but which unsettles the boundaries of our country, and leaves to the decision of commissioners, whether we shall longer retain a part of our own territory, which we have held in quiet possession for more than twenty years.

But notwithstanding our immense national debt, which, if the war had continued, would soon have resulted in national bankruptcy; notwithstanding our poverty, even the very necessaries of life have been taxed heavily; notwithstanding we have not obtained a single object which we had in view at the commencement of the contest, but have lost many valuable privileges; notwithstanding our country has been invaded in every quarter, and the capitol of the United States has been laid in ashes by a marauding party of the enemy—this has been called a glorious war. Glorious it has been, in the highest degree, to the American character, but disgraceful in the extreme to the Administration. When the individual States discovered that they were abandoned by the general government, whose duty it was to protect them, the fortitude of their citizens arose with their misfortunes. The moment we were invaded, the genius of freedom inspired their souls. They rushed upon their enemies with a hallowed fury, which the hireling soldiers of Britain could never feel. They taught our foe that the soil of freedom would always be the grave of its invaders.

THE COUNTRY RUINED BY DEMOCRATIC RULE.

But do the administrations, who involved us in the late unnecessary war, derive any credit from their exertions? Certainly not. They were the spontaneous efforts of the country, undirected by the government. The militia, who were chiefly engaged in those glorious conflicts, were often without pay and without comfortable clothing. The dreadful situation of the country compelled them to abandon their families and the sweets of domestic life, without any previous warning, to defend places which were utterly unprotected by their proper guardians—places which ought to have been ready for a siege at the commencement of the contest. As well might Ferdinand the 7th of Spain, who was not in his kingdom, but who was nominally King, claim the glory of restoring his country from the armies of France, as our government take to itself the credit of expelling our invaders.

When we turn our attention to the regular army, which was peculiarly under the direction of the national government, what do we discover? During the first year of the war, that year in which it was to have closed with glory, that year within which our triumphant banners were to have floated upon the walls of Quebec, and all Canada was to have been ours, the year in which that province was left unprotected, and the forces of our enemy were employed in Europe, it experienced nothing but a continuation of degradation and defeat. Is there an American on the floor of this house, who has not blushed for his country a thousand times, during that disgraceful year—until all the general officers, who had been appointed for political purposes, and entrusted with the command at the commencement of the contest, were disgraced; and until others had fought themselves into a credit and into notice, all our battles ended in defeat.

During the last year of the war, the regular army, under their commanders, retrieved their lost character and performed prodigies of valor; but unfortunately, on account of the impotence of the government, they fought against such fearful odds that they were hardly able even to defend our northern frontier. Indeed, so dreadful was the situation of our country for some time previous to the close of the contest, that the occasional splendid exploits of our heroes, like the gleams of lightning in a dark and tempestuous night, only added new horrors to the surrounding gloom. They only served to show us what brilliant [illegible] our country might have made, [illegible] by men who were capable of [illegible] and directing its resources.

But peace has again returned to bless our shores. Again, Commerce, who has for years been weeping over the misfortunes of our country, begins to smile. Again we stand neutral toward all the European powers. What then should be the political conduct of our country in future? Precisely to pursue the political maxims adopted by Washington. We ought to cultivate peace with all nations, by adopting a strict neutrality, not only of conduct, but of sentiment.

We ought to make our neutrality respected by placing ourselves in an attitude of defence. We ought forever to abandon the wild project of a philosophic visionary, of letting commerce protect itself. In its protection we ought to increase our navy. We ought never to think of embargoes and non-intercourse laws without abhorrence. We ought to use every honest exertion to turn out of power those weak and wicked men who have abandoned the political path marked out for this country by Washington, and those wild and visionary theories which have been at length tested by experience and found wanting.

WHAT SHOULD BE DONE WITH FOREIGNISM.

ABOVE ALL, WE OUGHT TO DRIVE FROM OUR SHORES FOREIGN INFLUENCE AND CHERISH EXCLUSIVE AMERICAN FEELINGS. FOREIGN INFLUENCE HAS BEEN IN EVERY AGE THE CURSE OF REPUBLICS. HER JAUNDICED EYE SEES ALL THINGS IN FALSE COLORS! The thick atmosphere of prejudice, by which she is forever surrounded, EXCLUDES FROM HER SIGHT THE LIGHT OF REASON.

Whilst she worships the nation which she favors for their very crimes, she curses the enemy of that nation even for their virtues. In every age she has marched before the enemies of her country, proclaiming peace, and lulling its defenders into fatal security, whilst the iron hand of despotism has been aiming a death-blow at their liberties. Already has our infant republic felt her withering influence. Already has she involved us in a war which had nearly cost us our existence.

LET US THEN LEARN WISDOM FROM EXPERIENCE, AND FOREVER BANISH THIS FIEND FROM OUR SOCIETY. We are separated from the nations of Europe by an immense ocean. We are still more disconnected from them by a different form of government, and by the enjoyment of true liberty. Why, then, should we injure ourselves, by taking part in the ambitious contests of foreign despots and kings?

Should this Washington policy be pursued, our country will again rise to its former greatness and wealth. Under the blessing of Providence, we may then calculate on a long and happy existence as a nation. We may reasonably hope that our children's children, to remote generations, may be assembled together upon this auspicious day, blessing the memories of the men whom Heaven entrusted with the glorious task of making a great nation free, happy and independent.

### TEN CENTS A DAY.

James Buchanan, in a speech delivered by him in the United States Senate in the year 1838, gave it as his deliberate opinion that "*ten cents a day was enough for a laboring man.*" This will not be denied by honest men of any party. The speech was printed in pamphlet form by Blair & Rives, and many copies are still in existence.

The country at that time was passing through a commercial crisis of unparalleled severity. All the banks had suspended specie payments—the government itself was bankrupt, and business of every kind in a state of suspension. Remedial measures for the distress, which bore so heavily upon the people, were universally denounced, and this was the remedy, the panacea, for all the ills thus endured by the American people, which Mr Buchanan proposed. Wages are too high, said Mr Buchanan—that is the secret of all our troubles. We can never compete with the laborers of Europe unless we reduce the wages to the rate which obtains there. Put down the wages of the laborer to ten cents a day, and prosperity will once more crown our efforts—our manufactories will again commence operations, and our commerce will again flourish with renewed vigor.

Was this counsel worthy of a man who aspired to the reputation of a statesman? Is it by degrading and impoverishing the yeomanry, the bone and sinew of the land, that a great nation is to be raised from depression to prosperity?—Can a free republic, of all other forms of government, be allowed, by the conversion of a majority of its citizens into a horde of paupers?

The idea is too absurd to enter the brain of any but a pampered aristocrat or a heartless oppressor of the working man. Yet it did enter the brain of James Buchanan, and he gave it utterance in the Senate of the United States, and it went forth from the Capitol as "sound Democratic doctrine!"

Such is the man whom the Democratic National Convention have presented to the Democratic masses as their candidate for the Presidency. Such is the candidate of that party which has falsely assumed for twenty years to be the exclusive guardian of the rights of labor and the sworn foe of the oppression of capital.—Can that man be regarded as the friend of the working man, who would give him, in return for a day's labor, the insulting pittance of TEN CENTS? Can he be regarded as an enemy to the oppression of capitalists, who would pay the laborer less than his poverty extorts from the grinding avarice of the Austrian prince or the calculating selfishness of the British landlord of an Irish estate?—*American Organ.*

MAJOR GENERAL SCOTT.—The Daily Advertiser publishes a letter from Hon. R. C. Winthrop to Dr. S. G. Howe, in regard to public matters, from which we make the following extract:

"I am by no means disposed to re-open the issues of other years; but I cannot help thinking, that if the gallant veteran, who ought at this moment to have been at the head of the Nation, and who is still at the head of its army,—whose presence has almost as often been the pledge of peace in scenes of strife, as it has been of victory on the field of battle,—could be sent at once to Kansas, with full powers to command and enforce a cessation of lawless violence and conflict, and to put down the reign of terror in that region, the dangers which now threaten the peace of the whole country might still be averted."


# THE RALEIGH REGISTER.

*"Ours are the plans of fair, delightful peace,*
*Unwarped by party rage to live like brothers."*

RALEIGH, N. C.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, JUNE 18, 1856.


## NATIONAL AMERICAN TICKET!

FOR PRESIDENT,

## MILLARD FILLMORE,

OF NEW YORK.

FOR VICE PRESIDENT,

## ANDREW J. DONELSON,

OF TENNESSEE.

AMERICAN ELECTORAL TICKET,

FOR THE STATE AT LARGE.

L. B. CARMICHAEL, of Wilkes,
JOHN W. CAMERON, of Cumberland.

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| 1st District, | | Lewis Thompson, of Bertie. |
| 2d | " | |
| 3d | " | O. P. Meares, of New Hanover. |
| 4th | " | Jas. T. Littlejohn, of Granville. |
| 5th | " | A. J. Stedman, of Chatham. |
| 6th | " | Gen. J. M. Leach, of Davidson. |
| 7th | " | Gen. A. J. Dargan, of Anson. |
| 8th | " | Jno. D. Hyman, of Buncombe. |

FOR GOVERNOR,

## JOHN A. GILMER,

OF GUILFORD COUNTY.

1. RESOLVED, That we ratify and approve the platform of principles laid down by the American Convention which assembled in Philadelphia in February last.

2. RESOLVED, That we are in favor of a progressive system of Internal Improvement; such as will ultimately develop the resources of the State, and such as will not burthen the people with oppressive taxation.

3. RESOLVED, That we are opposed to the policy of the General Government squandering the public lands to provide homesteads for foreign paupers and convicts.

WHEREAS, There exist various and conflicting opinions among Whigs and Democrats, both as to the propriety of amending the State Constitution, as well as the manner and extent to which amendment should be made:

4. RESOLVED, That in order that the paramount principles of Americanism may not be trammelled in the ensuing contest by vexed State questions, made up by our former political organizations, the party, eschewing sectional issues in the State as well as in the Union, declare their purpose of abiding by and maintaining the representative basis of the present Constitution.

[Resolutions of the Greensboro' Convention.

"I accept the nomination with the PLATFORM annexed; and I accept the PLATFORM with the nomination annexed."—Jno A. Gilmer's Address before the Greensboro' Convention.

### APPOINTMENTS.

John A. Gilmer, Esq., the American candidate for Governor, will address the people of the respective Counties named at the following times and places:

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| Windsor, | Wednesday, | 18th inst. |
| Columbia, Tyrrell, | Saturday, | 21st " |
| Washington, Beaufort, | Monday, | 23rd " |

### LATE FROM EUROPE.

The steamship Ericsson arrived at New York on Thursday last, bringing Liverpool dates to the 28th ultimo. The news is of no importance.—An enquiry as to the purpose of the government in sending troops to Canada had brought from Lord Clarendon a strong expression of good feeling toward the United States. The Italian question was still unsettled. The movements of Spain against Mexico are confirmed.

The steamer Arabia also arrived the same day, bringing three days later news than the Ericsson. The news of the recognition of Padre Vijil, following so closely on Lord Clarendon's conciliatory despatch to the United States, had revived apprehensions in England of a rupture between that country and the United States. The London Times, alluding to the matter, says "that demands on one side and concessions on the other appear to have reached the utmost limit," and suggests that the United States send a plenipotentiary to London to settle the dispute amicably.

It was rumored, also, that Lord Elgin would be sent to this country on a special mission, as a last chance of arresting war.

### MR. BUCHANAN'S ORATION.

Our readers will find the Hon. James Buchanan's Oration, delivered at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, on the 4th day of July, 1815, on our second page.

Let it be kept before the people, that on that occasion, in speaking of the measures of Mr. Madison, immediately antecedent to the late war with England, the present nominee of the Foreign Democratic party for the Presidency said, "These *acts of parricide* gave an instantaneous and a dreadful blow to our prosperity. The *voice of business* was no longer heard in our cities." And in speaking of the war he said, "But do the administration, who *involved* us in the late *unnecessary* war, derive any *credit* from their exertions? Certainly not."

Keep it before the people, that in speaking of the causes which led to it, and the operation of *foreign influence* in producing that result, he said, "Immediately *before* the war this foreign influence *had completely embodied* itself with every political feeling of a majority of the people, particularly in the West. Its voice was heard *so loud at the Seat of Government*, that the President *was obliged to yield to its dictates, or retire from office.* The choice in this alternative was *easily made* by a man (Mr. Madison) *who preferred his private interest to the public good.* We were therefore hurried into a war entirely unprepared."

Let it be kept before the people, that this candidate of the Foreign Democratic party, in speaking of the peace with Great Britain, said, "Thanks to heaven that we have obtained peace, *bad and disgraceful as it is*, otherwise the beautiful structure of the Federal Government, supported by the same *feeble* hands, might have sunk, like the Capitol, into ruins." And again, speaking of the war, he said, "glorious it has been to the American character, but *disgraceful in the extreme* to the Administration," (Mr. Madison's.)

But we leave our readers to do their own work in perusing and examining well the oration itself.

CANDIDATES FOR THE LEGISLATURE.—The Americans of Beaufort have nominated Allen Grist, Esq., as their candidate for the Senate, and Jesse R. Stubbs and Dr. John Eborn for the Commons.

In Hertford, Richard G. Cowper, Esq., is the American candidate for the Senate, and Daniel V. P. Sessoms for the House.

In Gates our ticket is, for the Senate, O. B. Savage, Esq., and for the House, R. H. S. Bond, Esq.

In Jones, F. G. Simmons, Esq., is the American nominee for the House, and William Foy, Esq., is the candidate for the Senate.

☞ We have a number of communications on hand, which we will publish as we can find space.

### A LOUD ABOLITION BLAST FROM A DEMOCRATIC BUGLE.

The Cincinnati Convention declared itself in favor of the principle of the Nebraska-Kansas act, but omitted to say one word that pledged its members to maintain the rights of Southerners in new Territories. This omission was intended for the use of their supporters in the non-slaveholding States. It was to enable every democratic bugle in those States to sound a loud abolition blast, and to claim "a great triumph for abolitionism" under the operation of that act whilst their champions in the South were representing it as a triumph over the abolitionists. The New Hampshire Patriot (the home organ of President Pierce) seemed to have been informed beforehand of the milk and water position the Cincinnati Convention wou'd take on this question, and accordingly it come out during the week ending the 15th of May with the annexed jubilant abolition proclamation. We hope that all the Southern newspapers, which call the foreign democracy "the only national party," will let their readers see what an awful havoc the New Hampshire Patriot expects the Nebraska-Kansas act to make of slavery. Just hear how that paper crows over the abolition triumph that it beholds in the Nebraska-Kansas act, and then call for a restoration of the Missouri Compromise to save the South:—

"All the valuable land open to settlement is already 'staked out' and 'claimed,' and eternal decrees could not make freedom more sure.

"Nor is this the beginning and end of the chapter, though this might be thought enough by any reasonable man. It is now proclaimed by anti-Nebraska papers that such is the rush of emigration in this direction that, like the too abundant rains which swell the rivers, it will overflow its natural banks, and passing on to the immense territory of Texas, *make two or three new States out of soil which had been devoted to Slavery!*—German emigrants are universally anti-slavery men, both from principle and from taste, being unable to endure contact with the colored race; and already occupying the western part of Texas, they will unite with the emigrants from the North and West in organizing *free* States on the soil of slavery!

"Nor is this *all*, great and good as it is. *It is stated that Missouri is awakening to thoughts of freedom.* Slavery was never strong there, and is mainly confined to the rich bottom lands of the Mississippi, while the western portion of the State is almost exclusively occupied by the free men. During the last few years the number of slaves has been diminishing, as things then were; and now, when the State shall be nearly surrounded by the free States, *and the escape of slaves become so easy*, and when so large a portion of the people are opposed to it, both from interest and principle, it is thought by those well acquainted with the state of public feeling that slavery will give way to surrounding circumstances and *Missouri* itself join the sisterhood of free States around her! *Should not such prospects satisfy the most zealous abolitionist?* Should not the part only which is moral certainty create the most *devout* thanksgiving? Utah, New Mexico, Nebraska, the territory of a dozen future independent States, and Kansas, *all sure to be free*, besides two or three to be carved from Texas, and Missouri itself to be free! *Who could expect so much?* Who asks for more? The abolitionists have harangued for freedom, preached for freedom, and, as they say, prayed for freedom over this vast territory. *Should they not thank Heaven and be content when they receive what they asked?*

"Indeed they now admit, almost without an exception, that such results have been secured by the Nebraska bill, *results grand, permanent, and glorious*, such as no single act of Congress has ever before secured.

"The Nebraska bill *works* gloriously and triumphantly for freedom. *No act of any President or any Congress has secured so much, and so suddenly, and so easily, for liberty*, and men of all parties will be obliged to acknowledge, with the intelligent and honest *National Intelligencer*, and on the day after the passage of the bill, that though they opposed it from beginning to end for the sake of peace and good feeling throughout the nation, yet truth and honesty required them to confess their belief that the North and South should change their positions, and the North go for the bill and the South oppose it."

If the Foreign party men here contend that the political knave who publishes Mr. Pierce's home organ was speaking to the people with a deceitful and lying tongue in the above article, and that he did not mean a word he said, then we answer that his language is precisely like that Messrs. Douglas and Shields spoke to the people of Illinois and which President Pierce himself addressed to Ex-Senator Clemens. The spirit of Abolitionism is rampant in the article, and no doubt many Abolitionists will believe what it says. Suppose, therefore, that under such a system of electioneering in the North and the scare-crow use the foreign party is making of black republicanism in the South, they should elect their President this fall, what will it be but a triumph of fraud, and in what will it differ from pure and unadulterated black republicanism? In case either the North or the South shall find themselves deceived, the revolution against the party succeeding by such means will be terrible, and the result will be the utter demolition of the traffickers and impostors before the contest of 1860, and the building up of a party based on American principles stronger than any the country has yet witnessed. Dread of the justness and popularity of American principles moved the "democrats and black republicans" to start other issues to prevent the people's rendering their verdict this fall, but, if they should succeed this year, (which is scarcely possible,) the day of our glorious triumph will come soon after!

### MR. FILLMORE'S LETTER.

We publish in another column Mr. Fillmore's letter of acceptance of the nomination of the American party for the Presidency. We have no doubt our readers will concur with us in regarding it as admirable in its tone—breathing a spirit of pure patriotism, of genuine love of the Union, of devout reverence for the Constitution, and of warm regard for the equal rights of all portions and sections of the confederacy. With unselfish and uncalculating devotion to his country, he accepts the nomination without waiting to inquire, as he tells us, anything concerning his "prospects of success or defeat." And herein is a faithful clue to the character of the man. Leaving his own personal interests and hopes to take care of themselves, he consults only his convictions of duty—his ambition being not to serve himself, but to serve his country. But few such men there are in the land at the present [illegible] and they deserve to be cherished [illegible]. In honoring them with their confidence [illegible] ple honor and benefit themselves [illegible] a man as Fillmore to the Presidency [illegible] ing election. And who will be the [illegible] Certainly not Mr. Fillmore himself, for he has already occupied that high position, and a [illegible] term can add but little, if anything, to his [illegible] ble, world-wide reputation [illegible] it is the people, who are to be benefitted by his experience and wisdom. The Constitution, the Union, the rights of the States [illegible] will be uphold and maintained. His administration is an ample guarantee for the future. He it is, if mortal can, who will put an end to the violent and dangerous agitation which is now raging with such fearful fury. He it is who will disable and prostrate the fanaticism of the North, and restore to the [illegible] Union that fraternal feeling and [illegible] dence which animated the fathers of the Republic, and without which the Union could never have been formed.

No one can mistake the spirit and purpose with which Mr. Fillmore will enter upon the duties of the Presidency, should the people honor him with their choice. His letter clearly and distinctly indicates what his policy will be. In emphatic language, he proclaims to the world that he is "sincerely anxious to see the administration of our government restored to that original simplicity and purity which marked the first years of its existence; and, if possible, to quiet *that alarming sectional agitation*, which, while it delights the monarchists of Europe, causes every true friend of our country to mourn."

Again he says:

"Having the experience of past service in the administration of the government, I may be permitted to refer to that as the exposition of the future, and to say, should the course of the Convention be sanctioned by the people, I [illegible] *with the scrupulous regard for the rights of every section of the Union which then influenced my conduct, endeavor to perform every duty [illegible] the Constitution and Laws to the Union.*"

In these just and worthy sentiments the policy of his administration, should he be elected, is fully and distinctly pointed out. But we need not dwell longer upon this admirable letter. Our readers, we are satisfied, will peruse it [illegible] for themselves. We are equally confident our judgment of its merits will stand approved by that of the patriotic conservative press and the people in all parts of the country.

☞ The foreign locofocracy [illegible] pow-wow at the Court House on [illegible] ing, and were addressed by several [illegible] *the fifth magnitude!*—among them [illegible] of Burke, whose main object [illegible] to be to vindicate himself and his [illegible] having cast the vote of the State for Pierce [illegible] shall doubtless have a full account of [illegible] ings and doings of the "unterrified" [illegible]

### AMERICAN MEETING IN HYDE [illegible]

A meeting of the friends of the American party in this County was held at the Court House on Tuesday, the 27th of May, and was [illegible] attended. On motion of Dr. [illegible] Jones Spencer, Esq., was called to the Chair, and Henry Jennett appointed Secretary.

The Chairman briefly explained the object of the meeting to be, to nominate a candidate of the American party suitable persons to represent the County in the approaching Legislature of the State, and also to nominate a candidate for Sheraffalty. On motion, six persons from each precinct in the County were appointed a committee to recommend suitable persons for the consideration of the meeting. During the absence of the Committee, D. M. Carter, being called on, addressed the Convention upon the principles of the American party, in a speech of much interest and force.

The Committee then reported through their Chairman, N. Beckwith, Esq., the following resolutions, which were unanimously and enthusiastically adopted:

*Resolved*, 1. That we heartily approve and endorse the nomination of that eminent statesman and tried patriot, Millard Fillmore, for the Presidency of the U. S., and that his patriotic and successful Administration of the affairs of the Government, during an exciting and alarming crisis, fully entitles him to the confidence and grateful support of the American people.

*Resolved*, 2. That in A. J. Donelson, the candidate for the Vice Presidency, we recognize a patriot of high moral worth—one whose devotion to the Union and the Constitution has been conspicuously displayed, and that we will give him our cordial support.

*Resolved*, 3. That John A. Gilmer, the candidate of the American party for the high and responsible office of Governor, is a gentleman whom we shall be gratified to assist [illegible] because we believe that he comprehends the wants of the State at large, and that his career as a Legislator indicates his preparedness to suggest practical schemes of Internal Improvement, and any alteration or amendment of our code of laws, which the spirit of the age and our bettered condition may necessitate.

4. *Resolved*, That having full confidence in the patriotism, skill and ability of our fellow-citizen, Edward L. Mann, we hereby nominate him to represent the Counties of Hyde and Tyrrell in the next Senate of North Carolina, and we recommend him to our fellow-citizens of Tyrrell as a suitable person to represent the two counties in that capacity.

*Resolved*, 5. That we recommend to the [illegible] of Hyde County the name of Joseph [illegible] as a proper person to represent them in the House of Commons in the next General Assembly, and we nominate him as candidate for that office.

*Resolved*, 6. That we nominate for the office of Sheriff Jones S. Jennett, in whose character and good business capacity we have full reliance.

*Resolved*, 7. That we are satisfied with the present location of the Court House and other public buildings of the County, and that we will oppose all attempts that may be made for their removal.

*Resolved*, 8. That the platform of principles adopted by the American party, in Philadelphia, in February last, constitutes the true basis upon which the Government ought to be administered, and, as such, we adopt it in its entirety.

*Resolved*, 9. That as a party, we will discountenance all sectional agitations and measures looking to the dismemberment of our glorious heritage—the Union; and that we will give assurance that our declarations in this respect are earnest and sincere, by forgetting and [illegible] our neighborhood preferences and [illegible] and by uniting in one band of political brotherhood for the patriotic purpose of rescuing our County, our State and our Country from incompetent and feeble hands which have controlled their destinies and mismanaged affairs.

On motion, it was ordered that the proceedings of the Convention be published in the North Carolina Times and Raleigh Register.

The thanks of the Convention were tendered to the officers—and then adjourned sine die.

JONES SPENCER, [illegible]
HENRY JENNETT, Sec'y.

WASHINGTON, June 14, 1856.—The [illegible] was not in session to-day.

HOUSE.—Mr. Thurston of R. I., Mr. [illegible] Conn., and Trafton of Mass., severally [illegible] resolutions from those States, relating to recent occurrences in Congress and Kansas. The House then adjourned till Wednesday.