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INAUGURAL ADDRESS

Of President Buchanan.

Fellow-Citizens: I appear before you this day to take the solemn oath that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States. In entering upon this great office, I most humbly invoke the God of our fathers for wisdom and firmness to execute its high and responsible duties in such a manner as to restore harmony and the ancient friendship among the people of the several States, and to preserve our free institutions throughout many generations .-Convinced that I owe my election to the inherent love for the Constitution and the Union which still animates the hearts of the American people, let me earnestly ask their powerful support in sustaining all just measures calculated to perpetuate these, the richest political blessings which Heaven has ever bestowed upon any nation.

Having determined not to become a candidate for re-election, I shall have no motive to influence my conduct in administering the Government, except the desire ably and faithfully to serve my country, and to live in the grateful memory of my countrymen. We have recently passed through a Presidential contest in which the passions of our fellow-citizens were excited to the highest degree by questions of deep and vital importance; but when the people proclaimed their will the tem-pest at once subsided, and all was calm.— The voice of the majority speaking in the manner prescribed by the Constitution was heard, and instant submission followed. Our own country could alone have exhib-What a happy conception, then, was it for Congress to apply this simple rule, that

gress is neither to legislate slavery into any Territory or State, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof domestic institutions in their own way, sub ject only to the Constitution of the United and will, it is understood, be speedily and

good citizens, I shall cheerfully submit, whatever this may be, though it has been my individual opinion that under the Nebraska-Kansas Act the appropriate period will be when the number of actual residents in the Territory shall justify the formation of a constitution, with a view to its admission as a State into the Union. But, be this as it may, it is the imperative and indispensable duty of the Government of the United States to secure to every residistration of the Government. dent inhabitant the free and independent expression of his opinion by his vote. -This sacred right of each indivi-dual must be preserved. This being ner to do as little injury as may have been will attempt to dispute. In short we accomplished, nothing can be fairer than to leave the people of a Territory free from all foreign interference to decide their own destiny for themselves, subject only to the Constitution of the Unite | States

The whole territorial question being thus settled upon the principle of popular sovereignty-a principle as ancient as free government itself-everything of a practical nature has been decided, and no other question remains for adjustment, because very in the States is beyond the reach of any human power, except that of the respective States themselves wherein it exists. May we not then hope that the long agitation of this subject is approaching its end, and that the geographical parties to which it has given birth -so much dreaded by the Father of his country-will speed. ers of more pressing practical importance. while it has been productive of no positive good to any human being, it has been the prolific source of great evils to the masit has alienated and estranged the people prove their condition, and to enjoy the progress. I shall now proceed to take the of the sister States from each other, and has even seriously endangered the very existence of the Union-nor has the danger yet entirely ceased.

sense and sober judgment of the people. - stitution and laws to be placed on perfect Time is a great corrective. The political subjects which but a few years ago excited and exasperated the public mind, have passed away and are now nearly forgotten -but this question of domestic slavery is of far greater importance than any mere political question, because should the agitation continue, it may eventually endanger the personal safety of a large portion of our countrymen where the institution state at the commencement of my Adminisexists. In that event no form of government, however admirable in itself. howev- tion have convinced me that a strict coner productive of material benefits, can struction of the powers of the Governcompensate for the loss of peace and do- ment is the only one, as well as the only exert every Union-loving man, therefore, Whenever in our past history, doubtful out of doors for saying the wind had too than the fact that it was purely a an agitation which, in the judgment of tor of it (Douglas) was frequently interrespond to the powers have been exercised by Congress, out of doors for saying the wind had agitation, which, since the recent legisla. they have never failed to produce injuri. "shifted."

Oregon Argus

-A Weekly Newspaper, devoted to the Principles of Jeffersonian Democracy, and advocating the side of Truth in every issue.

VOL. II.

OREGON CITY, OREGON, APRIL 11, 1857.

No. 52.

tion of Congress, is without any legitimate ous and unhappy consequences.

undertaken to calculate the mere material necessary for the public service to strain value of the Union. Reasoned estimates the language of the Constitution, because have been presented of the pecuniary prof- all the great and useful powers required its and local advantages which would re- for a successful administration of the Govsult to different States and sections from its erument, both in peace and in war, have dissolution, and of the comparative injuries been granted either in express terms or by which such an event would inflict on other the plainest implication. While deeply States and sections; even descending to convinced of these truths, I yet consider it this low and narrow view of the mighty clear that under the war-making power, tion will be conclusive on this point. We this is absolutely necessary for the defense of at present enjoy a free trade throughout any State or Territory of the Union against our extensive and expansive country, such foreign invasion. as the world never witnessed. This trade | Under the Constitution Congress has together the North and the South, the and to call forth the militia to repeal in East and the West of our Confederacy .- vasions. Thus endorsed in an ample man-Annihilate this trade-arrest its free pro- ner with the war making power, the corgress by the geographical lines of jealous responding duty is required that the Uniprosperity and onward march of the whole States) against invasion. Hew is it poss and every part, and involve all in one com- ible to afford this protection to California

portion of the Confederacy-to the North repel the invader. not more than to the South-to the East dence which inspired our fathers with instantly close the route across the Isthmus wisdom to frame the most perfect form of of Central America. It is impossible to government and union ever devised by conceive that while the Constitution has man, will not suffer it to perish until it expressly required Congress to defend all shall have been peacefully instrumental, the States it should yet deny to them by by its example, in the extension of civil any fair construction the only possible and religious liberty throughout the world. means by which one of these States can be Next in importance to the maintenance of defended. Besides, the Government ever ited so grand and striking a spectacle of the Constitution and Union, is the duty of since its origin has been in the constant the capacity of man for self government. preserving the Government free from the practice of constructing military roads. preserving the Government free from the practice of constructing military roads. taint or even the suspicion of corruption. It might also be wise to consider wheth Public virtue is the vital spirit of Repub- er the love for the Union which now ani the will of the majority shall govern. lies, and history proves that when this mates our fellow citizens on the Pacific has decayed, and the love of money has const, may not be impaired by our neglect domestic slavery in the Territories, Congovernment may remain for a season, the mote and isolated condition the only means substance has departed forever.

perfectly free to form and regulate their out parallel in history. No nation has them in sufficient time to protect them ever before been embarrassed from too from invasion. I forbear for the present large a surplus in its Treasury. This al- from expressing an opinion as to the wisest As a natural consequence, Con- most necessarily gives birth to extravagant and most economical mode in which the gress has also prescribed that when the legislation. It produces wild schemes of Government can lend its aid in account Territory of Kansas shall be admitted as a expenditures and begets a race of specula-plishing this great and necessary work. State, it shall be received into the Union tors and jobbers, whose ingenuity is exer- believe that many difficulties in the way with or without slavery, as their Constituted in confriving and promoting expedients which now appear formidable will in

To their decision, in connection with all I might mention the extinguishment of the this not merely as the best means of propublic debt; a reasonable increase of the moting our own material interests, but in navy, which is at present inadequate to a spirit of Christian benevolence toward the protection of our vast tonnage affoat fellow men wherever their lot may be cast. -now greater than that of any other na- Our diplomacy should be direct and frank; tion-as well as the defence of our exten- neither seeking to obtain more nor accept ded sea coast. It is beyond all question the ingless than is due. We ought to cherish true principle that no more revenue ought a sacred regard for the independence of all to be collected from the people than the nations, and never attempt to interfere in amount necessary to defray the expenses the domestic concerns of any, unless this of a wise, economical and efficient admin- shall be imperatively required by the great

resort to a modification of the tariff, and a maxim of our policy ever since the days practicable to our domestic manufactures, ought to do justice in a kindly spirit to all especially those necessary for the defences nations, and require justice in return. It effing favored corporations, individuals, sword, we have never acquired any terrior interests, would have been unjust to the tory except by fair purchase, or, as in the rest of the community, and inconsistent case of Texas, by the voluntary determinwith that spirit of fairness and equality tion of a brave, kind and independent peowhich ought to govern in the adjustment ple to blend their destinies with our own. of a revenue tariff; but the squandering Even our acquisitions from Mexico form of the public money sinks into compara- no exception. all agree that, under the Constitution, sla- tive insignificance, as a temptation to cor- tage of the fortune of war against a sisruption, when compared with the squander- ter Republic, we purchased these possessing of the public lands.

been blessed with so rich and noble an in- equivalent. heritance as we enjoy in the public lands.

Our past history forbids that we shall in administering this important trust, in the future acquire territory, unless this while it may be wise to grant portions of be sauctioned by the laws of justice and them for the improvement of the remain- honor. Acting on this principle, no naily become extinct? Most happy will it be | der, yet we should never forget that it is tion will have a right to interfere or to for the country when the public mind our cardinal policy to reserve these lands complain if, in process of events, we shall be diverted from this question to other as much as may be for actual settlers, and still further extend our possessions. Hiththis at moderate prices. We shall thus not erto in all our acquisitions, the people un-Throughout the whole progress of this ag- only best promote the prosperity of the der the protection of the American flag trious citizens, but shall secure homes for contented, prosperous and happy. Their our children and our children's children, trade with the rest of the world has rapidly as well as for those exiles from foreign plessings of civil and religious liberty.

Such emigrants have done much to promote the growth and prosperity of the country. They have proved faithful both Under our system there is a remedy in peace and in war. After becoming for all mere political evils, in the sound citizens, they are entitled under the Consense and soher indement of the conequality with native born citizens, and in this character they should ever be kindly recognized. The federal Constitution is a grant from the States to Congress of certain specific powers, and the question whether this grant shall be liberally or strictly construed, has more or less divided political parties from the beginning. Without entering into the argument, I desire to tration, that long experience and observa-

safe theory of the Constitution.

such instances might be adduced, if this It is an evil of the times that men have were the proper occasion. Neither is it

and our Pacific possessions, except by means But such considerations, important as of a military road through the territory of

In case of a war with a naval power

It might also be wise to consider wheth-Our present financial condition is with- side of the Rocky Mountains can reach

plus in the Treasury to great national ob- experience from which we should never de jects for which a clear warrant can be part. We ought to cultivate peace, com found in the Constitution. Among these merce and friendship with all nations, and

law of self-preservation. To reach this point it was necessary to To avoid entangling alliances has been Unwilling to take advanions under a treaty of peace for a sum No nation in the title of time has ever which was considered at the time a fair

increased, and thus every commercial naoath of office prescribed by the Constitution, while humbly invoking the blessing of Divine Providence on this great people.

JAMES BUCHANAN.

(The parent who would train up his child in the way he should go, must go in

ADDRESS the Albany Convention of Feb. 11, 1857.

To the Voters of Oregon : Upon the undersigned has devolved the ment patronage to control the Presidential statesmen of all political parties treated it responsible duty of addressing you upon elections for some time to come. The re- and spoke of it as a finality, a permanent, such matters as are of much importance to sult of this bold stroke on the part of the inviolable compact, which was under no those who are interested in the prosperity last administration of course made slavery- circumstances to be disturbed. To be of the country and the perpetuity of the extension the paramount issue, and, in sure, in 1837 the Missouri Senators, by Union. We entertain no doubt but what breaking down the old political parties by enlisting the chairman of the judiciary question, all such calculations are at fault. Congress may appropriate money toward the great mass of the citizens of Oregon rendering ancient political principles of miand cherish an honest desire to support political parties, which have joined issue the Platte Purchase, a small section lying such political principles as are best calcu- upon the question which overshadows all north of the Compromise line, and the bill ated to perpetuate the one and preserve others. The Nebraska party, which num- was passed through the inattention of men is conducted on railroads and canals, on no power to declare war, to raise and support inviolate the other. It is to such men who bers in its ranks as leaders the most ultra who from some cause failed to see in it the ble rivers and arms of the sea, which bind armies, to provide and maintain a navy, are really honest at heart, and impelled in slavery-extension men of the South, who political action by a desire to serve their openly declare their hostility to the Union, be. Every step that had been taken by country in giving her a wise and whole- has taken the name of the democratic party, the Government from the time of the desome administration, that we, your peers while the great opposing party, which nunciation of the slave trade by the Contiand hostile States, and you destroy the ted States hall protect each of them (the in the great political family of our com- numbers among its ranks the conservative neutal Congress of 1774 down to the enmon ancestors, humbly beg to present a portion of the old parties, who still adhere lire prohibition of it in 1820, met with few considerations. If you cannot at once to the principles of Jefferson and Washaccede to all that we claim for our princi- ington, and are in favor of restoring peace they are in themselves, sink into insignifi- the United States, over which men and ples, we crave the charity to believe us to the Government by putting a final qui- to second from the Union upon the ground cance when we reflect on the terrific evils munitions of war may be speedily trans- honest in our convictions, and we shall be etus upon the slavery agitation, is called of an infringement by the U. S. Governwhich would result from disunion to every ported from the Atlantic States to meet and happy indeed if we but secure your attention to a calm and dispassionate investiga- an issue have we been drifting slowly since Government, in all its legislation for sevnot more than to the West. These I shall much stronger than our own, we should not attempt to portray, because I feel an then have no other available access to the uninfluenced by political associations. It Congress of 1774, which resulted in the humble confidence that the kind Provi- Pacific coast, because such a power would is unnecessary perhaps to state that the adoption of a resolution denouncing the Government, who looked upon the institupresent is the most important epoch in the slave trade. In 1787 the anti-slavery-exhistory of our Government. National pol-tention sentiment was sufficiently strong to be tolerated where it existed, but who ities have within the last three years as- to consecrate to free labor all the territory sumed an entirely new aspect. Old political north-west of the Ohio river included in parties have either become extinct or laid the limits of Jefferson's ordinance of '87. by old issues, and entirely remodeled and While several of the original thirteen States that had control over it, and the reconstructed platforms, and gone before States have abolished slavery since the fond hope was often expressed by Jefferson the people upon new issues. While the Constitution was adopted, not a single and his compeers that such would eventuold Whig party is dead, the Democratic slave State has ever been admitted since, ally be the case. party has practically adopted at least one except upon some weighty consideration half of her creed upon the Tariff question, that was considered as of sufficient value and, in the passage of appropriation bills to offsett the evils inflicted upon the Union '87 to the act of 1820 branding the slave by the U. S. Senate for improving rivers by an alliance with her in her obnoxious trade as piracy, as also the passage of the by which the power of the States on this and harbors over President Pierce's veto, character, or without violent opposition .as also from assurances given by Mr. Buch. Kentucky, in order to get into the Union, anan to the people of California of Exec. threatened an alliance with the Spaniards the act of 1850 establishing and confirmutive influence in favor of the Pacific Railroad, we are justified in the conclusion that North Carolina and Georgia refused to Texas, the General Government met with this party has repudiated the old strict code to the United States the territory now strong opposition from South Carolina .construction doctrine, and adopted such in embracing Tennessee, Mississippi, and Al- Her representatives, together with a few terpretations of the Constitution as give to abama, except on condition that slavery other ultra Southern men, have persisttion may prescribe at the time of their admission. A different opinion has arisen in
regard to the time when the people of a
Territory shall decide this question of the Government suffers in the
themselves. This is happily a matter of
the government for the people. This is in itself

The questions of Bank, Tariff, and constitutional construction, which once made up

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The questions of the construction of the construction of the construction of th the General Government full power to should be tolerated therein. In 1798, ently urged that slavery-extension and its tutional construction, which once made up North Carolina and Georgia from prohib. ernment justified a dissolution of the Union. but little practical importance, and besides it is a judicial question which legitimately belongs to the Supreme Court of the University of the University of the Supreme Court of the University of the Supreme Court of the University of t litical controversy : all political parties, so far as they are committed, holding pretty

much the same views upon all such ques. stitution of the United States left the diftions of national policy. Entirely new issues ferent States with entire control over the have been made up, creating entirely new foreign slave trade for twenty years, giving political parties. The present American or to Congress the power to abolish it entirely Know Nothing party is as unlike the old at the end of this time. In 1800 the Gen-Whig organization as the modern Pierce eral Government, which up to this time and Douglas democracy is unlike the de- had left the control of it with the States. mocracy of Jefferson, Jackson, and Monroe. now passed an act imposing a fine of \$1000 To be sure, this modern party, whilst it with a forfeiture of the vessel for each has repudiated the principles of the old person imported as a slave contrary to the Democratic party, has an advantage over laws of any of the States. In 1808, when the American party in having adopted the the time had arrived when Congress had old name. Nevertheless, it is a new party, full control over the matter, it passed an for although it retains the old name, neither act imposing fines upon all persons engaged Jefferson nor Jackson, were they now live in fitting out a vessel to be used as a slaof the country. Any discrimination against is your glory, that while other nations ing, could become members of it without ver, and imposing fine, imprisonment, and a particular branch for the purpose of ben- have extended their dominions by the an entire change of principles. Of course forfeiture of vessel, upon all persons conthen the old political parties are now all cerned in importing slaves from foreign entirely out of the way, and are succeeded countries. New acts were passed in 1818 by new organizations, effected by the and 1819 of a more stringent character, springing upon the people of new issues. but in 1820 an act was passed declaring Judging from the unwonted warmth which the slave trade piracy and punishable with characterized the last Presidential cam- death. Louisiana, which was organized paign, and the deep anxiety manifested as into a Territorial government in 1804, to the result, we might safely conclude was peopled with slaveholders, who were that the new issues are of a highly impor- residents of the country at the time it was tant character. The campaign conflict ceded to the United States by the French seemed, for the first time in the bistory of in 1803. Slavery was tolerated in this the Government, to threaten the safety of Territory by Congress as an act of justice the Union itself, and the final result of the to the old residents who were there as set- in what Benton termed his "fire-brand resgreat political question which has been pre- tlers at the time the country was ceded to olutions," at the time the Oregon bill was cipitated upon the American people by the us. In 1803 the Territory of Indiana, violation of the Missouri Compromise, will embracing what now forms Michigan, Illimost unquestionably decide the fate of this nois, Wisconsin, and Indiana, memorialized The long-cherished hopes of these Southitation, which has scarcely known any intermission for more than twenty years—
and independent race of honest and induswell as equal and just laws, and have been Compromise which since 1820 had been of the restriction contained in the ordi-Government. The destruction of this Congress for a removal from that Territory ern fire-caters were fully realized in the revered by all statesmen and respected by nance of '87, complaining of a want of the passage of the Nebraska bill in 1854. all citizens North and South, as possessing immigration and a great scarcity of laborter, to the slave, and to the whole country; shores who may seek in this country to imment, has plunged the nation into the same committee in Congress to whom the meslavery agitation which Clay and his com- morial was referred, made a report adverse patriots thought they had finally settled by to the prayer of the petitioners, as it was under the pleasing title of "popular sor a perpetual compromise enactment, at the considered unwise and unsafe to impair a ereignty." The bill when examined will time the North made strong objections to provision wisely instituted to promote the be found to be nothing but slavery sover-A horse died in Barre, Mass., at the admission of Missouri into the Union happiness and prosperity of the people, signty. Under that bill, the people of the the advanced age of 43 years and 8 months. in 1820. The repeal of the Compromise and added that the inhabitants of Illinois Territories are allowed no privileges, saide measures, after the South had derived her would at no distant day find smple temu- from the slavery question, that they did not share of the benefits accruing therefrom, neration for a temporary deprivation of enjoy before. Congress still claims the the way he would train up his child. Ex- was a gross injustice to the North, and slave labor, in a heavy immigration of free right of legislating for them, the I'resident time has fulfilled the prediction of such laborers. How that prediction has been appoints the Territorial officers, and, in men as Houston, Bell, Banton, and other verified, let the present population of Kansas and Nebraska, the Governors are

guage of Bentou, it was designed to weld purposes, in the hope that enough Northern

in case of being refused admittance, and The Convention that formed the Con-

67 It is enough to make one shudder Southern men, that it would reopen the 3.454,006 inhabitants, possessing property not only the creatures of the President. to read the printers' advertisement for a slavery agitation se as to convert the na- to the amount of \$838,739,518, answer. but they have the ve'o power. Even upon boy of "good moral character," when it is tion into a "great boiling cauldron." As In the same year (1820) that Congress de- the subject of slavery it is not yet decided well known they intend to make a "devil" much as it is denied in Northern localities clared the slave trade piracy, Missouri was that the citizens of a Territory are sevby men who are ignorant of the character admitted into the Union as a slave State. ereigns previous to the time of a State or 67 There is a young lady in town so and objects of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, The obstacles that were thrown in the way ganization. When the Kansas-Nebrask modest that she had a young mon turned nothing is capable of a clearer demonstra- of her admission by the North gave rise to bill was put upon its passage, the origins

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JOB PRINTING.

The proprieto of the ARGUS is harry to inform the public that he has just received a large stock of JOB TYPE and other new printing material, and will be in the speedy receipt of ing material, and will be in the speedy receipt of additions suited to all the requirements of this lo-cality. HANDBILLS, POSTERS, BLANKS, CARDS, CRECULARS, PAMPHLET-WORK and other kinds, done to order, on short notice.

stability of the Government. The agita-By the Republican Committee appointed by the South together as a unit for political tion was finally quelled by the adoption of the Compromise line as a final settlement electoral votes could be secured by govern- of the whole question. All prominent violent opposition in some portions of the South, and South Carolina even threatened enty years showed a strong tendency to carry out the wishes of the founders of the tion of slavery as a great national calamity. shaped the Constitution and all their legislation so as to prepare the way for its gradual extinction and final removal by the

> In all this salutary legislation, from the time of the passage of the ordinance of Missouri Compromise in the same year, down to solemnly reaffirming the same in ing the northern and western boundary of sage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill in 1854 introduced resolutions into Congress admitting the right of slaveholders to carry what the laws of their own States recognized as property into all the Territories. and disclaiming any power in Congress to legislate slavery out of the same. In 1838 Wm. C. Rives of Virginia offered the following resolution in the U. S. Senate, which it will be seen embraces precisely the principles of the Kansas-Nebraska bill :

> "Resolved. That any interference with the subject of slavery, in the Territories of the United States, in which it may exist, is inhibited by all the considerations in regard to the rights and interests of the inhabitants of the said Territories, the security of the slaveholding States, and the danger to the Union, which are mentioned in the preceding resolution, as forbidding any interference with, or action on the subject of slavery in the District of Columbia; and for the further reason that the people of those Territories, when admitted into the Union as States, will be exclusively entitled to decide the question of the existence of slavery within their respective limits for themselves."

The resolution was defeated, Calhoun-Rives, Roane, and a few other Southern men voting for it, while a heavy majority of Senators voted against it, prominent among whom was James Buchanan. In 1847 Calhoun again presented the matter, before the Senate. The resolutions shared the same fate with that of Rives' in 1838. violation of the Missouri Compromise and under the administration of Frankliu Pierce The slavery-extension fraud which was practiced upon the people by the passage of that act, was sought to be covered up