NEW SERIES.

BEDFORD, PA., FRIDAY MORNING, OCTOBER 19, 1860.

VOL. 4. NO. 12.

#### THE BEDFORD GAZETTE IS PUBLISHED EVERY FRIDAY MORNING

# BY B. F. MEYERS,

No subscription taken for less than six months.

No paper discontinued until all arrearages are

The courts have decided that persons are acountable for the subscription price of newspapers, they take them from the post office, whether they ubscribe for them. or not.

There were those who foresaw that longer affiliation with Southern Disunionists would in-

LETTER

HON, AMOS KENDALL,

TO HON. JAMES L. ORR,

OF SOUTH CAROLINA. Washington, Sept. 10, 1860.

while I was absent in the North.

med to avow, I cheerfully comply with your

You quote from my former letter the decla- refused ration that "my mind is equally clear that the you ask of me a full explanation of my opinions industrial policy?"

In a subsequent part of your letter you call signed. my attention to certain grievances endured by the South, and conclude your commentary on them as follows, viz :

"Is it wise, if we do not intend to submit to such consequences, to allow a Black Republiin possession of the Army, the Navy, the Treasury, the armories and arsenals, the public property—in fact the whole machinery of the Government with its appendants and apportenances? If the South should think ident should ever execute any law within her borders unless at the point of the bayonet and over the dead bodies of her slain sons."

to the President to aid him it necessary in ex- men.

mended to the South, in the event of Mr. Lin-coln's election to the Presidency, a fatuity little latitudinarian and dangerous claim of power short of madness. Would you pull down the in Congress never was advanced by Federalcanopy of heaven because wrong and crime ex- ists of the Hamilton school. Look at in a conon which we tread, because earthquakes some- have the right to legislate for the protection of times heave it and pestilence walks on its sur- slave property in the Territories, they have people it protects, North and South, East and property; and if they have a right to legislate for the protection of property, they have a Republican be elected President next November. Should the attempt be made, a united The assumption that they can legislate for the North and three-fourths of a divided South protection of slave property leads, logically would spring to the rescue. No, no, the rem- and inevitably, to the conclusion that they have edy for the evils of which you justly complain power to legislate for the Territories in all is to be found within the Union, and not a- cases whatsoever. If you can put your finger

mong its bloody ruins. merate are hard to be borne; but a few Southern be found. Upon this principle, Congress may men are not without responsibility for their ex- acquire an empire outside of the organic States, istence. The general sentiment of the coun- over which it may exercise unlimited power, try, North and South, at the close of the Rev- governing it as the Roman Senate did their conolutionary war 'was Anti-Slavery. It has quered provinces. And this under a Constituchanged in the South, but remains unchanged tion which jealously restricts the exclusive in the North. There, however, it has been power of legislation by Congress to a few spots roused to unwonted activity, by the preachings of land purchased, with the consent of the of fanatics and the denunciations of political States, for specified objects, and grants no power demagogues, aided not a little by the arts, the of general legislation over a territory whatsoevlanguage and the violence of Southern disu- er.

which have brought the politics of the country of power to Congress is the following, viz have dragged after them the true Union men dock-yards, and other needful buildings." of the South, partly through their fears of being Mark the jealousy with which this power for political distinction; to make the Democrat- exceeding ten miles square, and it cannot

fore the last Presidential election to a minority in most of the Northern States, and in the residue had the utmost difficulty in maintaining At the following terms, to wit:
\$1.50 per annum, cash, in advance.
\$2.00 " " if paid within the year.
\$2.50 " " if not paid within the year.

\$2.50 " " Description is pre-eminent, sought expression through the American nent, sought expression nent, sough their ascendancy. In the meantime, the Union party. To such an extent had the Pemocratic Party been weakened by the insidious policy of their Disunion allies, that they had the utmost toppage of a newspaper without the payment of arrefrages, is prima facte evidence of fraud and is a

evitably destroy the ascendancy of the Democratic Party, and a feeble and a fruitless effort was made to induce the President to lay the foundations of his Administration on the rock of the Union, and cut loose from those who were seeking to destroy it. For reasons, no doubt patriotic, but to me inexplicable, the reverse of that policy was pursued. The support of the Lecompton Constitution, which the coun-Hon. James L. ORR-My Dear Sir : Your try generally believed to be a fraud, was made etter of the 15th ult., reached Washington a test of the Democracy; one leading Democrat after another was proscribed because they Though I did not contemplate when I wrote you on the 9th ult., anything beyond a limited private correspondence, yet, having no opin- successfully vindicating the rights of the South, on on the portentous condition of public affairs an act of Congress was passed for the admission which I have a motive to conceal, or am asha- of Kansas into the Union at once, provided she would consent to become a slave-nolding State, but postponing her admission indefinitely if she

In your published letter you justly condemn South has long had a peaceful remedy within the Seceders from the Charleston Convention her reach, and has it still, though impaired by who, you think, ought to have remained, and the recent conduct of some of her sons," and prevented the nomination of a candidate who is obnoxious to the South. Do you not perceive on that point as well as "the remedy to be re- sir, that the secession was a part of the programorted to by us (the South) should the Govern- me for breaking up the Democratic Party ?nent in November, pass into the hands of a And is it not palpable that after absolutely vaparty whose declared purpose is to destroy our cating their seats at Charleston, they went to property, amounting in value, at the present Baltimore for the mere purpose of more effectutime, to not less than three billions, one hundred and fifty millions of dollars." You ask, "Can it be prudent, safe or manly in the South tertain no doubt that the secession was the re- to say that such a power has, to some extent sult most desired by the disunionists; that the been exercised. Is it better to acquiesce in declared purpose is to destroy such an amount object of the new issue then gotten up was mereof property and subvert our whole social and by to form a pretext for secession, and that its it, as in the case of the United States Bank, by adoption was the last thing they desired or de-

Glance a moment at a few facts: Alabama. led by an open disunionist, went to Cincinnati. in 1856, under instructions to secede unless the equal rights of all the States in the Territories ould be conceded and incorporated into the cad President to be inaugurated, and put him platform of the Democratic Party. The concession was made, and they had no opportunity

They came to Charleston under the same leader, again instructed to secede unless the Convention would put into the platform a new this subject as I do, no Black Republican Pres- plank, the effect of which, if adopted, would e further to disgust and alienate the Northern Democracy. In this instance the sine qua non was not complied with, and the Disunionists I shudder at such sentiments coming from floated off on the rejected plank into an unone whose sincerity I cannot doubt. The time known sea, unfortunately carrying with was when 150,000 men tendered their services

time will be when 200,000 men will be volun- nition of which has riven asunder the Demoteers for a like purpose, should resistance be made cratic Party and apparently threatens the to his legitimate authority, no matter by what dissolution of the Union? It is that, it is the party he may be elected.

There seems to me to be in the course recomright and duty of Congress to legislate for the

meath it? Would you break up the earth stitutional and practical light: If Congress This Union, sir, is to precious to the right to legislate for the protection of all other on the grant of this power in the Constitution, landmit that the grievances which you enu-

To verify these positions we need only ad-It is needless to give in detail all the causes vert to the Constitution. Among the grants

to their present deplorable condition. Suffice "To exercise exclusive legislation in all cato say that you have long had in the South a ses whatsoever over such district not exceeding small party of able men whose aim has been to ten miles square as may by cession of particudestroy the Union; that, as a preliminary to lar States; and the acceptance of Congress, betheir main design, they nave sought to break up come the seat of Government of the United the Democratic Party; that their means for States and to exercise like authority over all accomplishing this end were to act with it, and place spurchased by the consent of the Legislaforce upon it every possible issue obnoxious to ture of the State in which the same shall be the general sentiment of the North; that they for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals,

considered laggard in their devotion to the is restricted. For the protection of the Gov-Southern interests, and partly through ambition ernment even it is limited to a Territory not ic party as odious as possible at the North, they exercised over the "forts, magazines, arsenals, became the advocates of slavery on principle, dockyards, and other needful buildings," situajustified the African-Slave-trade, and denounced ted within the States, unless the land on which the laws prohibiting it. By these acts and they may be located shall be first purchased frequent threats of disunion they enabled the en- with "the consent of the Legislatures" of those emies of the Democracy in the North to de- States. Is it conceivable that the wise men nounce them as Pro-Slavery men, and to all who restricted the exclusive power of legislathis they added occasional taunts that they were tion in Congress to a territory not exceeding no more to be relied upon for the protection of ten miles square, did, by any indirection, grant Southern rights than their opponents. By these that power broadly enough to cover the whole which the country and the world would demeans the Democratic Party was reduced be- continent outside of their organized States, clare the South to be the aggressor.

legislate over the territorie,s viz :

longing to the United States."

conclusively shown by its connection with the ful to their respective trusts. words "and other property." "Territory and other property." The territory spoken of, about reserved rights of nullification, secession, therefore, is property in lands.

is thenceforth in abeyance.

well to property within a State as within a territory. In a State the general power of same in a State as in a Territory. of the grant can, of course, be no greater in the Territory than in a State, and it necessarily follows that this clause of the Constitution confers on Congress no general power of legislation, either within States or Territories.

It is not a satisfactory reply to this argument and extend the usurpation than to put a stop to bringing the Government back to the constitutional test? Which is safest for the South, the constitutional principle that Congress shall not legislate for the Territories at all, or the adoption of a principle unknown to the Constitution, which, in its general application, would not only defeat the object it is advanced to promote, but would enable the Free States majority to surround the Slaveholding States and encircle the Union with an empire outside the organized States, over which that respority should exercise the power of unlimited and exclusive legislation? If such an idea be chimerical, the apprehension is not chimerical that the Black Republicans, should they acquire the control of all branches of the Government, will use the claim now set up for Congressional legislation over one species of property in the territories, as an apology for assumthe power to destroy as well as to protect.

name implies. It has, by strict rules of construction, nothing to do with the Territories outside of the States united, beyond the protection and disposition of the common property therein. It seems to contemplate that the Territories shall be left to themselves until they have a population adequate to the formation of a respectable community, when their independence should be acknowledged and their admission into the Union granted on the sole condition that they adopt a Republican Govern-

But if there be a doubt as to the power of Congress to legislate for the Territories, is it not safer, and far more consistent with Democratic principles to deny the power than to assume it? Some of the original States when admitted in to the Union, had not the population of a third-rate city of the present day, and no harm would be likely to arise by leaving the Territories to themselves until they double the population of Delaware or Rhode Island in 1789. But would it not be incomparably better to admit them into the Union as States, with a much less population than to leave them to e a bone of contention among demagogues and disurtionists, disturbing every essential interest of the country and jeopardizing the union of the existing States?

Let us briefly consider the practical workings of the remedy for Southern wrongs, which you suggest, in case a Black Republican is elected to the Presidency. You ask, "is it wise, if we do not intend to submit to such consequen ces, to allow a Black Republican President to be inau gurated," &c., and you say, "if the South should think upon this subject as I do, no Black Republican President should ever execute any law within her borders unless at the point of the bayonet and over the dead bodies of her

I know there are men in the South who would sacrifice their lives and endanger the communities in which they live, upon a point of honor, and that such men often fire up with unwonted fierceness if reminded of the probable cons equences of their own rashness. the time has come when consequences should be looked in the face, not for purposes of defiance, but that we may consider whether the policy which would lead to them is required by Southern interests or honor.

How do they propose to prevent the in-auguration of a Black Republican President should such an one be unfortunately elected? Will you come to this city with an armed force, an attempt to prevent an inauguration by vio-In that event, force would be met by force, and there would be instant civil war, in

should it be annexed by purchase or conquest? He would be inaugurated here or elsewhere | will join you in driving from power the reck- power to legislate over all rightful sub-The following provision is the only one in the Constitution which has been chiefly, if not tempt to secede from the Union and resist the But whether the united South come up to the exclusively relied upon to sustain the position execution of the laws? Every lawyer in the rescue or not, I foresee that in the natural progthat Congress has any power whatsoever to South knows that every citizen of every State is ress of events, the central States from the Atas much bound by the laws of the United States lantic to the far West, will band together on "The Congress shall have power to dispose constitutionally enacted as by the laws of his of and make all needful rules and regulations own State, and that it is as impossible for the England and the Disunionists of the South to respecting the Territory or other property be- State to relieve its citizens from allegiance to the harmless pastime of belching fire and fury at the United States as it is for the latter to relieve each other at a safe assistance, protected by the The word "Territory" used in this provision them from allegiance to their own State. And patriotism and good sense of nine-tenths of their obviously means land and nothing else. The it is the sworn duty of the President to take Udited States, at the time when the Constituion was adopted, owned an immense amount fully executed upon every citizen of every of land north of the Ohio River, and these State, and as long as we have a faithful Presilands Congress was authorized to "dispose of." dent, they will be executed if the Courts, the circumstances can be found among the candi-That the word "Territory" means property is Marshals, the Army and the Navy remain faith-

and not coercing a sovereign State, &c., when "Rules and regulations" are a grade of legislaion somewhat below the dignity of laws; but of the several States which adopted the Constiadmitting them in this case to have the same tution, made no such reservations, but bound effect, on what are they to operate? Simply their constituents, one and all; to allegiance to on the property of the United States, not on the Constitution of the United States, as firmly any other property, nor on persons, except so as similar Conventions bound them to the State far as they may be connected with the public Constitutions. And although the General Governproperty. To this extent, and no further, ment cannot technically, coerce a State, it can s the power of Congress to legislate over a rightfully coerce all the citizens of a State into Territory granted to Congress, and whenever obedience to its constitutional laws. The preall the lands and property are disposed of, the condition and seces"rules and regulations" become obsolete, and some obsolete the power of legislation granted in this clause, less than an outspoken right of rebellion when wrong and oppression become intolerable. But Moreover, this grant of power extends as when the crisis comes, there are two parties who must necessarily decide, each for itself. whether circumstances justify the act-the selegislation is in the State Legislature; yet the ceders and the Government of the United power of Congress to make "rules and regula- States. And do you conceive that the mere etions" respecting the public property, is the lection of a President entertaining obnoxious opinions, or even entertaining hostile designs against the institutions of the South, checked, as he must necessarily be, by a Senate and Judiciary, if not a House of Representatives, without one overt act, can justify any portion of the South even to their own consciences in an act

There is one notable feature in the attitude f the South. The cry of disunion comes-not from those who suffer most from Northern outrage, but from those who suffer least. It comes from South Carolina, and Georgia, and Alabama and Mississippi, whose slave property is rendered comparatively secure by the intervention of mong the thousands uttered by them : other Slaveholding States between them and other Slaveholding States between them and the Free States, and not from Delaware, and tory belongs exclusively to the people thereof. Maryland, and Virginia, and Kentucky, and Tennessee, and Missouri, which lo e a hundred C. F. Jackson, March 20, 1849. slaves by Abolition thieves where the firstnamed States lose one. Why are not the States that suffer most loudest in their cry for disunion? It is because their position enables them to see more distinctly than you do at a distance. the fatal and instant effects of such a step. As im-perfect as the protection which the Constitution and laws give to their property undoubtedly is, it is better than none. They do not think it wise to place themselves in a position to have the John Browns of the North let loose upon ing the power of general legislation, involving war between independent nations constitued by them with no other restraints than the laws of reckless fanatics. They prefer to fight the Abnot made for Territories but for States, as its ion, where their adversaries are somewhat reolitionists, if fight they must, within the Unstrained by constitutional and legal obligations No. Sir ; Delaware, Maryland and Virginia do not intend to become the theatre of desolating wars between the North and South ; Kentucky, Tennessee and Missouri do not intend that there peaceful channels of commerce shall become ivers of blood to gratify the ambition of South Carolina and Alabama, who at a remote dis-

rance from present danger, cry out disunion. I have said that the South has all along had a praceful remedy and has it still. The Union sentiment is overwhelming in all the Middle and Western States, constituting two-thirds may act upon the subject when and how they of the Republic. Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana may think proper. and Illinois are as little inclined to become frontier States as Maryland, Virginia, Kentuck-

v. Had the present Administration cut loose rom the disunionists, instead of virtually minstering to their designs, and planted itself firmly on Union ground, the secession at Charleson and Baltimore would never have occcurred, and the "Constitutional Union Party" would have been an impossibility; the Democracy would have recovered its ascendancy in the North, and an united party, embracing twothirds of the North and of the South, would now have been marching to certain victory next November. What ought to have been the preventive, must now be the remedy. Should Lincoln in November next secure a majority of the Electors, patriotic men, North and South, without waiting for his inauguration, irrespective of party lines, and throwing aside all minor considerations, must band together for the triple purpose of preventing any attempt to break up the Union, checking the Republican party while in the ascendant and expelling them from power at the next election. Let the toast of Gen. Jackson, "The Federal Union-It must be preserved," become the motto of the party, while strict construction of the Constitution and a jealous regard for the rights of the States shall be its distinguishing principle and unwavering practice. Let the constitutional termine whether the institution shall perprinciple be adopted of no legislation by Con- vail. gress over the Territories, or throw aside altogether the mischievous issues in relation to them, of no practical utility, gotten up by demagogues and disunionists, as means of accomplishing their own selfish ends. Let them inflexibly refuse to support, for any Federal or State officers, any man who talks of disunion on the one hand or "irrepressible conflict between Freedom and Slavery" on the other. Throw aside all party leaders except such as "keep step to the music of the Union" and are prepa-

red to battle for State rights under its banner Be this your "platform :" let the South rally upon it as one man, and I would pledge all

Can you doubt the success of such a reunion ? Not an advocate of disunion under any probable dates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency.

The supporters of Bell to a man, the support ters of Douglas to a man, and more than threefourths of the supporters of Breckinridge, are staunch friends of the Union, and staunch adversaries to Northern interference with Souhern institutions. When, convinced of the folly and madness of their warfare on each other as they will be after the election if not betore, they band together in a common cause, and that cause, the preservation of our glorious Union and its invaluable Constitution, with their attendant blessings, will they not be irrre-

How much more hopeful and cheering is a prospect like this than the contemplation of any, an' had to kill dat turkey cock, yer see. standing armies, grinding taxes, ruined agriculture, prostrate commerce, bloody battles, ravaged countries and sacked citities. This Continent like the Eastern world, is destined to have its "Northern hive :" Shall its swarms be repressed by the strong hand of the States united, or are they, by a dissolution of the Union, to be let loose upon the South, like the Goths and Vandals upon Southern Europe? True, their blood might, in that event, fertilize your desolated fields, but your institutions like those of the Roman Empire, would sink to rise no more.

These are the thoughts of an old man whose only political aspirations are, that when he dies he may leave his country united, happy and free. With sincere regard.

AMOS KENDALL.

### DEMOCRACY IN 1856.

It is well to turn back and see how southern men understood the Cincinnati Platform in 18-56. The following testimonials are but few a-

-Jackson (Tennessee) Resolutions Reported by

"That the power under the Federal Constitution to regulate slavery in the Territoris, Ex-ISTS IN THE SOVEREIGN PEOPLE OF THE TERRITO-RIES .- Resolve of the General Assembly of Missouri, Session of 1846.

The people of a Territory, like those of a State, shall decide for themselves, whether slavery shall, or shall not exist within their lim-

# JAMES BUCHANAN.

bject the extension of slavery, nor with any to turkey-look all over him. Says heevent the people of a State or Territory from "It's no use-you can't bile dis turkey; deciding the question of its existence or non-existence with them for themselves.

JNO. C. BRECKINRIDGE.

The majority of the people, by the action of the Territorial Legislature, will decide the question, and all must abide the decision, when

The great and leading feature of the Kansas Nebraska bill was to transfer the slavery question and all other subjects to the Territorial Legislatures.

JAMES L. ORR, of S. C. I am willing that the Territorial Legislature ALEX. H. STEPHENS, of Ga.

The principle of self-government in the Ter-J. P. BENJAMIN, of La.

It is the right of the people to govern themselves, and they alone shall exercise it, as well

GEO. W. JONES, of Tenn. authorized to legislate upon all subjects whatsoever, slavery included. They may either establish or abolish it, at their pleasure.

J. PETIT, of Ind. I believe that under the provisions of this (Kansas) bill, and of the Utah and New Mexico bills, there will be a perfect carte blanche given to the Territorial Legislatures to legislate

as they think proper.

A. P. Butler, of S. C. Under the Kansas act, citizens from the slaveholding States may go into the Territory with their slave property; citizens of the free States may go there holding no such property; and when they get there and meet in common council, as a legislative body, they may de-

J. M. Mason, of Va. If the people of the Territories choose to ex- tend is the birthright of American citizens." clude slavery, so far from considering it a | An animated contest may evidently be antiwrong done to me or to my constituents. I shall not complain of it-IT IS THEIR BUSI-

GEO. E. BADGER, of N. C. torial government.

but my life, that at least one-half of the Nortin the legislatures of these Territories shall have cabbage stalk:

R. H. HUNTER, of Ga.

#### Rather Tough.

Cuff was a gentleman's gentleman, down in old Virginia, and a darkey of most undoubted honesty and truth; but he would sometimes tell tough stories. He met "Kurnel Johnsing's nigg," as he called him, the other day, and after cussing and discussing various matters appertaining to the masters, they fell into the following conversation:

Sam .- "Well, Cuff, how was you ?"

CUFF .- "Oh, I isn't no wuss." Sam .- "How is all de folks down at de

CUFF.-"Oh dey is able to be around 'cept de ole man's darter ; she had de doctor de other day. He came in, looked at her, an' says she was bilyus, and guv her a box of ingine wegitable pills. When de doctor go, she up an' trowd de pills out de winder. She wouldn't take no pills, no sah! Wa!, de ole turkey cock cum an-greedy cuss-he gobbled down de pills, box an' all, wid de whole direckshuns, in four different langwiges. Next day we had kump-Brought him on de table biled wid os ster sass ; massa flourish his knife, an' try to cut him up

- couldn't git de knife into him. "Cuff," says he, how long did yer bile dis-

"Bile him an hour sah." "Take him away and bile him anoder

hour." "So I took him away and biled him anoder

Sam. - "Did de kumpny wait?"

Cuff.-"Oh, fyes de kumpny waited, 1 brought de turkey in, and massa flourish his big knife again, and try to cut him, but he couldn't do it, no sah !

"Take him away and bile him anoder

"So I took him down in de kitchen agin, anoder time." SAM. - "Did de kumpny wait ?"

CUFF .- "Of course dey waited. I brought in de turkey agin and massa try to cut. But it was no go, massa git mad. He say, "take him and bile him a week."

Sam .- "Did de kumpny wait ?" CUFF. - "Oh, yes, de kumpny waited! Dey were bound to see de fun out you know. Wal, in a week I brought in dat turkey. Massa thought he got him dis time sure. But he couldn't cut a hole in him-de old cock wasn't to be cut. Massa send for de doctor to hab de I am connected with no party that has for its turkey examined. De doctor come, look at de

> he has took a box of dem ingine wegitable pills and dere is't any bil- in him !"

# Hon. Eli Thayer.

Perhaps no Congressional district in the Union has latterly excited more attention than that represented in the present Congress by Hon. Eli Thayer, of Massachusetts. His experience in Kansas having induced him to believe that Popular Sovereignty was a better and fairer plan for the adjustment of the slavery question in the Territories than Congressional intervention, he has ably and boldly sustained his opinions, and for this reason a resolute effort was made to prevent his re-nomination, which proved successful. In a recent letter, howevritories enables us to banish from the halls of er, in reply to a request of five hundred Repub-Congress another fertile source of discontent and licans to permit the use of his name as an independent candidate, after complaining of unfairness on the part of some of the party managers of his district, he says :

while in a territorial condition as in the posi- "With me, neither party ties nor party discipline have any authority or respectability, when they come in conflict with truth and jus-The people of the Territories are expressly tice. As I stood upon the floor of Congress in defence of my own convictions, and in defiance of the authority of party, so I will do here and everywhere, now and always, a free man. I confide in a free peofile.

'I do, therefore, with my whole heart, accept the nomination, coming as it does from the sovereign power, and therefore of higher significance and authority than any nomination made by the servants of a party organization. This is a nomination of the very highest authority, and is wholly congenial to my political principles and ideas. If the people desire me to represent them longer in Congress they will prove it by their votes. Whatever be their decision, I shall be content with it as an expression of that popular sovereignty which I con-

Women require more sleep than men, aud farmers less than those engaged in any o-We intend that the actual settlers in the ther occupation. Editors, reporters, printers Territories shall be protected in the full exer- and telegraph operators, require no sleep at all. gislate for themselves while they have a Terri-

R. Toombs, of Ga. Picture of despair-a poor pig with its The bill (Kansas and Nebraska) provides that nose through a garden fence, almost touching a