

Democrat and Sentinel.

THE BLESSINGS OF GOVERNMENT, LIKE THE DEWS OF HEAVEN, SHOULD BE DISTRIBUTED ALIKE, UPON THE HIGH AND THE LOW, THE RICH AND THE POOR.

NEW SERIES.

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Nocassin Tracks!

Many rumors are about in regard to the transactions which took place between Cameron and myself on various occasions previous to the late election of United States Senator. I think it better to make a plain, unvarnished statement of the facts, so that there may be no misunderstanding or misapprehension. Believing that there are many attempts to be made in the future to elect a Democrat, and that the project of putting myself in the way of the operations and trying to get me out of the way is one of the things which I determined to do, and communicated my intention to my friends. The first opportunity that offered I embraced—and this is the result.

I had been in Philadelphia, and on my return, perhaps a week or more before the election of Mr. Wm. Brobst, of Pennsylvania, with whom I was acquainted, and who was then in the Pennsylvania House, in Harrisburg, he called on me first time this winter, and I was somewhat nervousness on his account, and his conduct was soon best known to his business at Harrisburg, and a very public character. In Harrisburg I came to him and asked to see him privately, and we proceeded at once to a room, where he very soon commenced disparaging the several Democratic candidates for United States Senator, and concluded by expressing his decided preference for Gen. Cameron. This, of course, left me room to doubt the object of his visit to the State Capital, and to me, and I at once asked him whether it was the object of his visit. He said it was. I then inquired whether General Cameron authorized him to come to me, and he said he was authorized to do so. I then inquired whether he intended to enter into the preliminary arrangements to secure the election of Cameron. He answered, "by all means." I then inquired whether he intended to do so on the day of the election. He answered, "I would like to see you on the day of the election." I then inquired whether he would pay me the \$5,000. He said he would, and desired him to tell me who his members were. This he refused to do at the time, but would try and get the names of his principals to do so. He then returned in a short time, and said that General Cameron wanted to see me personally, at his residence out of town that evening. I told him I could not do so, and he said he would get another engagement I had made, and would go with him. In the meantime I consulted with Dr. Earley, of the House of Representatives, my colleague, to whom I related the foregoing facts. I then saw General Cameron again, and told him I would go with him. He would have a carriage brought to the door of Herr's Hotel at 7 o'clock, and he authorized by Cameron to do so at any time. When the carriage arrived, Dr. Earley and myself went down to Herr's and saw the carriage and Brobst there. I then made the excuse to Brobst and told him it would be best not to go. (I deemed it prudent at the state of the proceedings not to manifest too much eagerness, lest I should be the object in view.) The carriage then departed, and I called on Brobst, and he asked me to see him at the State House. I called on him as desired, and he asked me of the bank, and found me there alone. He addressed me as follows:—"Boyer, do you think you could have courage enough to vote for Cameron? I answered that it was a very serious question, and that it would be very much on circumstances." He then said, "Suppose the circumstances were all right?" I asked him how he would vote. He answered, "I would vote for Cameron." I then asked him, "in short, the result of your consideration?" He answered, "I would vote for Cameron." He then asked me what I would do. I told him I had not been in this business long, and did not know exactly how to answer, but wished him to name the amount. He asked what I thought of the right down, after the work was done. I then asked him, whether he would vote for an absentee. He answered, "I would vote for Cameron." He then asked me to get the men away, and he only regarded the money as the first instalment, and that he would be bound to take care of the

person that made him Senator afterwards, and, if he had so many to take care of, it would embarrass him, but if he had but one he could do it well and profitably as long as we lived; and said besides, there would be no more danger in voting directly for him than in being absent, for they would make every provision for the protection of the man that would vote for him. This ended the interview, and we agreed to meet again and fix the compensation. The next day he sent Brobst for me. I declined going to see him, but agreed to see him at my room No. 15 Pennsylvania House. Mr. Brobst, who was still, up to this time, fighting for Simon, went after him, and in less than twenty minutes returned with him. Cameron then said, "Well, let's come to an understanding." I said, "What for?" He answered, "In reference to the Senatorial question." I then said, "I most have \$15,000." He said, "I will give it," and wanted to know who I would prefer to arrange further interviews and do the financing of the business. I told him my limited knowledge of his friends did not enable me to name that person. He then proposed Jim Burns. I said he would do. He then left, stating that he was going to Philadelphia to arrange another matter which he had in view, and would return on Saturday evening. This was on Wednesday.

On Thursday I met John J. Patterson. He desired to see me, and asked me to call at his room at Herr's Hotel. When I met him, I asked him where Burns was. He told me he was sick. He then said, "Boyer, the money will be all right." I asked him, "What money?" He then said, "Oh, I know all about it; I saw Cameron." I must not forget to state here that, prior to my meeting Patterson, Brobst told me Patterson wanted to see me on that business, and by Cameron's arrangement, he would go down in the cars on the Lebanon Valley road on Friday at 2 o'clock, and that we would go together and settle the entire affair.

We met according to arrangement, and, in the baggage apartment of the New York car, concluded the bargain for \$20,000 for a vote for General Simon Cameron for the office of U. S. Senator, with the agreement that no other member should be bought, and that this should end the matter—provided Cameron would agree to the terms, and deposit the money in the hands of Patterson, to be paid to me immediately after the election was over, and that the two members (with whom Patterson said Cameron was in treaty) who were in the cars on their way to Philadelphia, should return on Saturday. We considered the fact that, if they were sent off, the House would not go into an election, and arrangement could not be consummated. This statement seemed to determine his mind in favor of the arrangement. Patterson went immediately to Cameron, who was in the car, and returned in a few minutes, stating that, although Cameron regarded the price big, he would pay it in order to save further trouble, and would, therefore, not say anything to the members then on their way to Philadelphia, and that they might return, and thus prevent any disagreement of the plan that might arise from their absence. Saturday evening we then agreed upon as the time for the next interview. I stopped at Reading; so did Patterson, who returned that same evening to Harrisburg. Cameron went to Philadelphia. I came up on Saturday evening, and found Cameron on the train, as well as at least one of the men who went to Philadelphia the day before, and I think both. At the depot at Harrisburg I met Patterson, who said the interview would be at Don Cameron's. Accordingly Patterson and myself went direct to the house, and found the General there ahead of us. He invited us up stairs, and, by a dismal light, we agreed upon the price, viz: Cameron assumed to be the bargain between Patterson and myself by agreeing to pay the \$20,000—\$5,000 of which was to be paid in hand—and would deposit it in Patterson's hands in my presence at some future interview, subject to my inspection. A little incident which occurred here it would be a pity to lose to the world. Offer the bargain was concluded. Simon straightened up on his chair, rubbing his legs with his hands, saying, "Well, this ends it. I will be the most powerful man in that Senate; the entire state of affairs of this Government will be changed; nothing is more certain than that the South will gain her independence, (this sounded like treason,) and then we will hold the control of the Government, and I will be able to serve my friends;" and so we parted again, to the dream of Southern Confederacies and

Winnebagoes for Senator.

Patterson and I then agreed to meet on Monday. We met at 5 o'clock, in Patterson's room at Herr's, on Monday afternoon. Here Patterson told me he had the \$5,000 hand money locked up in the safe down stairs, but wanted me to see Simon again before paying it over to me. I insisted on the hand money. This I deemed necessary to keep up the delusion. We then parted to meet at the same place early the next morning. Immediately after breakfast on Tuesday, (the day of the election,) I met Patterson, according to agreement, at his room, Simon being present, lying on the bed, complaining of a disease of the bowels. It was then desired that I should see some Republican member of the Senate or House, who would be sent to me, and inform him of my willingness to vote for Cameron in case he was nominated. To this I made some pretended objection, and demanded to know the necessity for it. Simon said it was this, that unless I did this they might think he just wanted their direct nomination for effect, which was not true. He declared he would not have the nomination and a defeat for the whole Legislature. So, of course, I consented, and the voting price was voluntarily raised \$5,000. Patterson said the gentleman who would wait on me there was Dr. Fuller, of the Senate, who would be present as soon as I was ready to receive him. I said that was all right, but must now be convinced that the money was all right too. Patterson then hurriedly showed me a large bundle of notes, which he represented as being the amount of the final payment. He assured me the day before I should have the hand money, and again on Tuesday morning said I could have it. I told him I deemed it better, on reflection, not to have it about me, inasmuch as there might be a row after the election, and said I would trust it to them, [Patterson and Cameron,] knowing them to be honest. Patterson again assured me the hand money was down in the safe, and, together with the residue, should be forthcoming as soon as the election was over. (I may here state it did not come.) Cameron then said his carriage would be at the State Capitol Bank after the election, and I should come right down and go over to his house and remain there awhile. This, of course, I agreed to do, (but did not).

Now, then, all things being arranged, Dr. Fuller was ushered in by Patterson. The introduction completed, I said, "Doctor, I presume I understand the object of this interview." He then said, "I am chairman of a committee appointed by the Republican caucus to wait on you to see whether you would vote for Cameron." I said, "Yes; I assure you that if you nominate Gen. Cameron [pointing to the old Winnebago lying on the bed] it will be all right." He said, "You give me that assurance." I said, "Yes." Dr. F. then said, "You need have no fears of personal danger, or anything of that sort. We have made every provision to meet all danger." Thus the last scene in this strange farce ended. Simon assured me that he would be ever grateful, and I hope he will.

It is proper here to say that during this entire adventure with Simon and his agents, my colleague, Dr. Earley, W. A. Wallace, the Senator from Clearfield, and Robert Vaughn, the proprietor of the Pennsylvania House, in this city, were in the secret, and Dr. Earley, especially, knew constantly what was going on.

In one of my interviews with Patterson, on the cars going to Reading, he said in case there should any investigation grow out of the transaction he would be the only witness that knew anything about it, and he would swear falsely and put it through.

In regard to the dates given in the above statement, as I made no memoranda at the time, I cannot be certain that they are correct, but I believe they are.

T. JEFFERSON BOYER.

Millions for the Constitution, not one cent for emancipation." This is the sentiment offered by Hon. A. G. Barr, at the immense public meeting held in Chicago on Saturday Jan. 24th.

A young belle in Washington, snatched with a Russian officer, an adventurer in the Union army, married him in haste. After five weeks she repents at leisure, and claims against him for assault and battery. "Buttons on the brain" is the malady prevailing amongst the young ladies now.

Prussia is in peril of a revolution. In Berlin the people are highly incensed, and the unconstitutional conduct of the sovereign is discussed with great fury.

Vallandigham in Congress.

The Speech for the Hour.

THE HON. C. L. VALANDIGHAM DENOUNCES THE WAR DISUNION.

He Calls for "PEACE" that we may Reconstruct it!

THOSE WHO DON'T LIKE RECONSTRUCTION CAN "STAY OUT!" ESPECIALLY NEW ENGLAND.

A Statesman's Views.

Delivered in Congress January 14, 1863.

REBELLION IN THE SECEDED STATES—AGAIN.

The Speaker: The question recurs on the resolution of the gentleman from Pennsylvania, [Mr. Wright,] on which the gentleman from Ohio is entitled to the floor.

Mr. Vallandigham: Mr. Speaker, endorsed at the recent election within the same district for which I still hold a seat on this floor, by a majority four times greater than ever before, I speak to-day in the name and by the authority of the people who, for six years trusted me with the office of a Representative. Loyal, in the true and highest sense of the word, to the Constitution and the Union, they have proved themselves devotedly attached to and worthy of the liberties to secure which the Union and the Constitution were established. With candor and freedom, therefore, as their Representative, and with much plainness of speech, but with the dignity and decency due to this presence, I propose to consider the STATE OF THE UNION to-day, and to inquire what the duty is of every public man and citizen in this very crisis of the Great Revolution.

It is now two years, sir, since Congress assembled soon after the Presidential election. A sectional anti-slavery party had just succeeded through the forms of the Constitution. For the first time a President had been chosen upon a platform of avowed hostility to an institution peculiar to nearly one half of the States of the Union, and who had himself proclaimed that there was an irrepressible conflict because of that institution between the States; and that the Union could not endure "part slave and part free." Congress met, therefore, in the midst of the profoundest agitation, not here only but throughout the entire South. Revolution glared upon us. Repeated efforts for conciliation and compromise were attempted in Congress and out of it. All were rejected by the party coming into power, except only the promise in the last hour of the session, and that, too, against the consent of a majority of that party both in the Senate and House; that Congress—nor the Executive—should never be authorized to abolish or interfere with slavery in the States where it existed. South Carolina seceded; Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas speedily followed. The other slave States held back. Virginia demanded a peace Congress. The commissioners met, and, after some time, agreed upon terms of final adjustment. But neither in the Senate nor the House were they allowed even a respectable consideration. The President-elect left his home in February, and journeyed towards this capital, jesting as he came; proclaiming that the crisis was only artificial, and that "nobody was hurt." He entered this city under cover of night and in disguise. On the 4th of March he was inaugurated, surrounded by soldiers; and, swearing to support the Constitution of the United States, announced, in the same breath, that the platform of his party should be the law unto him. From that moment all hope of peaceable adjustment fled. But for a little while, either with unfeeling sincerity or in premeditated deceit, the policy of peace was proclaimed, even to the evacuation of Sumter and the other Federal forts and arsenals in the seceded States. Why that policy was suddenly abandoned, time will fully disclose. But just after the spring elections, and the secret meeting in this city of the Governors of several Northern and Western States, a fleet carrying a large number of men was sent down ostensibly to provision Fort Sumter. The authorities of South Carolina eagerly accepted the challenge, and bombarded the fort into surrender, while the fleet fired not a gun, but just as soon as the flag was struck, bore away and returned to the North. It was Sunday, the 14th of April, 1861; and that day the President, in fatal haste and without the advice or consent of Congress, issued his proclamation, dated the next day, calling out seventy-five thousand militia for those months, to repossess the forts,

places and property seized from the United States, and commanding the insurgents to disperse in twenty days. Again the gage was taken up by the South, and thus the flames of a civil war, the grandest, bloodiest, and saddest in history, lighted up the whole heavens. Virginia fifth with seceded—North Carolina, Tennessee and Arkansas followed; Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri were in a blaze of agitation, and within a week from the proclamation, the line of the Confederate States was transferred from the cotton States to the Potomac, and almost to the Ohio and the Missouri, and their population and fighting men doubled.

In the North and West, too, the storm raged with the fury of a hurricane. Never in history was anything equal to it. Men, women and children, native and foreign born, Church and State, clergy and laymen, were all swept along with the current. Distinction of age, sex, station, party, perished in an instant. Thousands bent before the tempest; and here and there only was one found bold enough, foolhardy enough it may have been, to bend not, and upon him it fell as a consuming fire. The spirit of persecution for opinion's sake, almost extinct in the Old World, now, by some mysterious transmigration, appeared incarnate in the New. Social relations were dissolved; friendships broken up; the ties of family and kindred snapped asunder. Strips and hangings were every where threatened, sometimes executed. Assassination was invoked; slander sharpened his teeth; falsehood clashed truth to earth; reason fled; madness reigned. Not justice only escaped to the skies, but peace returned to the bosom of God, whence she came. The gospel of love perished; hate sat enthroned, and the sacrifices of blood smoked upon every altar.

But the reign of the mob was inaugurated only to be supplanted by the iron domination of arbitrary power. Constitutional limitation was broken down; *libertas corporis* fell; liberty of the press, of speech, of person, of the mails, of travel, of one's own house, and of religion; the right to bear arms, due process of law judicial trial, trial by jury, trial at all; every badge and monument of freedom in republican government or kingly government—all went down at a blow; the chief law officer of the crown—I beg pardon, sir, but it is easy to fall into this courtly language—the Attorney-General, first of all men, proclaimed in the United States the maxim of Roman servility: *Whatever pleases the President is law!* Prisoners of State were then first heard of here. Midnight and arbitrary arrests commenced; travel was interdicted; trade embargoed, passports demanded; bastilles were introduced; strange outfits invented; a secret police organized; "piping" began; informers multiplied; spies now first appeared in America. The right to declare war, to raise and support armies, and to provide and maintain a navy was usurped by the Executive; and in a little more than two months a land and naval force of over three hundred thousand men was in the field or upon the sea. An army of public plunderers followed, and corruption struggled with power in friendly strife for the mastery at home.

On the 4th of July Congress met, not to seek peace; not to rebuke usurpation nor to restrain power; not certainly to deliberate; not even to legislate; but to register and to ratify the edicts and acts of the Executive; and in your language, sir, upon the first day of the session, to invoke a universal baptism of fire and blood amid the roar of cannon and the din of battle. Free speech was only had at the risk of a prison; possibly of life. Opposition was silenced by the fierce clamor of "disloyalty." All business not of war was voted out of order. Five hundred thousand men, an immense navy, and two hundred and fifty millions of money were speedily granted. In twenty, at most in sixty days, the rebellion was to be crushed out. To doubt it was treason. Abject submission was demanded. Lay down your arms, sue for peace, surrender your leaders—fortitude, death—this was the only language heard on the floor. The galleries responded; the corridors echoed; and contractors and placemen and other venal patriots everywhere gushed upon the friends of peace as they passed by. In five weeks—twenty-eight public and private acts and joint resolutions, with declaratory resolutions, in the Senate and House, quite as numerous, all full of slaughter, were hurried through without delay and almost without debate.

This was CIVIL WAR inaugurated in America. Can any man to-day see the end of it? And now pardon me, sir, if I pause

here a moment to define my own position at this time upon this great question.

Sir, I am one of that number who have opposed abolitionism, or the political development of the anti-slavery sentiment of the North and West, from the beginning. In school, at college, at the bar, in public assemblies, in the Legislature, in Congress, boy and man, as a private citizen and in public life, in time of peace and in time of war, at all times and at every sacrifice, I have fought against it. It cost me ten years' exclusion from office and honor, at that period of life when honors are sweeter. No matter; I learned early to do right and to wait. Sir, it is but the development of the spirit of intermeddling, whose children are strife and murder. Cain troubled himself about the sacrifices of Abel, and slew him. Most of the wars, contentions, litigation, and bloodshed, from the beginning of time, have been its fruits. The spirit of non-intervention is the spirit of peace and concord. I do not believe that if slavery had never existed here we would have had no sectional controversies. This very civil war might have happened fifty, perhaps a hundred years later. Other and stronger causes of discontent and of disunion, it may be, have existed between other States and sections, and are now being developed every day into animosity. The spirit of intervention assumed the form of abolitionism because slavery was odious in name and by association to the northern mind, and because it was that which most obviously marks the different civilization of the two sections. The South herself, in her early and later efforts to rid herself of it, had exposed the weak and offensive parts of slavery to the world. Abolition intermeddling taught her at least to search for and defend the assumed social, economic, and political merit and value of the institution. But there never was an hour from the beginning when it did not seem to me as clear as the sun at noon, that the agitation in any form in the North and West of the slavery question must sooner or later end in disunion and civil war. This was the opinion and prediction for years of Whig and Democratic statesmen alike; and after the unfortunate dissolution of the Whig party in 1851, and the organization of the present Republican party upon an exclusively anti-slavery and sectional basis, the event was inevitable; because, in the then existing temper of the public mind, and after the education through the press and by the pulpit, the lecture and the political canvass for twenty years, of a generation taught to hate slavery and the South, the success of that party, possessed, as it was, of every engine of political, business, social, and religious influence, was certain. It was only a question of time, and short time. I believe from the first that it was the purpose of some of the apostles of that doctrine to force a collision between the North and the South, either to bring about a separation or to find a vain but bloody pretext for abolishing slavery in the States. In any event, I knew, or thought I knew, that the end was certain collision, and death to the Union.

Believing this, I have for years past denounced those who taught that doctrine with all the vehemence, the bitterness, if you choose—I thought it righteous, a patriotic bitterness—of an earnest and impassioned nature. Thinking thus, I forewarned all who believed the doctrine, or followed the party which taught it, with a sincerity and a depth of conviction as profound as ever penetrated the heart of man. And when, for eight years past, over and over again, I have proclaimed to the people that the success of a sectional anti-slavery party would be the beginning of disunion and civil war in America, I believed it. I did. I had read history, and studied human nature, and mediated for a number of years upon the character of our American institutions, and form of government, and of the people South as well as North; and I could not doubt the event. But the people did not believe me, nor those older and wiser and greater than I. They rejected the prophecy, and stoned the prophets. The candidate of the Republican party was chosen President. Secession began. Civil war was imminent. It was no petty insurrection; no temporary combination to obstruct the execution of the laws in certain States; but a revolution, systematic, deliberate, determined, and with the consent of a majority of the people of each State which seceded. Causeless it may have been; wicked it may have been; but there it was; not to be railed at, still less to be laughed at, but to be dealt with by statesmen as a fact. No display of vigor or force alone, however sudden or great, could have arrested it even at the outset. It was disunion at last. The wolf had