

# The Winchester Appeal.

A FAMILY NEWSPAPER---DEVOTED TO POLITICS, LOCAL INTERESTS, FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC NEWS, AGRICULTURE, MECHANISM, EDUCATION---INDEPENDENT ON ALL SUBJECTS.  
VOLUME 1. WINCHESTER, TENN., SATURDAY, JUNE 14, 1856. NUMBER 18.

## The Winchester Appeal

IS PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY  
GEO. E. PURVIS AND WM. J. SLATTER.

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IN ADVANCE, . . . . . \$ 2 00  
WITHIN SIX MONTHS, . . . . . 2 00  
" TWELVE MONTHS, . . . . . 3 00

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### From the Nashville Daily Patriot.

**Hon. James Buchanan.**  
His Nomination an attempt to Conciliate Black Republicanism.—His Position on the Slavery Question.

In 1852, CHARLES IRVING, Esq., was one of the editors of the Nashville Union. He is at the present time editor of the Lynchburg (Va.) Republican, and is also the democratic candidate for Presidential Elector in his district, to which position he was appointed without opposition. Mr. IRVING was opposed to the nomination of Hon. JAMES BUCHANAN, on the ground that it would be a "knocking under" of the national democrats to the anti-slavery sentiment in the party. In a letter to the Richmond Examiner, on the 7th of May last, in answer to an article in the Washington Sentinel, he presented his views at length. We copy from that letter the following extract. Let every American in the State of Tennessee read and reflect upon it. It is a telling document:

The error into which the Sentinel has fallen in regard to the Presidency, is in the idea that there was no other question involved in the coming canvass but the slavery question, and that upon that question all that the South had a right to require was the personal soundness of the candidate. The South has a clear right to require more than this. She has a right to require that the election, if in her favor, shall settle, at least for some time, the slavery agitation. What certain means of producing this result can be adopted, except in the selection of a candidate who is identified with the Kansas-Nebraska bill? The black Republicans have made the repeal of the Kansas-Nebraska bill their sole test. The Democratic party must make it one of their tests. Can they make it fairly and squarely except by the presentation of some man, especially if the candidate comes from the North, who is identified with the Kansas-Nebraska bill? Can any man candidly say that Mr. Buchanan is so identified? I think not. In the very Slidell letter, in which he commits himself to it, he also says that we should make no war upon those Democrats who voted against it. What does this kindness to anti-Nebraska Democrats mean? The editor of the Sentinel has frequently denounced the administration of President Pierce, for failing to settle and quiet slavery agitation, and attributed it to his New York appointments. The real source of President Pierce's inability to allay fanaticism, is traceable to another and a higher cause. The cause is the principle upon which he was nominated. Gen. Cass, Judge Douglas, and Mr. Dickinson had all been in the compromise fight—were all identified with the Fugitive Slave Law. They were all "ignored" upon the ground that they were unavailable, and President Pierce selected upon the ground that, being out of the fight he was not so objectionable to Northern free soilers, and that he was perfectly sound. We gained the election, but we did not gain a triumph of principle, for the reason that free soilers availed themselves of the excuse to come into the ranks

and again embarrass it. The nomination of Mr. Buchanan will be a repetition of that error, and no matter how true he may be to the Constitution, like President Pierce he will be unable to control the elements of fanaticism his election will fail to crush. The coming election must test the question of whether or not the equality of the Southern States in the Union is recognized. To test that question the candidate must not only be sound, but he must have been in the fight and be able to show that he stood the fire.

If silence during the battle constitutes a claim for office, how can the South expect Northern statesmen to uphold her banner, when abolitionists are seeking to tear it in tatters? If an ability to get free-soil votes makes a candidate available, and that species of availability is recognised as a merit at the South, Northern statesmen should court free soilers and not struggle with them, if they wish to be Presidents.—Such availability may be very desirable to those who wish success alone, but those who look to the interests of the country may well be excused if they prefer a different standard. I certainly prefer that the South shall PREFER the selection, not only of a sound man, but that she shall vote for the nomination of no man upon any such ground of availability. The coming election must settle the slavery agitation. I do not wish a single free soiler to vote the Democratic ticket, nor will I willingly afford the slightest excuse for so doing. A prominent Northwest Democrat told me today, that the nomination of Buchanan would enable Trumbull, Wentworth and other free soilers to come back into the party. I am not anxious to get back such characters. These are some of my reasons for not preferring Mr. Buchanan.

But there is still another reason.—That reason is in his record. To carry the entire South we must have, not only a sound man, but one who is a bove impeachment—whose record is as stainless as the principles he advocates. Is such the case of Mr. Buchanan? Let the record answer. Mr. Buchanan may be, and I really think he is sound, but to carry the united South we must have a record that is perfectly unassailable. Is Mr. Buchanan that man? Let us see. I quote from a late communication in the New Orleans Delta, and which the editor of the Sentinel knows to be accurate in its quotations from the record.

On the 27th of December, 1837, Mr. Calhoun submitted to the Senate that celebrated series of resolutions the great objects of which were to set forth with precision and force the constitutional rights of the slaveholding States; and to attract to their support an enlightened public opinion against the attacks of Northern fanaticism. The second resolution was in these words: [Calhoun's Works, volume 8, page 140]:

"Resolved, That in delegating a portion of their power to be exercised by the Federal Government, the States retained, severally, the exclusive and sole right over their own domestic institution and police, and are alone responsible for them, and that any intermeddling of any one or more States, or a combination of their citizens, with the domestic institutions and police of the others, on any ground, or under any pretext whatever, political, moral or religious, with a view to their alteration or subversion, is an assumption of superiority not warranted by the Constitution, insulting to the States interfered with, tending to endanger their domestic peace and tranquility, subversive of the objects for which the Constitution was formed, and by necessary consequence, tending to weaken and destroy the Union itself."

Mr. Morris, of Ohio, who was then the only avowed abolitionist in the Senate, moved to strike out the words "moral or religious." Had the motion prevailed, the effect would have been to encourage agitation in the form in which it would be most likely to be most fatal to the South. It would have been a direct encouragement to the abolitionized clergy of the North to take the very course which was taken by the "three thousand and fifty divines" who, in 1854, sacrilegiously assumed, "in the name of Almighty God, and in his presence," to denounce the repeal of the Missouri Compromise as "a violation of pledged faith and a breach of a national contract." Subsequent events have abundantly attested the truth of what Mr. Calhoun said, when arguing against the motion, "that the whole spirit of the resolution hinged upon that word religious."

The vote being taken on Mr. Morris' amendment, it stood as follows: [Congressional Globe, vol. 6, page 74.]

Yeas—Messrs. Bayard, BUCHANAN, Clayton, Davis, McKeon, Morris, Prentiss, Robbins, Reggles, Smith of Indiana, Southard, Swift, Tipton and Webster—14.  
Nays—Messrs. Allen, Black, Brown, Calhoun, Clay of Alabama, Clay of Kentucky, Cuthbert, Fulton, Hubbard, King,

Knight, Linn, Lumpkin, Lyon, Nicholas, Niles, Norvell, Pierce, Preston, Rives, Roane, Robinson, Sevier, Smith of Connecticut, Strange, Walker, Wall, White, Williams, Wright and Young—31.

The fifth resolution to which Mr. Calhoun here referred, and which he justly regarded as the most important of all, and struggled most perseveringly to have passed without amendment, was as follows:

"Resolved, That the intermeddling of any State or States, or their citizens, to abolish slavery in this District or in any of the Territories, on the ground or under the pretext, that it is immoral or sinful, or the passage of any act or measure of Congress, with that view, would be a direct and dangerous attack on the institutions of all the slaveholding States."

This resolution covered the whole ground. It met the issue boldly and fully. No southern democrat can hesitate to say that it embodied a great truth, to which events have borne the most emphatic testimony. Mr. Clay, of Kentucky, moved to strike it out and insert the following as a substitute:

"Resolved, That when the District of Columbia was ceded by the States of Virginia and Maryland to the United States, domestic slavery existed in both of those States, including the ceded territory; and that, as it still continues in both of them, it could not be abolished within the District without a violation of that good faith which was implied in the cession, and in the acceptance of the territory, nor, unless compensation were made for the slaves, without a manifest infringement of the Constitution of the United States; nor without exciting a degree of just alarm and apprehension in the States recognizing slavery, far transcending, in mischievous tendency, any possible benefit which would be accomplished by the abolition." [Congressional Globe, vol. 6, page 58.]

The utter insufficiency of this temporizing amendment scarcely need be pointed out. Objectionable as it was, in conceding to Congress the constitutional power to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and declaring against the exercise of that power only on the ground of expediency, it was still more so in this, that it made no reference whatever to the Territories of the United States. The passage of Mr. Calhoun's resolution would have committed the Senate, not only against the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, but also against the application of the Wilmot proviso and kindred measures to the Territories. Mr. Clay's amendment was entirely silent on the subject. It is true, that in another resolution which he proposed to have adopted as an additional amendment, it was declared that the abolition of slavery in the Territory of Florida would be highly inexpedient, principally for the reason "that it would be in violation of a solemn compromise made at a memorable and critical period in the history of the country, by which, while slavery was prohibited North, it was admitted South of the line of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes North latitude." The defect in the first amendment can hardly be considered by Southern men as remedied by another which recognized the binding force of the Missouri Compromise.

On the question to strike out Mr. Calhoun's resolution and insert Mr. Clay's amendment, after it had been modified by striking out the part relating to the compensation for slaves, the vote stood, yeas 19, nays 18. [Congressional Globe, vol. 6, page 62.] Mr. BUCHANAN'S name stands recorded in the affirmative.

On a subsequent occasion, Mr. Calhoun, with a view to infuse vitality into Mr. Clay's amendment, moved to insert that any attempt of Congress to abolish slavery in the Territories, "would be a dangerous attack upon the States in which slavery exists." Mr. Buchanan opposed the amendment—and it was in reply to his speech that Mr. Calhoun made the remarks which may be found in the third volume of his works, pages 194 to 196, and which he commenced by saying that "the remarks of the Senator from Pennsylvania were of such a character that he could not permit them to pass in silence."

From these votes and this language of Mr. Buchanan, it is clear:

1st. That he was not opposed to the religious agitation of the slavery question—a species of agitation which Mr. Calhoun justly regarded as more fatal than any other.

2d. That he recognized the constitutional power of Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, opposing its exercise only on the ground of its inexpediency—a proposition which the position of Mr. Van Buren shows affords no reliable protection to Southern institutions.

3d. That he refused to commit himself fully on the great question as to the power of Congress over the Territories of the United States, and as far as he did go, evidently left it to be understood that the abolition of slavery by Congress, in those Territories, would be "no attack on the States in which it exists."

If his opinions in these respects, have undergone any material change, the country has not yet been authoritatively apprised of the fact. The reflections cast

by him on the institution of slavery, in one of his speeches in England, and the studied design he has manifested to keep aloof from the excitement growing out of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, are not well calculated to inspire confidence, that if his views have undergone any change, it has been a change for the better.

So much for the slavery issue. How does Mr. Buchanan stand upon the tariff? Will the Sentinel say that he is sound, or justify his "low wages" speech? How does he stand on the French Spoliation bill, which President Polk and President Pierce vetoed? Everybody knows that he was in favor of it. How does he stand upon the Pacific Railroad? He declared himself in favor of an appropriation of public money to build it; as is notorious. In fact, is there a single federal measure, except that of the United States Bank, upon which he is not recorded against Democratic principles? How can we hope to carry the united South with such a record? Will southern Democrats overlook this record? Will Northern Nebraska men overlook this ignoring of Pierce and Douglas? Is there no danger that in admitting the abolitionist, Trumbull, we may not dishearten the gallant Douglas? Is there no fear that in reinstating the Free-soil Hickman, who is in favor of Reeder, we may not pulsate the arm of Richardson? In fine, is there no fear that in hoping for Free-soil aid, that we may not lose the few real friends the South has in the North? It is evident to the commonest understanding, that the first step of Black Republicanism, is to kill off all those influential men at the North, like Pierce and Douglas, who have actively participated in the fight for our rights. Is not the South aiding them in this first step, when it not only ignores its own sons, but also ignores upon the ground of availability, those Northern men identified with the late Kansas-Nebraska bill? This is a question the South would do well to ponder. If Mr. Buchanan is to be nominated, and Pierce and Douglas in the North ignored, let the responsibility rest elsewhere than on the State of Virginia. He may be, and probably is sound, but these are times when more than ordinary caution is necessary. It may become the duty of the South to support him. When that time arrives I can discharge the duty; but I do think that the reasons above stated exempt me from any blame for not advocating him until that responsibility devolves upon me.

Very respectfully,  
CHAS. IRVING.

P. S.—Since writing the above, I have seen in a Lancaster (Pa.) paper the following statement:

On the subject of slavery the 'memoir' is not very definite, and will give his views as expressed in a series of resolutions, reported by him at a public meeting held in the Court House in the city of Lancaster, on the 23d November, 1819:

"James Buchanan, James Hopkins, and Wm. Jenkins, were appointed a committee on resolutions, and reported the following among others:

"Resolved, That the Representatives in Congress from this district be, and are hereby, most earnestly requested to use their utmost endeavors, as members of the National Legislature, to prevent the existence of slavery in any of the new Territories and new States which may be created by Congress.

"Resolved, That in the opinion of this meeting, the members of Congress, who, at that session, sustained the cause of justice, humanity and patriotism in opposing the introduction of slavery in the State then endeavored to be formed out of the Missouri Territory, are entitled to the warmest thanks of every friend of humanity."

These resolutions prove that Mr. Buchanan was at that time a Missouri restrictionist, and that he occupied upon the admission of Missouri, the same ground occupied now in regard to Kansas by Seward & Co. How any man can believe that Mr. Buchanan, with such a record, can carry the debatable Southern States of Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, Tennessee, Louisiana and Georgia, against Mr. Fillmore, passes my comprehension. Besides this, the Democracy have no knowledge of Mr. Buchanan's position upon Know Nothingism. This is another issue in the coming canvass upon which Mr. Buchanan is not identified with us.

It is thus seen that his record will make him weak in the South—that the ignoring of Pierce and Douglass will make him weak with the Nebraska men in the North. How, under these circumstances, can he be available?

Respectfully,  
C. IRVING.

### THE HOMESTEAD.

BY LADY SPENCER.

It is not as it used to be.  
When you and I were young;  
When round each elm and maple tree  
The honey suckles clung;  
But still I love the cottage where  
I passed my early years,  
Though not a single face is there  
That memory endears.

It is not as it used to be  
The moss is on the roof,  
And from their nests beneath the eaves  
The swallows keep aloof.  
The robbers—how they used to sing  
When you and I were young;  
And how did flit the wild bee's wing  
The opening flowers among!

It is not now as it used to be!  
The voices loved of yore,  
And the forms we were wont to see,  
We see and hear no more.

No more! alas, we look in vain,  
For those to whom we clung,  
And love, as we can love but once,  
When you and I were young.

### Solitary Musings.

It is pleasant at times to withdraw one's self from the cares and busy scenes of life and seek the calm retreat,—to retire from the living, moving world, and commune with the "unbreathing things of nature,"—to leave the gay and giddy throng and yield the soul to nature's witchery,—to dismiss the unworthy objects for which men are struggling and contending, and drink the inspiring draught as it comes welling from nature's pure Divinity. O, it is salutary to worship at Nature's altar—"fit shrine for humble worshippers to hold communion with their Maker,"—to "look through Nature up to Nature's God,"—to wonder, to admire, to adore!

Give me some secluded spot,—some lonely dell, far from the busy haunts of men, where I can bow in meek submission to the will of Heaven and feel how weak and frail I am. It is good to be thus alone, where no eye can see but the eye of Heaven, and naught intrude to break the silent communings of the soul with its Maker. Here it may hold converse with the best of Teachers—the grand and beautiful arrangements of nature, for in them is an eloquent tongue; a tongue that is never still; a tongue that teacheth the bland precepts of religion that stilloth every passion, and elevateth the soul to the contemplation of that immortality to which all are tending. Auspicious hour this! to withdraw the moral powers from the active stream of life, and in retirement to remedy whatever is wrong, and improve whatever is right. Whithersoever I direct mine eyes I behold the utmost order prevailing in the natural world,—the seasons moving on in regular and uninterrupted succession, the planetary worlds wheeling their courses in perfect symmetry through the boundless fields of space, all presenting a system of perfect beauty and order, and exciting in the mind the highest sentiments of admiration.

How beautifully indeed doth the harmonious order which prevaleth in the natural creation illustrate the importance of regularity and harmony in the moral world! Who that surveys the wondrous volume of external nature but reads in it beauties and sublimities which can alone be seen and felt by thinking beings, and which will exalt and refine his sentiments! When I see each part of the material world harmonizing with every other part, and all individually to the whole collectively; when I see throughout physical nature such unity of purpose and design—such a beautiful and harmonious system of laws, without the slightest clash or confusion; when I see myriads of worlds wheeling in their orbits through illimitable voids of space, continually passing and repassing each other without ever missing their course, or infringing one on the other, in their intricate mazes and devious labyrinths, I am made to see more

clearly the great necessity of regularity and harmony in the moral obligations and relations of intelligent beings. There is a lovely consistency between the beautiful in nature and the beautiful in morals; a most wonderful adaptation of the one to the other,—each reflecting on the other a beautiful halo of glory.

Be it, then, my chief delight to meditate on the mild and orderly system of nature's laws, and to the beautiful order of the Creator's works—learn to conform the order of my life,—to live in harmony with myself, in harmony with all around me, and in harmony with the governing principles of the Universe!

HUMELS.  
FRANKLIN CO., JUNE 14, 1856.

### Meanness Does Not Pay.

Hunt's Merchant's Magazine contains the following paragraph on the subject of meanness:

There is no greater mistake than that a business man can make, to be mean in his business. Always taking the half cent for the dollars he has made and is making. Such a policy is very much like the farmer's who sows three pecks of seed where he ought to have sown five, and as a recompense for the leanness of his soul, only gets ten, where he ought to have got three bushels of grain. Everybody has heard of the proverb of pennywise and pound foolish. A liberal expenditure in the way of business is a capital investment. There are people in the world who are short-sighted enough to believe their interests can be best promoted by grasping and clinging to all they can get, and never letting a cent slip through their fingers. As a general thing it will be found, other things being equal, that he who is the most liberal is the most successful in business. Of course, we do not mean to be inferred that a man should be prodigal in his expenditures; but that he should show to his customers, if he be a trader, or those whom he may be doing any kind of business with, that in all transactions, as well as social relations, he acknowledges the everlasting fact that there can be no permanent prosperity in a community where benefits are not reciprocal.

### Count Them.

Count what! Why count the mercies which have been quietly falling in your path through every period of your history. Down they come, every morning and evening, as angel messengers from the Father of lights, to tell of your best Friend in Heaven.—Have you lived these years, wasting mercies, treading them beneath your feet, and consuming them every day, and never yet realized from whence they came? If you have, Heaven pity you.

You have murmured over affliction; but who has heard you rejoice over blessings? Do you ask what are these mercies? Ask the sunbeam, the rain drop, the star or the queen of night.—What is health, strength, friendship, social life, the gospel of Christ, divine worship? Had they the power of speech, each would say, 'I am a mercy.' Perhaps you have never regarded them as such. If not you have been a dull student of nature or revelation.

What is the propriety of stopping to play with a thorn bush when you may just as well pluck sweet flowers and eat pleasant fruits?

Yet we have seen enough of men to know that they have a morbid appetite for thorns. If they have lost a friend they will murmur at the loss, if God has given them a score of new ones. And somehow, everything assumes a value when it is gone which man would not acknowledge when he had it in his possession, unless, indeed, some one wished to purchase it.

How many love to prick themselves with the thorns of theology, and live in mourning over the knots and mysteries of divine economy which men have never been able to solve, for the simple reason that God is wiser than they. Playing with thorns! How child-like! Leaving the plain path of duty and of blessings also, to wander in the maze of doubt, or the slough of despond.

Happy is he who looks at the bright side of life, of providence, and of revelation. Who avoids thorns, and thickets and sloughs, until his Christian growth is such that if he cannot improve them, he may pass among them without injury. Count mercies before you complain of afflictions.