

Vol. 14

WEBB SCRAP BOOK
July 1856

The following is the substance of Gov. REEDER's remarks at Kremlin Hall, Thursday afternoon on the resolutions offered by GERRIT SMITH in favor of sending armed men into Kansas. Gov. R. opposed Mr. SMITH's resolutions as too ultra.

He was in favor of the admission of Kansas under the Topeka constitution and spoke in denunciation of the Senate bill, which he characterized as designed by the slave power to perpetuate their sway in Kansas. There was no reason why Kansas should not be admitted under the Topeka constitution. Was the objection to such admission a want of regularity in the proceedings, because they originated without the act of congress in the spontaneous action of the people? If that objection was a valid one, then it was true that Kansas could not be admitted; but there are already nine states in the Union which have come in by precisely the same door at which Kansas was now knocking. Among them were Vermont, Kentucky, Tennessee, Iowa, Florida, Arkansas and Michigan. Each formed a constitution without a particle more authority than Kansas had. This was not all, in 1835, when Arkansas was making preparation to come into the Union, the question was directly raised as to the power of the state thus to apply for admission. The matter was referred to Attorney General Butler by General Jackson. He decided on three points: First, That no territorial legislature had a right to authorize the formation of a state constitution, because it could not go outside of its defined powers, which are to govern the territory, pass laws for that purpose, and carry on the machinery for the territorial government. Second, That the people have the power in primary meetings to originate a proceeding for the formation of a state constitution or to adopt one, upon which to apply for admission. This power is given by the constitution under which the people have a right to assemble together and petition Congress for relief. If the people of the territory consider territorial government a grievance they can petition Congress to remove that grievance, but Congress has only power to remove it by admitting the territory as a state. In order to do this a state constitution must be submitted by the petitioners upon which congress can act. The machinery must be complete in all its parts and then set in motion by Congress.

The third question decided by Attorney-General Butler was, "How far can the people proceed in the formation of a state constitution?"—He argues that the state machinery must be perfect in all its parts before it can be admitted.—The people of the territory have a right to appoint every officer necessary to a state organization, and to choose a United States Senator.—They must they apply to Congress to put it in motion. If they put it in motion themselves, then they transcend their duties, because they come in conflict with the government of the United States. Governor Reeder then proceeded to say that every person who desires to put Kansas in the wrong, asserts that the free state men put the machinery in motion themselves.—This is unqualifiedly false. They have done no such thing, but have only done as nine other states did—that is, they assembled together without previous action of the territorial legislature or Congress, formed a constitution elect officers, and applied for admission into the Union. He further quoted the authority of Mr. Buchanan, who on the admission of Michigan into the Union, held in the Senate that any action of the territorial legislature authorising the people to form a state government was null and void, and that the power was with the people alone. He had asked if any Senator would deny that position, and no one had answered but General Cass, whose apprehension was so terribly excited because Marshal Stevens had declared martial law in Washington territory, and red trampled the constitution under foot by refusing to allow a judge to hold a court. He was deaf, dumb and blind to the outrages in Kansas, and shut the door through which he had himself entered, against that state.



Freedom of Speech.

It is idle to talk of Free Speech in this country, when we daily see such scenes as are transpiring round us. Look at Virginia, banishing a worthy Farmer for sitting as Delegate in the National Convention of his party at Philadelphia. Look at the United States Dragoons driving a peaceable assemblage for discussion, out of Topeka. Gov. REEDER is hunted from his home—for what? For claiming the right of free speech—nothing more nor less. Gov. ROBINSON is in jail for claiming the right of Free Speech. Senator SUMNER lies prostrated, for Free Speech. Free Speech is denied to every New England Schoolmaster and every Northern Traveller that ventures into a Southern Town. Free Speech is a crime, and men are hanged for it, in Kansas. It is an offence for which Clergymen are dragged from the Pulpit and tarred and feathered, in Missouri. Presses are thrown in the Mississippi River for free speech, and the Mails that leave our Post Office are rifled, after crossing the Southern Border, of all free speech that advocates freedom.

We talk of Paris, of Naples and Vienna, as deprived of free speech. Any Traveller knows that expression of opinion is safer there, to-day, than it is in Washington. Men are not murdered there for free speech, nor are they pounded on the head, nor tarred and feathered. The worst spies that watch you are duly accredited officers of the Law, and the severest penalties inflicted are prescribed and enforced with legal forms. But here the Citizen who uses his tongue is punished by a Mob; and Government, standing in the background, confirms its sentences, and stimulates to daily new atrocities.

The Destruction of Lawrence.

ADAPTED FROM BYRON.

The Missourians came down, like a wolf on the fold,
Their cohorts were maddened for blood and for gold;
On their brothers disarmed they rolled down like a tide,
And their hands in the blood of their brothers were dyed.

Like the pride of the forest when summer is green
The town in its freshness at morning is seen—
Like trees of the forest when fire hath been there
That town in the evening stood blackened and bare!

For the demon of pillage was out in the blast
And breathed on each home as he noisily past:
And the eyes of the children were heavy with tears,
And the cheeks of the mothers were pallid with fears.

Oh! there smoked the ruins beneath the pale sky,
While the poor, hunted innocents tearfully fly
Across the broad plains no shelter to find,
While their homes are despoiled by the ruffians behind.

And the widows of Lawrence are loud in their wail,
And the freemen of Kansas with anger are pale;
And they swear by the Lord, as they live, so will they
Avenge the foul deeds that were done on that day!
[FAKX-ING, in the Sandusky Register.

Clark B. Cochrane.

A series of vindictive libels is now appearing in the Albany Atlas upon this gentleman, who is one of our best known and most respected citizens. The real cause of them is that Mr. COCHRANE, formerly a prominent Democrat, has had the honesty and courage to avow his opposition to the Slavery Extension Policy foisted into the Democratic creed by Pierce and Douglas.

This consideration, however, is carefully kept out of sight by the Atlas. Its ostensible ground of attack is that Mr. C., together with other well known citizens of all Parties, signed the Address of the State Committee asking contributions for the relief of the suffering and destitute Settlers

in Kansas who had been maltreated and driven from their homes. The Atlas avers that this Address contains false statements, and that the money raised by it is devoted to political instead of charitable purposes.

Both of these charges were exposed and refuted by the plain straightforward statement of Mr. Cochrane, which our readers saw in our columns yesterday. The first is founded on a quibble, and the second is so utter a falsehood that the Atlas, though three weeks actively searching, has not yet been able to produce a shadow of proof to sustain it.

The Address is published and speaks for itself. Any reader who compares it with the Official Report of the Congressional Committee of Investigation, and of the Committees on Territories, will see that instead of being overstated, half the villainy perpetrated in Kansas is not told.

If there is any act in their lives of which the gentlemen who compose the State Committee have reason to be proud, it is the signing of that Address. They will be known by that bold appeal, and honored for it throughout the State, long after their hired slanderers have ceased to get pay from the Federal Treasury for traducing them.

The fund raised for the Kansas Settlers, inadequate as it is to most all their wants, is already fruitful of good. Our own citizens have friends in the Territory who can testify to the timely relief received from it. The Kansas Committees of various States were recently in session at Buffalo, and their correspondence from the Territory is full of grateful thanks from the succored Settlers. Families driven from their homes and claims for opinion's sake, have been united and provided with shelter. Emigrants robbed and plundered by the Missourians, have obtained relief. The threatened have been aided to reach a place of safety; the murdered have received decent sepulture; and widows and orphans have been saved from impending destruction.

We doubt if the Atlas will make any capital for its Party, by vituperation against men engaged in this humane and benevolent work. Nor is the reputation of such Democrats as CLARK B. COCHRANE, H. H. VAN DYCK, PLATT POTTER and MARTIN GROVEE likely to suffer by its anonymous scoldings. On the contrary, they only swell the number of those who, believing in truly Democratic principles, are resolved to carry them out by maintaining the Freedom of our National Territories.

The Republican.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.
SATURDAY MORNING, JULY 12, 1856.

☞ We do not question the correctness of the advices from various sources, that the slavery party in Congress, including all the supporters of Buchanan and Fillmore, are making a desperate effort to force what is known as the Toombs and Douglas bill in relation to Kansas through the House, and thus into effect. There is undoubtedly a majority of two or three against it in that body; but this is made up of men whose position as to the presidency is not quite pronounced,—not having fully announced their determinations to support either Mr. Buchanan or Mr. Fillmore,—and every variety of appliances is being brought to bear upon these to induce them to change their votes and consent to the passage of the measure. Bribery, bullying and coaxing will be, if it is not already, put into use to affect these and all other supposed available members. A leading friend of Mr. Fillmore from New York is now at Washington, charged, as supposed, with the duty of influencing members approachable

from that side to sustain the bill. Messrs Barclay and Hickman of Pennsylvania, democrats not yet cut loose from the party, and Bayard Clark of New York, who occupies like relations to the American party, but yet who generally vote with the free Kansas party in the House, are the men most exposed to the improper influences we have suggested in behalf of the new scheme for subjugating Kansas to slavery.

The passage of the bill will of course be resisted to the utmost by the friends of freedom and justice to Kansas in the House, and the probabilities of success are yet with them. But, when we recall the manner in which the repeal of the Missouri compromise—the seat of all the present woe of the nation—was driven through an unwilling House; when we perceive how desperate are the prospects of the slavery party as to possessing Kansas and the Buchanan party as to carrying the election, and that both believe this bill will restore them; when we recall how much of power still remains in the hands of these associated parties,—we feel not at all confident that, by some trick of legislation, or corruption, or brute force indeed, they will not succeed in the purpose on which it is clear they have set their hearts. The North and freedom have almost uniformly failed in such struggles at Washington: we can only hope for another exception in this case.

The country may look, at least, for a several trial of strength between the parties contending for the mastery upon the question, and be prepared for anything in the way of exciting scenes and violent contentions. What have already been had in the history of this Congress are not unlikely destined to be exceeded in the struggle over this bill. There is a crisis impending at Washington. The feeling is high on both sides, and, fanned by the excitement of the presidential campaign, and the memories of past personal and sectional contests, we dare not predict to what excesses men may not be led.

TRADE AND POLITICS.—A southern rights and union Congress has been formed in the name of the South, with the object of trading only with those northern persons who favor the slavery party. One of its by-laws provides that—

“The commercial committee shall consist of 25 or more members, elected by the Congress, residing in various states, whose duty it shall be to regulate, advise and influence the trade of the South, so as to confine the commerce between the South and the North within the keeping of Union-safety merchants and men.”

All southern members of Congress and governors are made members of the association, and Col William S. Rand of Kentucky is the general agent and corresponding secretary. An agent is now in New York picking out the dough-face merchants to be recommended for the exclusive trade of the South. A list of them will undoubtedly be obtained for circulation through the North and West as well. New York merchants who bite at this trick of southern demagogues and schemers, will have a chance to see whose custom is the best.

Notes on Kansas.

The contribution of \$125 from Ludlow to the aid funds was the second from that town, the first being \$57,50, and there is more coming. A correspondent there pokes a pair of questions at us, which we pass along:—“Can you tell us how much has been raised in the city of Springfield? How much have the churches done for humanity and equal rights?”

Rev T. W. Higginson states that the Missourians were threatening, when he was at St. Louis, last week, to send a thousand men to northern Kansas, to meet and drive back emigrants from the free states through Iowa.—At the celebration of the 4th at Ripon, Wis., over \$1,000 were raised for the Kansas aid fund.

The sophomore class of Amherst college presented a Sharps' rifle, on the evening of the 2d, to their classmate George H. Miles, who is about to emigrate to Kansas, in company with Mr Anderson, another member of the college. The speeches at the presentation were highly patriotic and the mutual farewell was spoken with much feeling. When our young men leave their books

and their literary ambitions to endure voluntarily the hardships and perils of pioneer life in Kansas, because they love liberty, we who stay at home must not fail to afford all needful sympathy and material support.

The recent murder of a well known citizen of Michigan, William Gay, U. S. Indian agent, by the slavery ruffians in Kansas creates a profound sensation in his own state. It appears that he was an out-spoken friend of freedom to Kansas, and being the only administration official in the territory, who did not countenance and aid the border ruffians, he was intensely hated by them. His murder is only one of the tragedies deliberately planned for the subjugation of Kansas, beginning by the murder of a peaceable settler by Clarke, another Indian agent, whose crime is tacitly approved by the administration that retains him in its service.

The ladies of Lawrence, Kansas, have adopted the western practice of constituting themselves a practical Maine law. Some time in June they bought out the only liquor seller in the city, upon his agreement to discontinue the business. But he broke the compact, and on the morning of the 2d the ladies marched down to his establishment, armed with hatchets, and spilled all the liquor, thus closing up the liquor business in Lawrence.

The Atlas.

SATURDAY MORNING, JULY 12, 1856.

Great Gatherings of the People.

“O WHAT HAS CAUSED THIS GREAT COMMOTION!”

ENTHUSIASTIC MEETING IN HAVERHILL.—On Thursday evening an immense meeting of the friends of Fremont and Dayton was held in the public square in Haverhill. Between two and three thousand persons were present, including delegates from Bradford, Groveland, Georgetown, and Newburyport. The meeting was called to order at 8 o'clock by Mr. J. B. Swett, of the committee of arrangements, and the following officers were elected:

President—Hon. JOSEPH H. DUNCAN, of Haverhill.
Vice Presidents—Dr. Geo. Goggswell, Rev. Geo. W. Keeley, E. G. Eaton, Hon. Edmund Kimball, Dr. Spofford, Stephen Minot, James Gale, Caleb Hersey, John C. Tilton, Levi C. Wadleigh, Samuel Chase, Wm. Caldwell, E. T. Ingalls, E. A. Porter, David Boynton, Rufus H. Tilton, Wm. Hilton, T. M. Hopkins, W. Coggswell, R. Tenney, Mr. Greene.
Secretaries—David Boynton, Rufus H. Tilton, Wm. Tilton.

Mr. Duncan, on taking the chair, expressed his sense of the honor of being called to preside upon such an occasion:

MARCUS MORTON, Jr., Esq. followed. We copy the following sketch of his remarks from the Journal:

He commenced by observing that when he was elected to the important office of delegate to the Philadelphia Convention he accepted it with a keen sense of responsibility, in view of the political aspect of the country. He saw a civil war and disruption of the Union hanging like a threatening cloud over our horizon. He had been taught by repeated acts of political iniquity that there was no trust to be reposed in the South. It was a part of the political history of the country that the slave power, by fraud, violence and armed intervention, had imposed upon the people of Kansas a legislature which had enacted a code of laws more infamous and oppressive than the code of Draco.

He said that the men of the North were to say whether the fair soil of Kansas should be forever given up to slavery, or consecrated to the rich blessings of freedom.

Allusion was made to the assault on Senator Sumner. It was difficult, he said, for a Massachusetts man to discuss this matter coolly. From a knowledge of the character of Sumner, he considered him the last man to provoke an attack so outrageous. He was a gentleman, an accomplished scholar, and a man of gentle disposition, but still a man of chivalrous courage, who would repel an attack when duty required. The attack upon Sumner had assumed the character of a systematic and deliberate attack upon the freedom of debate, and the great issue of free speech has been forced upon the people of the North. Your votes, said the speaker, must determine whether or not you are in favor of applying the gag to our representatives. Thus were arrayed the three great issues of free labor, free Kansas, and free speech, for the action of freemen.

Washington Correspondence of the Atlas.
 WASHINGTON, July 12, 1856.

Mr. Comins of your State is now speaking in favor of the resolution for the expulsion of Mr. Brooks. His speech is being very well received by our friends, and is very annoying to the other side.

The dispersal of the free State Legislature of Kansas by the U. S. dragoons, creates a profound sensation in the House. There is no warrant for the act in the Constitution, or in the laws. It is downright military despotism. What action may be taken, or attempted, by the friends of Kansas in Congress, is uncertain. There ought not to be a dollar appropriated for the army, if it is to be used merely in the interest of slavery.

The Iowa route to Kansas is now complete, so far as it can be made with stage routes. From Chicago to Iowa City there is a complete railway connection, and from the latter point to Dayton, on the Missouri river, opposite Nebraska City, a new stage route has been established. This carries the line to the south-western corner of Iowa. From Nebraska City another line of stages will be established through the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas to the town of Topeka, on the Kansas river, the Free State capital. Thus a wide berth is given to the Missouri vicinity, and the whole route passes through a region which is beyond the interference of the followers of Atchison and Stringfellow. The company organized for the purpose of establishing the line is said to be fully responsible, to have a heavy capital, and to be in all respects reliable. As the Missouri river route is completely closed to all Northern emigrants bound to Kansas, this Iowa railway and stage line will become exceedingly useful. The result of the movement will be to cause Northern emigration to shun the Missouri borders, and to settle further in the interior of Kansas. Already a large number of persons have passed through by way of this route, and at the last accounts many more were quartered at Iowa City, ready to proceed.

ELECTIONEERING CAPITAL.

The Buchanians are constantly complaining that the supporters of Fremont are trying to make capital out of the Kansas iniquities and the felonious assault upon Mr. Sumner. The Buchanians are unquestionably right. The Republican party desires nothing so much as to make all possible capital out of those political iniquities which demanded its organization, and which have forced so many friends of an honest government into its ranks. And in order to secure the fullest redress of the wounds inflicted upon the Constitution and the country by designing and desperate men, it is the intention of all the newspapers and speakers of the Republican party continually to dwell upon those wrongs, and as frequently and fully as possible to show their enormity. We do not know what parties are organized for, unless it be to exhibit the errors and follies of their antagonists. We can easily understand that Mr. Douglas, who has recently, in the Senate, reiterated the complaint to which we have alluded, would be very much refreshed in his mighty mind, if the Opposition would be good enough to shut its mouth, and say nothing of Kansas. He would be delighted, if our speakers would confine themselves to abstractions and generalities, and cease to spread before him, in hideous detail, the catalogue of consequences following the destructive measure of which he is the author. But he cannot be gratified. We must continue to charge upon him the wickedness of originating the Nebraska bill, and upon the President the weakness of lending it his official sanction; we must still point the public gaze to the subjugation of Kansas; we must still denounce as a political crime of the bloodiest hue, the attempt of Mr. Pierce to force upon the people of the territory an institution abhorrent to them. The recital cannot be pleasant either to the Senator or to his servant the President; nor was the vision of murdered Banquo pleasing to the tremulous Macbeth. Traitors are rarely in love with treason; the wicked outrages

hat
 dies
 the
 o of

from that side to sustain the bill. Messrs Barclay and Hickman of Pennsylvania, democrats not yet cut loose from the party, and Bayard Clark of New York, who occupies like relations to the American party, but yet who generally vote with the free Kansas party in the House, are the men most exposed to the improper influences we have suggested in behalf of the new scheme for subjugating Kansas to slavery.

The passage of the bill will of course be resisted to the utmost by the friends of freedom and justice to Kansas in the House, and the probabilities of success are yet with them. But, when we recall the manner in which the repeal of the Missouri compromise—the seat of all the present woe of the nation—was driven through an unwilling House; when we perceive how desperate are the prospects of the slavery party as to possessing Kansas and the Buchanan party as to carrying the election, and that both believe this bill will restore them; when we recall how much of power still remains in the hands of these associated parties,—we feel not at all confident that, by some trick of legislation, or corruption, or brute force indeed, they will not succeed in the purpose on which it is clear they have set their hearts. The North and freedom have almost uniformly failed in such struggles at Washington: we can only hope for another exception in this case.

The country may look, at least, for a severe trial of strength between the parties contending for the mastery upon the question, and be prepared for anything in the way of exciting scenes and violent contentions. What have already been had in the history of this Congress are not unlikely destined to be exceeded in the struggle over this bill. There is a crisis impending at Washington. The feeling is high on both sides, and, fanned by the excitement of the presidential campaign, and the memories of past personal and sectional contests, we dare not predict to what excesses men may not be led.

TRADE AND POLITICS.—A southern rights and union Congress has been formed in the name of the South, with the object of trading only with those northern persons who favor the slavery party. One of its by-laws provides that—

“The commercial committee shall consist of 25 or more members, elected by the Congress, residing in various states, whose duty it shall be to regulate, advise and influence the trade of the South, so as to confine the commerce between the South and the North within the keeping of Union-safety merchants and men.”

All southern members of Congress and governors are made members of the association, and Col William S. Rand of Kentucky is the general agent and corresponding secretary. An agent is now in New York picking out the dough-face merchants to be recommended for the exclusive trade of the South. A list of them will undoubtedly be obtained for circulation through the North and West as well. New York merchants who bite at this trick of southern demagogues and schemers, will have a chance to see whose custom is the best.

Notes on Kansas.

The contribution of \$125 from Ludlow to the aid funds was the second from that town, the first being \$57,50, and there is more coming. A correspondent there pokes a pair of questions at us, which we pass along:—“Can you tell us how much has been raised in the city of Springfield? How much have the churches done for humanity and equal rights?”

Rev T. W. Higginson states that the Missourians were threatening, when he was at St. Louis, last week, to send a thousand men to northern Kansas, to meet and drive back emigrants from the free states through Iowa.—At the celebration of the 4th at Ripon, Wis., over \$1,000 were raised for the Kansas aid fund.

The sophomore class of Amherst college presented a S harps' rifle, on the evening of the 2d, to their classmate George H. Miles, who is about to emigrate to Kansas, in company with Mr Anderson, another member of the college. The speeches at the presentation were highly patriotic and the mutual farewell was spoken with much feeling. When our young men leave their books

and their literary ambitions to endure voluntarily the hardships and perils of pioneer life in Kansas, because they love liberty, we who stay at home must not fail to afford all needful sympathy and material support.

The recent murder of a well known citizen of Michigan, William Gay, U. S. Indian agent, by the slavery ruffians in Kansas creates a profound sensation in his own state. It appears that he was an out-spoken friend of freedom to Kansas, and being the only administration official in the territory, who did not countenance and aid the border ruffians, he was intensely hated by them. His murder is only one of the tragedies deliberately planned for the subjugation of Kansas, beginning by the murder of a peaceable settler by Clarke, another Indian agent, whose crime is tacitly approved by the administration that retains him in its service.

The ladies of Lawrence, Kansas, have adopted the western practice of constituting themselves a practical Maine law. Some time in June they bought out the only liquor seller in the city, upon his agreement to discontinue the business. But he broke the compact, and on the morning of the 2d the ladies marched down to his establishment, armed with hatchets, and spilled all the liquor, thus closing up the liquor business in Lawrence.

The Atlas.

SATURDAY MORNING, JULY 12, 1856.

Great Gatherings of the People.

“O WHAT HAS CAUSED THIS GREAT COMMOTION?”

ENTHUSIASTIC MEETING IN HAVERHILL.—On Thursday evening an immense meeting of the friends of Fremont and Dayton was held in the public square in Haverhill. Between two and three thousand persons were present, including delegates from Bradford, Groveland, Georgetown, and Newburyport. The meeting was called to order at 8 o'clock by Mr. J. B. Swett, of the committee of arrangements, and the following officers were elected:

President—Hon. JOSEPH H. DUNCAN, of Haverhill.
Vice Presidents—Dr. Geo. Goggswell, Rev. Geo. W. Keeley, E. G. Eaton, Hon. Edmund Kimball, Dr. Spofford, Stephen Minot, James Gale, Caleb Hersey, John C. Tilton, Levi C. Wadleigh, Samuel Chase, Wm. Caldwell, E. T. Ingalls, E. A. Porter, David Boynton, Rufus H. Tilton, Wm. Hilton, T. M. Hopkinton, W. Coggswell, R. Tenney, Mr. Greene.
Secretaries—David Boynton, Rufus H. Tilton, Wm. Tilton.

Mr. Duncan, on taking the chair, expressed his sense of the honor of being called to preside upon such an occasion:

MARCUS MORTON, Jr., Esq. followed. We copy the following sketch of his remarks from the Journal:

He commenced by observing that when he was elected to the important office of delegate to the Philadelphia Convention he accepted it with a keen sense of responsibility, in view of the political aspect of the country. He saw a civil war and disruption of the Union hanging like a threatening cloud over our horizon. He had been taught by repeated acts of political iniquity that there was no trust to be reposed in the South. It was a part of the political history of the country that the slave power, by fraud, violence and armed intervention, had imposed upon the people of Kansas a legislature which had enacted a code of laws more infamous and oppressive than the code of Draco.

He said that the men of the North were to say whether the fair soil of Kansas should be forever given up to slavery, or consecrated to the rich blessings of freedom.

Allusion was made to the assault on Senator Sumner. It was difficult, he said, for a Massachusetts man to discuss this matter coolly. From a knowledge of the character of Sumner, he considered him the last man to provoke an attack so outrageous. He was a gentleman, an accomplished scholar, and a man of gentle disposition, but still a man of chivalrous courage, who would repel an attack when duty required. The attack upon Sumner had assumed the character of a systematic and deliberate attack upon the freedom of debate, and the great issue of free speech has been forced upon the people of the North. Your votes, said the speaker, must determine whether or not you are in favor of applying the gag to our representatives. Thus were arrayed the three great issues of free labor, free Kansas, and free speech, for the action of freemen.

Washington Correspondence of the Atlas.
 WASHINGTON, July 12, 1856.

Mr. Comins of your State is now speaking in favor of the resolution for the expulsion of Mr. Brooks. His speech is being very well received by our friends, and is very annoying to the other side.

The dispersal of the free State Legislature of Kansas by the U. S. dragoons, creates a profound sensation in the House. There is no warrant for the act in the Constitution, or in the laws. It is downright military despotism. What action may be taken, or attempted, by the friends of Kansas in Congress, is uncertain. There ought not to be a dollar appropriated for the army, if it is to be used merely in the interest of slavery.

The Iowa route to Kansas is now complete, so far as it can be made with stage routes. From Chicago to Iowa City there is a complete railway connection, and from the latter point to Dayton, on the Missouri river, opposite Nebraska City, a new stage route has been established. This carries the line to the south-western corner of Iowa. From Nebraska City another line of stages will be established through the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas to the town of Topeka, on the Kansas river, the Free State capital. Thus a wide berth is given to the Missouri vicinity, and the whole route passes through a region which is beyond the interference of the followers of Atchison and Stringfellow. The company organized for the purpose of establishing the line is said to be fully responsible, to have a heavy capital, and to be in all respects reliable. As the Missouri river route is completely closed to all Northern emigrants bound to Kansas, this Iowa railway and stage line will become exceedingly useful. The result of the movement will be to cause Northern emigration to shun the Missouri borders, and to settle further in the interior of Kansas. Already a large number of persons have passed through by way of this route, and at the last accounts many more were quartered at Iowa City, ready to proceed.

ELECTIONEERING CAPITAL.

The Buchanians are constantly complaining that the supporters of Fremont are trying to make capital out of the Kansas iniquities and the felonious assault upon Mr. Sumner. The Buchanians are unquestionably right. The Republican party desires nothing so much as to make all possible capital out of those political iniquities which demanded its organization, and which have forced so many friends of an honest government into its ranks. And in order to secure the fullest redress of the wounds inflicted upon the Constitution and the country by designing and desperate men, it is the intention of all the newspapers and speakers of the Republican party continually to dwell upon those wrongs, and as frequently and fully as possible to show their enormity. We do not know what parties are organized for, unless it be to exhibit the errors and follies of their antagonists. We can easily understand that Mr. Douglas, who has recently, in the Senate, reiterated the complaint to which we have alluded, would be very much refreshed in his mighty mind, if the Opposition would be good enough to shut its mouth, and say nothing of Kansas. He would be delighted, if our speakers would confine themselves to abstractions and generalities, and cease to spread before him, in hideous detail, the catalogue of consequences following the destructive measure of which he is the author. But he cannot be gratified. We must continue to charge upon him the wickedness of originating the Nebraska bill, and upon the President the weakness of lending it his official sanction; we must still point the public gaze to the subjugation of Kansas; we must still denounce as a political crime of the bloodiest hue, the attempt of Mr. Pierce to force upon the people of the territory an institution abhorrent to them. The recital cannot be pleasant either to the Senator or to his servant the President; nor was the vision of murdered Banquo pleasing to the tremulous Macbeth. Traitors are rarely in love with treason; the wicked outrages

in Kansas do not commend themselves as heroic achievements even to the Senator from Illinois; but that is no reason why they should not be recounted even to his unwilling ears. Mr. Brooks would undoubtedly consider it a blessing if the name of Charles Sumner could pass into oblivion; but that is no reason why the name rendered dear to a free people by the noblest vindication of right, followed by the most cruel martyrdom, should not be repeated in every village and in every city, and by the lips of all who venerate virtue and abhor violence.

Mr. Douglas has recently professed a desire to quiet the country. He is no more a hypocrite in this, than he was a gentleman when he uttered his celebrated threat of subjugation. He does desire to quiet the country, because, aroused to the highest pitch of indignation, it is about to quiet him forever. In the concessions which he has already made, we have an extorted confession, either of the wrong or the impolicy of his past course. But this limited concession will not answer. Mr. Douglas has broken one compromise—he is the last man in the world to offer another. How do we know that he will not, if we accept it, break it upon the first opportunity? What we want is what we are not likely to get from him—full indemnity for the past, and full security for the future.

The folly of its opponents is the capital stock of every party, just as sin is the capital stock of the Christian preacher. The Democratic party having sold itself to the South, must expect to be reminded of the bargain. Mr. Douglas having, for selfish purposes, aroused discussion, must be content to listen to discussion. We are organized, and we are laboring for freedom in Kansas; and are we never to mention the subject? We are contending for freedom of speech treacherously assailed, and are we to say nothing of the assault? Such has not heretofore been the custom of parties, and it probably never will be. The Buchanians may desire to avoid discussion, but it will be forced upon them, until the noble result of words fitly spoken will be visible to all, in the triumphant election of JOHN C. FREMONT.

ing man no intimation beforehand that it would be done, no opportunity has been afforded me to accept or decline the nomination.

Had I taken an active part in politics, it would probably have been known that from the first I have been decidedly in favor of Mr. Fillmore. It is difficult to believe that the great body of fair-minded men in the South, not one in ten of whom holds slaves or has any personal interest in the extension of slave territory, will sustain the recent aggressions on the rights of the free States, and of those who have gone out from them as settlers, or that they will justify the attempts to suppress free debate in Congress. It has been more reasonable to believe that they would unite with the same class of men at the North under some organization like that of the American party, and prevent the continuance of a Democratic administration.

Mr. Fillmore's administration commanded the respect and confidence of the country. Had he been re-nominated in the present one, he would have had its existence. But events are hastened by zealous leaders, and we find ourselves in a position from which there is no retreat. The only course in the present canvass is to yield nothing to friends or foes, until Kansas is admitted as a free State. Then we can afford to be not only just, but generous, for we shall be beyond the reach of any serious aggression hereafter.

Mr. Fillmore would stand on this ground. The vote of his friends in Congress against the admission of Kansas with a free State Constitution, and which was not known until the day of the Springfield Convention, undoubtedly caused his rejection by the delegates; though the majority against him appears to have been very small. Had the informal vote of his friends in Congress, in the absence of any contrary opinion from Mr. Fillmore himself, that he will not take a decided stand on this question, or that he and his friends in Washington will favor one or the other of the bills brought forward for a settlement of the difficulty by a new vote of the people of the Territory. But we who have friends that know that large numbers of Free State settlers with their families have left the Territory never to return; that the most active Free State leaders (who have done nothing but what every man who has any love of liberty in his heart would have been proud to do) are under arrest and strictly guarded, while others are exiles from their homes, and a secret vote of the present electors can be given, certainly none can be under the present administration.

Mr. Fillmore does not yet see, it is hoped that he will, that only one course remains; and that is, to do justice to the settlers, without regard to precedents. Unless he and his friends in Congress come to this conclusion, the question will be left to the voters of the Territory. The political movements during the present canvass. When this shall be settled, if we would encourage the industry and enterprise of our own people, and check the corrupting influence of foreign manners and luxury, already growing rank in our cities, and extending into the country, we must support the principles advanced by the American party. The principles will command the confidence of the people, without any secret organization.

I did not intend to say more than to respectfully decline the nomination. By doing so, I shall relieve the Committee from embarrassment; and if obliged to change my candidate, I wish to be free from the imputation of having done it for the sake of political preference. I have never yet been called to do any duty for the public, and I hope the crisis will not arise which will make it otherwise; but if it does come, or if we are near it now, I shall not hesitate to offer myself as a volunteer to serve in any capacity, even the humblest, for the maintenance of all our rights.

Your obedient servant, AMOS A. LAWRENCE.

To PETER L. COX, Esq., Sec'y of the Convention.

An enthusiastic Fremont ratification meeting was held at Topeka on the 28th ult. Judge John Curtis, (National Democrat,) formerly of Jackson county, Mo., presided, and concluded a forcible speech by expressing the belief that the words "Free Kansas and Fremont" will hereafter be inseparably connected. The President called for resolutions, and single resolutions were offered by various individuals of all shades of political opinion except administration pro-slavery. They heartily endorsed the nomination of Fremont and Dayton, and approved the conduct of Gen. J. H. Lane, Senator elect, and Wm. L. Delahay, Representative elect, in opposing Buchanan and the Cincinnati platform and supporting the Republican nominations. A resolution referring to Gov. Reeder gave rise to a long discussion. It was as follows:

Resolved, That if, as we are informed on private and public communications from the East—which, however, we are unwilling to believe—Andrew H. Reeder, one of our Senators elect, is favorable to the candidate of the slavery propagandist, James Buchanan, we shall repudiate his action with scorn and indignation, and demand of our General Assembly that they request him to resign the office to which he was elected, and thereby deprive him of the influence which, as our accredited representative, his decision might have in the Northern States.

Considerable feeling was manifested in regard to the position of Gov. Reeder, owing to the rumor that he intends to support Buchanan. The mover of the resolution, Mr. Jameson, Whig, formerly of St. Louis, said he had a letter from a true friend of Kansas, saying that Gov. Reeder told him that he did not know whether or not he should support Buchanan until he had had an interview with him. Most of the speakers, however, considered the resolution an imprudent one, considering the lack of certain knowledge in regard to Gov. Reeder's true position, and from the effect which hasty action might have upon the vote of Pennsylvania, where Mr. Reeder has great influence. After various motions to amend, withdraw, or indefinitely postpone the resolution, a committee of three was appointed "to so frame

the resolutions in relation to our Senators and Representatives as not to imply that we suspect any one, but to intimate that we expect them to support Fremont and Dayton."

The committee reported the following, which was adopted unanimously, and with loud applause.

Resolved, That our thanks are due and are hereby tendered to our Senators and Representatives at Washington, Hon. A. H. Reeder, Gen. J. H. Lane and Col. M. W. Delahay, for the able, manly, and energetic course which has hitherto characterized their action in Kansas affairs; that we have every reason to believe that their future course will correspond with their past in this respect, and that henceforth they will be found battling for free Kansas under the banner of Fremont and Dayton. [Loud and prolonged applause.]

The other resolutions were then adopted.

Speeches were afterwards made by Judge Schuyler, Mr. Jameson, Mr. James Reipath, and Mr. Caleb S. Pratt, all eloquently endorsing the Republican nominations.

BUNKER-HILL AURORA.

W. W. WHEILDON—EDITOR.

Saturday Evening, July 12, 1856.

THE TRUE ISSUE.

Mr. WHEILDON—In a few remarks, which you were kind enough to print in your last paper, I endeavored to show that the extension of Slavery into free territory, is the true issue, before the people in the coming presidential election.

The so called democratic party, have planted themselves on the extraordinary doctrine, not only that the general government have no power, but that the people of the territories themselves, have no power, until they are allowed to form a Constitution with a view to their admission to the Union, as a sovereign State, to exclude slavery, so that all the territories must be absolutely open to an institution, wholly sectional in its character, and created solely by local law. Suppose the people of Massachusetts should take our wine liquor law into Kansas and attempt to enforce it, would our Southern brethren think it no infringement of their rights? And what would be the difference in principle? On the other hand the Republican party have planted themselves on the truly national platform of the Fathers of the Republic, that Freedom is national, that the government, not only live the power, but that it is their duty to exercise it, to exclude Slavery from all the national domain.

This great question between the North and the South was supposed to have been put at rest by the Missouri Compromise of 1820, but the immense territories acquired by the Mexican war, revived it again with ten fold intensity, and the struggles of the Slave States to extend her "peculiar institution" to the new territory in 1850, shook the country to its very depth as with a moral earthquake.

California, thanks to the noble Fremont, formed for herself a Free Constitution, and asked for admission to the Union, as a Free State. This would

See both sides of this issue.

Fitchburg Record.

Saturday Evening, July 12, 1856.

COL. FREMONT'S ACCEPTANCE. We have space for brief comment upon Col. Fremont's letter of acceptance, but place it before our readers. Manly, decided, and breathing throughout the spirit of truth and integrity, and the love of freedom, which has always characterized the great Pathfinder, it will speak for itself to the responsive hearts of millions of freemen.

FITCHBURG AND TO KANSAS. We learn that the amount already subscribed in this town for the aid of the free state settlers in Kansas, exceeds one thousand dollars. The list is headed by our venerable fellow citizen, Benjamin Snow with the sum of \$200, Benj. Snow, Jr. subscribed \$100, G. S. Burbank, \$100, James B. Lane, \$50, and several other gentlemen, sums ranging from \$10 to \$25.

Boston Journal.

SATURDAY EVENING, JULY 12, '56

LETTER FROM AMOS A. LAWRENCE. It is well known that at the recent American State Convention at Springfield, Amos A. Lawrence, Esq., was nominated as one of the Presidential electors. Mr. Lawrence has declined the nomination for satisfactory reasons. We find in the Boston Journal of this morning the following letter, the just and well-considered sentiments of which are worthy of careful perusal:

COTTAGE FARM, Brookline, July 4, 1856.
My Dear Sir—Not having received any official notice of my being placed upon the ticket at Springfield, on the 1st inst., as Presidential Elector at large, and hav-

in Kansas do not commend themselves as heroic achievements even to the Senator from Illinois; but that is no reason why they should not be recounted even to his unwilling ears. Mr. Brooks would undoubtedly consider it a blessing if the name of Charles Sumner could pass into oblivion; but that is no reason why the name rendered dear to a free people by the noblest vindication of right, followed by the most cruel martyrdom, should not be repeated in every village and in every city, and by the lips of all who venerate virtue and abhor violence.

Mr. Douglas has recently professed a desire to quiet the country. He is no more a hypocrite in this, than he was a gentleman when he uttered his celebrated threat of subjugation. He does desire to quiet the country, because, aroused to the highest pitch of indignation, it is about to quiet him forever. In the concessions which he has already made, we have an extorted confession, either of the wrong or the impolicy of his past course. But this limited concession will not answer. Mr. Douglas has broken one compromise—he is the last man in the world to offer another. How do we know that he will not, if we accept it, break it upon the first opportunity? What we want is what we are not likely to get from him—full indemnity for the past, and full security for the future.

The folly of its opponents is the capital stock of every party, just as sin is the capital stock of the Christian preacher. The Democratic party having sold itself to the South, must expect to be reminded of the bargain. Mr. Douglas having, for selfish purposes, aroused discussion, must be content to listen to discussion. We are organized, and we are laboring for freedom in Kansas; and are we never to mention the subject? We are contending for freedom of speech treacherously assailed, and are we to say nothing of the assault? Such has not heretofore been the custom of parties, and it probably never will be. The Buchanians may desire to avoid discussion, but it will be forced upon them, until the noble result of words fitly spoken will be visible to all, in the triumphant election of JOHN C. FREMONT.

ing man no intimation beforehand that it would be done, no opportunity has been afforded me to accept or decline the nomination.

Had I taken an active part in politics, it would probably have been known that from the first I have been decidedly in favor of Mr. Fillmore. It is difficult to believe that the great body of fair-minded men in the South, not one in ten of whom holds slaves or has any personal interest in the extension of slave territory, will sustain the recent aggressions on the rights of the Free States, and of those who have gone out from them as settlers, or that they will justify the attempts to suppress free debate in Congress. It has been more reasonable to believe that they would unite with the same class of men at the North under some organization like that of the American party, and prevent the continuance of a Democratic administration.

Mr. Fillmore's administration commanded the respect and confidence of the country. Had he been re-nominated in the present one, he would have had its existence. But events are hastened by zealous leaders, and we find ourselves in a position from which there is no retreat. The only course in the present canvass is to yield nothing to friends or foes, until Kansas is admitted as a free State. Then we can afford to be not only just, but generous, for we shall be beyond the reach of any serious aggression hereafter.

Mr. Fillmore would stand on this ground. The vote of his friends in Congress against the admission of Kansas with a free State Constitution, and which was not known until the day of the Springfield Convention, undoubtedly caused his rejection by the delegates; though the majority against him appears to have been very small. Had the informal vote of his friends in Congress, in the absence of any contrary opinion from Mr. Fillmore himself, that he will not take a decided stand on this question, or that he and his friends in Washington will favor one or the other of the bills brought forward for a settlement of the difficulty by a new vote of the people of the Territory. But we who have friends who know that large numbers of Free State settlers with their families have left the Territory never to return; that the most active Free State leaders (who have done nothing but what every man who has any love of liberty in his heart would have been proud to do) are under arrest and strictly guarded, while others are exiles from their homes, and a secret vote of the present settlers can be given, certainly none can be taken under the present administration.

Mr. Fillmore does not yet see, it is hoped that he will, that only one course remains; and that is, to do justice to the settlers, without regard to precedents. Unless he and his friends in Congress come to this conclusion, the question will not be settled. The only way to command the confidence of the people, without any secret organization, is to support the principles of the American party. The only way to command the confidence of the people, without any secret organization, is to support the principles of the American party.

I did not intend to say more than to respectfully decline the nomination. By doing so, I shall relieve the Committee from embarrassment; and if obliged to change my candidate, I wish to be free from the imputation of having done it for the sake of a political preference. I have never yet been called to do any duty for the public, and I hope the crisis will not arise which will make it otherwise; but if it does come, or if we are near it now, I shall not hesitate to offer myself as a volunteer to serve in any capacity, even the humblest, for the maintenance of all our rights.

Your obedient servant, AMOS A. LAWRENCE.

To PETER L. COX, Esq., Sec'y of the Convention.

An enthusiastic Fremont ratification meeting was held at Topeka on the 28th ult. Judge John Curtis, (National Democrat,) formerly of Jackson county, Mo., presided, and concluded a forcible speech by expressing the belief that the words "Free Kansas and Fremont" will hereafter be inseparably connected. The President called for resolutions, and single resolutions were offered by various individuals of all shades of political opinion except administration pro-slavery. They heartily endorsed the nomination of Fremont and Dayton, and approved the conduct of Gen. J. H. Lane, Senator elect, and Wm. L. Delahay, Representative elect, in opposing Buchanan and the Cincinnati platform and supporting the Republican nominations. A resolution referring to Gov. Reeder gave rise to a long discussion. It was as follows:

Resolved, That if, as we are informed on private and public communications from the East—which, however, we are unwilling to believe—Andrew H. Reeder, one of our Senators elect, is favorable to the candidate of the slavery propagandist, James Buchanan, we shall repudiate his action with scorn and indignation, and demand of our General Assembly that they request him to resign the office to which he was elected, and thereby deprive him of the influence which, as our accredited representative, his decision might have in the Northern States.

Considerable feeling was manifested in regard to the position of Gov. Reeder, owing to the rumor that he intends to support Buchanan. The mover of the resolution, Mr. Jameson, Whig, formerly of St. Louis, said he had a letter from a true friend of Kansas, saying that Gov. Reeder told him that he did not know whether or not he should support Buchanan until he had had an interview with him. Most of the speakers, however, considered the resolution an imprudent one, considering the lack of certain knowledge in regard to Gov. Reeder's true position, and from the effect which hasty action might have upon the vote of Pennsylvania, where Mr. Reeder has great influence. After various motions to amend, withdraw, or indefinitely postpone the resolution, a committee of three was appointed "to so frame

the resolutions in relation to our Senators and Representatives as not to imply that we suspect any one, but to intimate that we expect them to support Fremont and Dayton."

The committee reported the following, which was adopted unanimously, and with loud applause.

Resolved, That our thanks are due and are hereby tendered to our Senators and Representatives at Washington, Hon. A. H. Reeder, Gen. J. H. Lane and Col. M. W. Delahay, for the able, manly, and energetic course which has hitherto characterized their action in Kansas affairs; that we have every reason to believe that their future course will correspond with their past in this respect, and that henceforth they will be found battling for free Kansas under the banner of Fremont and Dayton. [Loud and prolonged applause.]

The other resolutions were then adopted.

Speeches were afterwards made by Judge Schuyler, Mr. Jameson, Mr. James Reipath, and Mr. Caleb S. Pratt, all eloquently endorsing the Republican nominations.

BUNKER-HILL AURORA.

W. W. WHEILDON—EDITOR.

Saturday Evening, July 12, 1856.

THE TRUE ISSUE.

Mr. WHEILDON—In a few remarks, which you were kind enough to print in your last paper, I endeavored to show that the extension of Slavery into free territory, is the true issue, before the people in the coming presidential election.

The so called democratic party, have planted themselves on the extraordinary doctrine, not only that the general government have no power, but that the people of the territories themselves, have no power, until they are allowed to form a Constitution with a view to their admission to the Union, as a sovereign State, to exclude slavery, so that all the territories must be absolutely open to an institution, wholly sectional in its character, and created solely by local law. Suppose the people of Massachusetts should take our wine liquor law into Kansas and attempt to enforce it, would our Southern brethren think it no infringement of their rights? And what would be the difference in principle? On the other hand the Republican party have planted themselves on the truly national platform of the Fathers of the Republic, that Freedom is national, that the government, not only live the power, but that it is their duty to exercise it, to exclude Slavery from all the national domain.

This great question between the North and the South was supposed to have been put at rest by the Missouri Compromise of 1820, but the immense territories acquired by the Mexican war, revived it again with ten fold intensity, and the struggles of the Slave States to extend her "peculiar institution" to the new territory in 1850, shook the country to its very depth as with a moral earthquake.

California, thanks to the noble Fremont, formed for herself a Free Constitution, and asked for admission to the Union, as a Free State. This would

See both sides of the issue.

Fitchburg Record.

Saturday Evening, July 12, 1856.

COL. FREMONT'S ACCEPTANCE. We have space for brief comment upon Col. Fremont's letter of acceptance, but place it before our readers. Manly, decided, and breathing throughout the spirit of truth and integrity, and the love of freedom, which has always characterized the great Pathfinder, it will speak for itself to the responsive hearts of millions of freemen.

FITCHBURG AND TO KANSAS. We learn that the amount already subscribed in this town for the aid of the free state settlers in Kansas, exceeds one thousand dollars. The list is headed by our venerable fellow citizen, Benjamin Snow with the sum of \$200, Benj. Snow, Jr. subscribed \$100, G. S. Burbank, \$100, James B. Lane, \$50, and several other gentlemen, sums ranging from \$10 to \$25.

Boston Journal.

SATURDAY EVENING, JULY 12, '56

LETTER FROM AMOS A. LAWRENCE. It is well known that at the recent American State Convention at Springfield, Amos A. Lawrence, Esq., was nominated as one of the Presidential electors. Mr. Lawrence has declined the nomination for satisfactory reasons. We find in the Boston Journal of this morning the following letter, the just and well-considered sentiments of which are worthy of careful perusal:

COTTAGE FARM, Brookline, July 4, 1856.
My Dear Sir—Not having received any official notice of my being placed upon the ticket at Springfield, on the 1st inst., as Presidential Elector at large, and hav-

in Kansas do not commend themselves as heroic achievements even to the Senator from Illinois; but that is no reason why they should not be recounted even to his unwilling ears. Mr. Brooks would undoubtedly consider it a blessing if the name of Charles Sumner could pass into oblivion; but that is no reason why the name rendered dear to a free people by the noblest vindication of right, followed by the most cruel martyrdom, should not be repeated in every village and in every city, and by the lips of all who venerate virtue and abhor violence.

Mr. Douglas has recently professed a desire to quiet the country. He is no more a hypocrite in this, than he was a gentleman when he uttered his celebrated threat of subjugation. He does desire to quiet the country, because, aroused to the highest pitch of indignation, it is about to quiet him forever. In the concessions which he has already made, we have an extorted confession, either of the wrong or the impolicy of his past course. But this limited concession will not answer. Mr. Douglas has broken one compromise—he is the last man in the world to offer another. How do we know that he will not, if we accept it, break it upon the first opportunity? What we want is what we are not likely to get from him—full indemnity for the past, and full security for the future.

The folly of its opponents is the capital stock of every party, just as sin is the capital stock of the Christian preacher. The Democratic party having sold itself to the South, must expect to be reminded of the bargain. Mr. Douglas having, for selfish purposes, aroused discussion, must be content to listen to discussion. We are organized, and we are laboring for freedom in Kansas; and are we never to mention the subject? We are contending for freedom of speech treacherously assailed, and are we to say nothing of the assault? Such has not heretofore been the custom of parties, and it probably never will be. The Buchanians may desire to avoid discussion, but it will be forced upon them, until the noble result of words fitly spoken will be visible to all, in the triumphant election of JOHN C. FREMONT.

Fitchburg, Keedville.

Saturday Evening, July 12, 1856.

COL. FREMONT'S ACCEPTANCE. We have space for brief comment upon Col. Fremont's letter of acceptance, but place it before our readers. Manly, decided, and breathing throughout the spirit of truth and integrity, and the love of freedom, which has always characterized the great Pathfinder, it will speak for itself to the responsive hearts of millions of freemen.

FITCHBURG AND TO KANSAS. We learn that the amount already subscribed in this town for the aid of the free state settlers in Kansas, exceeds one thousand dollars. The list is headed by our venerable fellow citizen, Benjamin Snow with the sum of \$200; Benj. Snow, Jr. subscribed \$100, G. S. Burbank, \$100, James B. Lane, \$50, and several other gentlemen, sums ranging from \$10 to \$25.

Boston Journal.

SATURDAY EVENING, JULY 12, '56

LETTER FROM AMOS A. LAWRENCE. It is well known that at the recent American State Convention at Springfield, Amos A. Lawrence, Esq., was nominated as one of the Presidential electors. Mr. Lawrence has declined the nomination for satisfactory reasons. We find in the *Base* of this morning the following letter, the just and well-considered sentiments of which are worthy of careful perusal:

COTTAGE FARM, Brookline, July 4, 1856.

My Dear Sir—Not having received any official notice of my being placed upon the ticket at Springfield, on the 1st inst., as Presidential Elector at large, and hav-

ing had no intimation beforehand that it would be done, no opportunity has been afforded me to accept or decline the nomination.

Had I taken an active part in politics, it would probably have been known that from the first I have been decidedly in favor of Mr. Fillmore. It is difficult to believe that the great body of fair-minded men in the South, not one in ten of whom holds slaves or has any personal interest in the extension of slave territory, will sustain the recent aggressions on the rights of the free States; and of those who have gone out from them as settlers, or that they will justify the attempts to suppress free debate in Congress. It has been more reasonable to believe that they would unite with the same class of men at the North under some organization like that of the American party, and prevent the continuance of a Democratic administration.

Mr. Fillmore's administration commanded the respect and confidence of the country. Had he been re-nominated, the present one would not have had its existence. But events are hastened by zealous leaders, and we find ourselves in a position from which there is no retreat. The only course in the present canvass is to yield nothing to friends or foes, until Kansas is admitted as a free State. Then we can afford to be not only just, but generous, for we shall be beyond the reach of any serious aggression hereafter.

It has been believed that Mr. Fillmore would stand on this ground. The vote of his friends in Congress against the admission of Kansas with a free State Constitution, and which was not known until the day of the Springfield Convention, undoubtedly secured his rejection by the delegate, though the majority against him appears to have been very small on the informal ballot. It was inferred from this vote in Congress, in the absence of any contrary opinion from Mr. Fillmore himself, that he will not take a decided stand on this question, or that he and his friends in Washington will favor one or the other of the bills brought forward for a settlement of the territory by a new vote of the people of the Territory. But we who have friends there know that large numbers of Free State settlers with their families have left the Territory never to return; that the most active Free State leaders (who have done nothing but what every man who has any love of liberty in his heart would have been proud to do) are under arrest and strictly guarded; and that others are exiles from the Territory, and therefore no vote of the present assembly can be a fair one; certainly none can be under the present administration.

Mr. Fillmore does not yet see, it is hoped that he will, that only one course remains; and that is, to do justice to the settlers, without regard to precedents. Unless he and his friends in Congress come to this conclusion, he can have no availing voice in New England. This question vital to the free States, must control all political movements during the present canvass. When this shall be settled, if we would encourage the industry and enterprise of our own people, and check the corrupting influence of foreign manners and luxury, already growing rank in our cities and extending into the country, we must support the principles professed by the American party. These principles will command the confidence of the people, without any secret organization.

I did not intend to say more than to respectfully decline the nomination. By doing so, I shall relieve the Committee from embarrassment; and if obliged to change my candidate, I wish to be free from any imputation of having done it for the sake of political preference. I have never yet been called to do any duty for the public, and I hope the crisis will not arise which will make it otherwise; but if it does come, or if we are near it now, I shall not hesitate to offer myself as a volunteer to serve in any capacity, even the humblest, for the maintenance of all our rights.

Your obedient servant, AMOS A. LAWRENCE.

To PETER L. COX, Esq., Sec'y of the Convention.

An enthusiastic Fremont ratification meeting was held at Topeka on the 28th ult. Judge John Curtis, (National Democrat,) formerly of Jackson county, Mo., presided, and concluded a forcible speech by expressing the belief that the words "Free Kansas and Fremont" will hereafter be inseparably connected. The President called for resolutions, and single resolutions were offered by various individuals of all shades of political opinion except administration pro-slavery. They heartily endorsed the nomination of Fremont and Dayton, and approved the conduct of Gen. J. H. Lane, Senator elect, and Wm. L. Delahay, Representative elect, in opposing Buchanan and the Cincinnati platform and supporting the Republican nominations. A resolution referring to Gov. Reeder gave rise to a long discussion. It was as follows:

Resolved, That if, as we are informed on private and public communications from the East—which, however, we are unwilling to believe—Andrew H. Reeder, one of our Senators elect, is favorable to the candidature of the slavery propagandist, James Buchanan, we shall repudiate his action with scorn and indignation, and demand of our General Assembly that they request him to resign the office to which he was elected, and thereby deprive him of the influence which, as our accredited representative, his decision might have in the Northern States.

Considerable feeling was manifested in regard to the position of Gov. Reeder, owing to the rumor that he intends to support Buchanan. The mover of the resolution, Mr. Jameson, Whig, formerly of St. Louis, said he had a letter from a true friend of Kansas, saying that Gov. Reeder told him that he did not know whether or not he should support Buchanan until he had had an interview with him. Most of the speakers, however, considered the resolution an imprudent one, considering the lack of certain knowledge in regard to Gov. Reeder's true position, and from the effect which hasty action might have upon the vote of Pennsylvania, where Mr. Reeder has great influence. After various motions to amend, withdraw, or indefinitely postpone the resolution, a committee of three was appointed to so frame

the resolutions in relation to our Senators and Representatives as not to imply that we suspect any one, but to intimate that we expect them to support Fremont and Dayton."

The committee reported the following, which was adopted unanimously, and with loud applause.

Resolved, That our thanks are due and are hereby tendered to our Senators and Representatives at Washington, Hon. A. H. Reeder, Gen. J. H. Lane and Col. M. W. Delahay, for the able, manly, and energetic course which has hitherto characterized their action in Kansas affairs; that we have every reason to believe that their future course will correspond with their past in this respect, and that henceforth they will be found battling for free Kansas under the banner of Fremont and Dayton. (Loud and prolonged applause.)

The other resolutions were then adopted.

Speeches were afterwards made by Judge Schuyler, Mr. Jameson, Mr. James Redpath, and Mr. Caleb S. Pratt, all eloquently endorsing the Republican nominations.

BUNKER-HILL AURORA.

W. W. WHEILDON—EDITOR.

Saturday Evening, July 12, 1856.

THE TRUE ISSUE.

Mr. WHEILDON—In a few remarks, which you were kind enough to print in your last paper, I endeavored to show that the *extension of Slavery into free territory*, is the true issue, before the people in the coming presidential election.

The so called democratic party, have planted themselves on the extraordinary doctrine, not only that the general government have no power, but that the people of the territories themselves, have no power, until they are allowed to form a Constitution with a view to their admission to the Union, as a sovereign State, to exclude slavery, so that all the territories must be absolutely open to an institution, wholly sectional in its character, and created solely by local law. Suppose the people of Massachusetts should take our Maine liquor law into Kansas and attempt to enforce it, would our Southern brethren think it no infringement of their rights? And what would be the difference in principle? On the other hand the Republican party have planted themselves on the truly national platform of the Fathers of the Republic, that Freedom is national, that the government, not only have the power, but that it is their duty to exercise it, to exclude Slavery from all the national domain.

This great question between the North and the South was supposed to have been put at rest by the Missouri Compromise of 1820, but the immense territories acquired by the Mexican war, revived it again with ten fold intensity, and the struggles of the Slave States to extend her "peculiar institution" to the new territory in 1850, shook the country to its very depths, as with a moral earthquake.

California, thanks to the noble Fremont, formed for herself a Free Constitution, and asked for admission to the Union, as a Free State. This would

See book review of two issues.

...do not commend themselves as heroic... even to the Senator from Illinois; but no reason why they should not be recounted in his unwilling ears. Mr. Brooks would un-ly consider it a blessing if the name of Charles could pass into oblivion; but that is no rea-ly the name rendered dear to a free people by lest vindication of right, followed by the most artyrdom, should not be repeated in every and in every city, and by the lips of all who a virtue and abhor violence.

Douglas has recently professed a desire to quiet ntry. He is no more a hypocrite in this, than a gentleman when he uttered his celebrated of subjugation. He does desire to quiet the y, because, aroused to the highest pitch of in- on, it is about to quiet him forever. In the ions which he has already made, we have an d confession, either of the wrong or the impol- is past course. But this limited concession t answer. Mr. Douglas has broken one com- he is the last man in the world to offer an-

How do we know that he will not, if we it, break it upon the first opportunity? What nt is what we are not likely to get from him- demnity for the past, and full security for the

folly of its opponents is the capital stock of party, just as sin is the capital stock of the an preacher. The Democratic party having elf to the South, must expect to be reminded bargain. Mr. Douglas having, for selfish pur- aroused discussion, must be content to listen to sion. We are organized, and we are laboring edom in Kansas; and are we never to mention bject? We are contending for freedom of treacherously assailed, and are we to say g of the assault? Such has not heretofore the custom of parties, and it probably never e. The Buchanians may desire to avoid dis- n, but it will be forced upon them, until the result of words fitly spoken will be visible to the triumphant election of JOHN C. FREMONT.

Fitchburg Redville.

Saturday Evening, July 12, 1856.
COL. FREMONT'S ACCEPTANCE. We have space for brief comment upon Col. Fremont's let- ter of acceptance, but place it before our readers. Fully decided, and breathing throughout the spirit of truth and integrity, and the love of free- dom, which has always characterized the great adventurer, it will speak for itself to the responsive hearts of millions of freemen.

CONTRIBUTORS TO KANSAS. We learn that the amount already subscribed in this town for the aid of the free state settlers in Kansas, ex- ceeds one thousand dollars. The list is headed by our venerable fellow citizen, Benjamin Snow with the sum of \$200, Benj. Snow, Jr. subscrib- ed \$100, G. S. Burbank, \$100, James B. Lane, \$50, and several other gentlemen, sums ranging from \$10 to \$25.

Boston Journal.

SATURDAY EVENING, JULY 12, '56

LETTER FROM AMOS A. LAWRENCE. It is well known that at the recent American State Con- vention at Springfield, Amos A. Lawrence, Esq., was nominated as one of the Presidential electors. Mr. Lawrence has declined the nomination for satisfactory reasons. We find in the Bee of this morning the following letter, the just and well- considered sentiments of which are worthy of careful perusal:

COTTAGE FARM, Brookline, July 4, 1856.
My Dear Sir—Not having received any official notice of my being placed upon the ticket at Springfield, on the 1st inst., as Presidential Elector at large, and hav-

...had no intimation beforehand that it would be done, no opportunity has been afforded me to accept or decline the nomination.

Had I taken an active part in politics, it would probably have been known that from the first I have been decidedly in favor of Mr. Fillmore. It is difficult to believe that the great body of fair-minded men in the South, not one in ten of whom holds slaves or has any personal interest in the extension of slave territory, will sustain the recent aggressions on the rights of the free States, and of those who have gone out from them as settlers, or that they will justify the attempts to suppress free debate in Congress. It has been more reasonable to believe that they would unite with the same class of men at the North under some organiza- tion like that of the American party, and prevent the continuance of a Democratic administration.

Mr. Fillmore's administration commended the re- spect and confidence of the country. Had he been re- nominated, the present one would not have had its ex- istence. But events are hastened by zealous leaders, and we find ourselves in a position from which there is no retreat. The only course in the present canvass is to yield nothing to friends or foes, until Kansas is admitted as a free State. Then we can afford to be not only just, but generous; for we shall be beyond the reach of any serious aggression hereafter.

It has been believed that Mr. Fillmore would stand on this ground. The vote of his friends in Congress against the admission of Kansas with a Free State Con- stitution, and which was not known until the day of the Springfield Convention, undoubtedly caused his rejection by the delegates; though the majority against him appears to have been very small on the informal ballot. It was inferred from this vote in Congress, in the absence of any contrary opinion from Mr. Fill- more himself, that he will not take a decided stand on this question, or that he and his friends in Washing- ton will favor one or the other of the bills brought forward for a settlement of the difficulty by a new vote of the people of the Territory. But we who have friends there know that large numbers of Free State settlers with their families have left the Territory never to re- turn; that the most active Free State leaders (who have done nothing but what every man who has any love of liberty in his heart would have been proud to do) are under arrest and strictly guarded, while others are exiles from their homes. Therefore no vote of the present settlers can be a fair one; certainly none can be under the present administration.

I did not intend to say more than to respectfully decline the nomination. By doing so, I shall relieve the Com- mittee from embarrassment; and if obliged to change my candidate, I wish to be free from the imputation of having done it for the sake of political preferment. I have never yet been called to do any duty for the public, and I hope the crisis will not arise which will make it otherwise; but if it does come, or if we are near it now, I shall not hesitate to offer myself as a volunteer to serve in any capacity, even the humblest, for the maintenance of all our rights.

Your obedient servant,
AMOS A. LAWRENCE.
To PETER L. COX, Esq., Sec'y of the Convention.

An enthusiastic Fremont ratification meeting was held at Topeka on the 28th ult. Judge John Curtis, (National Democrat,) formerly of Jack- son county, Mo., presided, and concluded a forcible speech by expressing the belief that the words "Free Kansas and Fremont" will hereafter be in- separably connected. The President called for resolutions, and single resolutions were offered by various individuals of all shades of political opinion except administration pro-slavery. They heartily endorsed the nomination of Fremont and Dayton, and approved the conduct of Gen. J. H. Lane, Senator elect, and Wm. L. Delahay, Repre- sentative elect, in opposing Buchanan and the Cincinnati platform and supporting the Republi- can nominations. A resolution referring to Gov. Reeder gave rise to a long discussion. It was as follows:

Resolved, That if, as we are informed on private and public communications from the East—which, howev- er, we are unwilling to believe—Andrew H. Reeder, one of our Senators elect, is favorable to the candidate of the slavery propagandist, James Buchanan, we shall repudiate his action with scorn and indignation, and demand of our General Assembly that they request him to resign the office to which he was elected, and thereby deprive him of the influence which, as our ac- credited representative, his decision might have in the Northern States.

Considerable feeling was manifested in regard to the position of Gov. Reeder, owing to the rum- or that he intends to support Buchanan. The mover of the resolution, Mr. Jameson, Whig, formerly of St. Louis, said he had a letter from a true friend of Kansas, saying that Gov. Reeder told him that he did not know whether or not he should support Buchanan until he had had an in- terview with him. Most of the speakers, howev- er, considered the resolution an imprudent one, considering the lack of certain knowledge in re- gard to Gov. Reeder's true position, and from the effect which hasty action might have upon the vote of Pennsylvania, where Mr. Reeder has great influence. After various motions to amend, with- draw, or indefinitely postpone the resolution, a committee of three was appointed "to so frame

the resolutions in relation to our Senators and Representatives as not to imply that we suspect any one, but to intimate that we expect them to support Fremont and Dayton."

The committee reported the following, which was adopted unanimously, and with loud ap- plause.

Resolved, That our thanks are due and are hereby tendered to our Senators and Representatives at Wash- ington, Hon. A. H. Reeder, Gen. J. H. Lane and Col. M. W. Delahay, for the able, manly, and energetic course which has hitherto characterized their action in Kansas affairs; that we have every reason to believe that their future course will correspond with their past in this respect, and that henceforth they will be found battling for free Kansas under the banner of Fremont and Dayton. (Loud and prolonged applause.)

The other resolutions were then adopted. Speeches were afterwards made by Judge Schny- ler, Mr. Jameson, Mr. James Redpath, and Mr. Caleb S. Pratt, all eloquently endorsing the Re- publican nominations.

BUNKER-HILL AURORA.

W. W. WHELDON—EDITOR.
Saturday Evening, July 12, 1856.

ence of the Atlas. on, July 13, 1856. Now speaking in favor of Mr. Brooks, received by our friends, side. Legislature of Kan- sas a profound sensa- warrant for the act in vs. It is downright ion may be taken, or ansas in Congress, is be a dollar appropri- sed merely in the in- is now complete, so routes. From Chi- complete railway con- to Dayton, on the ka City, a new stage s carries the line to wa. From Nebraska established through Kansas to the town words in the hands of the United States, instead of bei in the hands of a military despot. The report of the investigating Cor- ittee, made on the spot, and und- ath, and in many cases testimon rung from unwilling witnesses; di- oses a series of crimes, cruelties, mu- rs, robberies, and oppression, of ur- tending, peaceful citizens, I venture ay, without a parallel in civilized so- ety, and much of it under the form law, backed up by all the power e United States government.

A public house, as well kept an- spectable as any house in Boston, he- en declared a public nuisance by nited States Court, merely becaus s guests were mostly free State men- had has been bombarded, sacked an- arned, and furniture destroyed. Prin- g presses, for daring to speak fe- edom, have been broken up an- rrown into the river.

And in the language of the chairma the Committee, "if all the wrong- flicted upon the American colonie- Great Britain, were brought togeth- id multiplied by ten, it would not ex- cess the wrongs and outrages inflict- pon the people of Kansas."

And what is the remedy propose- y the government for all this outrage- Why, after the liberties of the peopl- ave been completely crushed out- ee State men driven from the territ- -emigrants coming into it disarm- ed driven back, their leaders und- rest and in prison, on a charge of con- ructive treason, for daring to assembl- their primary assemblies to expres- sive grievances and petition Congre- s relief, by admission to the Union a State, under a Constitution they ha- prepared, by delegates chosen at the- uly election ever held in the territ- uly representing the will of the peopl- ow, that is considered perfectly saf- r Slavery—with a hypocritical show- of fairness, a bill is introduced into the- enate, to enable the present remain- ing inhabitants, to choose delegates to form a State Constitution, the election to be- held under the supervision of the army of the United States, the territoria- laws establishing Slavery remaining in- all force—and the people, bound hand- and foot, delivered over to their tor- mentors, the Slave oligarchy of the South.

Now this, Mr. Editor, is Southern policy for the extension of Slavery into territory consecrated to freedom by the

See back of page column success page

204
not do. It was defeating the very object for which the war was waged. Even our great Webster, who had stood like a granite column on the doctrine of the non-extension of Slavery, at the head of the Whig party—bowed himself before the tempest. The "compromises" were the result. California came in as a free State, because she would not come in in any other way,—and this was the only concession made by the South.—The North gave up the principle of the non-extension of Slavery, the Fugitive Slave bill was passed, and nothing now remained but the removal of the Missouri restriction to open all the territories of the United States to Slavery. The South triumphed, the Whig party was scattered to the winds, and Daniel Webster sunk to his grave! Truly great men do sometimes make great mistakes.

And what have we seen since? The "Missouri Compromise" has been repealed—the Nebraska bill has been passed. A distinguished Southern orator, Mr. Stephens of Georgia, speaking in the name of the South, and addressing the North, said to them, on that occasion:

"Well, gentlemen, you make a good deal of clamor on the Nebraska measure, but it don't alarm us at all. We have got used to that kind of talk. You have threatened before, but you have never performed. You have always caved in, and you will again. You are a mouthing, white-livered set. Of course, you will oppose: we expect that; but we don't care for your opposition. You will rail, but we don't care for your railing. You will hiss, but so do adders. We expect it of adders, and we expect it of you. You are like the devils, that were pitched over the battlements of heaven into hell. They set up a howl of discomfiture and so will you. But their fate was sealed and so is yours. You must submit to the yoke, but don't chafe. Gentlemen, we have got you in our power. You tried to drive us into the wall in 1850, but times are changed. * * * You went a wooling, and have come back fleeced. Don't be so impudent as to complain. You will only be slapped in the face. Don't resist. You will only be lashed into obedience."

Kansas lying immediately contiguous to Missouri, on the West, it was supposed on the passage of this bill that Missouri slave holders might quietly go over with their human chattels and take possession of the territory, and add another Slave State to the dominion of Slavedom.

But as the settlers in Kansas were assured that they should be left "perfectly free to form and regulate their institutions in their own way," emigrants from the North as well as the South went into the territory, and it was soon discovered that a large majority of the actual settlers were in favor of making it a free State.

This would not answer. The decree had gone forth, and the plan of operation deliberately formed, that Kansas must be made a Slave State; and armed hordes of ruffians from Missouri, under the direction of Atchinson and Stringfellow, invaded the territory, took possession of the ballot boxes,

drove the free State voters from the polls, and elected a body of men called a Legislature. It has been proved beyond all question, that of the 6331 votes cast in the election of this legislature, 4921 of them were cast by inhabitants of Missouri.

This mock legislature enacted a code of laws written in blood, and appointed hordes of office holders to enforce them. Thus the peaceful settlers of Kansas were conquered, subjugated, made vassals of the Missourians, and given up by the government to their oppressors.

"Squatter sovereignty" has become a military despotism, with only this difference, that the power that wields the

Portland Advertiser.

Saturday Morning, July 12, 1856.

Toombs's Bill to make Kansas a Slave State.

This Bill is but a cunning device to do indirectly and covertly, under cover of pretended form of law, what the slave power has hitherto sought to do directly and openly, and by violence in its worst forms, viz—to make Kansas a slave State. That it is so, is apparent from the remarkable concessions which the Bill makes, giving up as it does, the doctrine of "popular sovereignty," and the great objections which has been hitherto urged to the immediate admission of Kansas under the free constitution, viz: that the number of inhabitants is not yet sufficient. These concessions show most conclusively that the real objection to her immediate admission under that Constitution, is that it prohibits slavery.]

Under Toombs's Bill, the tyrannical Missouri government would still remain in force, and the free spirit of an injured and outraged people would prompt to continued resistance. It could bring no peace—disorder would still reign in the territories. But admit Kansas under the Topeka constitution, or otherwise abolish the Missouri usurpation, and either the army must be withdrawn, or while they maintain peace and order there, oppression, the cause of the trouble, will cease. There is abundant evidence that this whole usurpation is one of the most stupendous frauds ever attempted to be played off upon a free people. Even Douglas himself has been compelled to record his vote in favor of an amendment declaring that some of its laws shall not have "force or effect." Why, then, should it not be set aside entirely? There is no reason, under heaven, except the determination to use that spurious government as a means of fastening slavery upon Kansas.

The Vermont Phoenix.

BRATTLEBORO, VT.
SATURDAY, JULY 12, 1856.

Report of the Kansas Committee.

Messrs. HOWARD and SHERMAN, the majority of the committee appointed by the House of Representatives to investigate affairs in Kansas, made their report on Tuesday, the 1st instant. Its length only prevents our publishing it in full in the PHOENIX. It occupies seventeen columns in the New York Tribune. Still it is as brief as the facts elicited by them would permit. It will soon be circulated, probably, in pamphlet form, and we trust it will be carefully perused and considered by every freeman in the country.

Messrs. HOWARD and SHERMAN have performed their duty faithfully, and their statements cannot be doubted. They show that the reports heretofore published in relation to the outrages committed in Kansas have not been exaggerations of the truth. One can scarcely believe that such outrages have been perpetrated within the limits of our country. If they are to be successful, and such ruffianism and violence is to be sustained, as it has been, by the arm of the federal government, we may as well give up all pretensions to civilization and republicanism, and admit that we are a nation of barbarians, living under the most absolute of despotisms.

The Committee took a large mass of testimony regarding the proceedings of the legislative assembly, which proceedings they state are characterized by recklessness and injustice. The report likewise alludes to the murders, robberies and other crimes committed in the Territory, and states that in no case, except that of McRae, (a Free-State man,) was there any prosecution for those offences. No indictments were found, no arrests made, and no measures taken to bring the perpetrators to justice. The report says it is clearly proven that Samuel J. Jones, the sheriff, was the main cause of the recent disturbances in which he so prominently figured.

The third member of the Committee, Mr. Oliver, of Missouri, of whom it is proved in the testimony that he led the invaders from Missouri who carried the Kansas elections, with very strong circumstantial evidence also that he himself voted with them—will present a minority report, the chief point made in which will be that men from Massachusetts voted in Kansas, who subsequently left the Territory, and that therefore there was a like fraud on both sides—admitting which, the illegality of the elections is only the more fully established. So that Mr. Oliver's report in fact confirms and sustains the report of the majority, and leaves the great fact that the existing institution in Kansas called a territorial government, is the creature of fraud, violence and usurpation, and has no valid legal or constitutional claim to the regard or obedience of the citizens.

The truth is,—and it is becoming more and more obvious every day,—that the outrages in Kansas, and the whole course of the administration party respecting them, have been the result of a deliberate plot for making Kansas a Slave State. DOUGLAS moved the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, having in view just what has transpired. The invasions of the border-ruffians—the murderous persecution of the Free-State men—the whole sickening and disgraceful detail of wrong and outrage—were part of the plot, and were predetermined by this black-hearted traitor to freedom and his co-conspirators, prominent among whom was FRANKLIN PIERCE. So far as relates to KANSAS, the plot has thus far worked to a charm. The first act in the tragedy is supposed to be complete. The honest, freedom-loving settlers of Kansas have been overcome, and the Missouri ruffians have possession of the stage. Now the conspirators are pressing on the finale. The ruffians and murderers, now possessing the homes of those they have driven from their lawful residences, are to be protected in the "peaceable possession" of their plunder. And the Administration journals call this fairness!

But one element the conspirators failed to calculate on. The storm of popular indignation, which is destined so speedily to overwhelm them, is not in the play, as prefaced by them.

It may interfere with their arrangements, but it is coming! It will purify the political atmosphere, and give us a serene and quiet season under the national administration of FREMONT and DAYTON.

The Mercury.

NEW BEDFORD.

SATURDAY MORNING, JULY 12, 1850

AID MEETINGS FOR KANSAS.—These meetings we observe all over the State. Large subscriptions are made in money, which will doubtless be applied strictly to the object in view. Meanwhile, *no party from the North*, if we are right, has entered the territory of Kansas, since the unhallowed pillage of Lawrence, while the South has sent there whatever desperadoes she could muster, very few it is to be hoped. We are not prepared to say, that the endeavor to send the Worcester company by way of the river, instead of Iowa was a blunder; it did not however succeed; it was at least a very unfortunate and needless accident. Many thousands of dollars have been subscribed in aid of Kansas, but either that territory is so distant, or our Northern Emigrant companies are so deficient in nimble feet that nothing gets accomplished. Kit Carson or some other able mountaineer, or pioneer guide might be profitably employed.

OREGON WAR.—We have received several papers from our attentive friends in Oregon, with long articles on the Indian war in that territory. Gen. Wool is on one side, the Territorial governors on the other. They desire to remove him because he will not exterminate the Indians; he writes, that the war is over, and the Governors sick at heart, because they cannot totally destroy the Indian race. It is difficult, so far from the scene of operations, to judge of the merits of the case. Gen. Wool's letters, or what we have seen of them, lead us to the opinion that he is a brave, clear-minded and understanding person, who sees the true merits of the Indian case, and believes it best not to carry on a war. But it must be confessed, the articles in the Oregon papers do put a totally unlike construction on the matter. Either the Whites or the Indians must be exterminated according to these prints, and war must be prosecuted.—Why do not Wool and the governors hold a convention, and arrange their mutual difficulties?

KANSAS IN THE SENATE.—Douglas,—the inveterate foe of good, and the promoter of evil, so far as in him lies, carries all before him, in the Senate, and passes his own bill over that of the House, which would have made Kansas free. We need not read a single line in the bill of Douglas. Whatever that creature does must be stamped with the proper and peculiar infamy appropriate to his character. In his guilty soul, the Kansas-Nebraska bill was born already the cause to this country of a wasted Congress, of hundreds of good lives, of inextricable confusion, and the possible extension of slavery over a country, as large as all New England and the middle states. And now the same Douglas, the author of these multifold iniquities perpetrates another bill, and it passes, in which a commission appointed by the President [Douglas being understood] regulates the election in Kansas, to form a constitution &c.—It is a second and worse Kansas-Nebraska bill, it is a cheat and a fraud and will make Kansas a slave State.

Massapoag Journal.

CANTON, SATURDAY, JULY 12, 1850.

Free Kansas Meeting:

Pursuant to a call signed by one hundred and fourteen of the citizens of

Canton, without distinction of party who are in favor of Free Kansas, a meeting was held at the Baptist Church in this town on Tuesday evening last, to consider the present unfortunate and suffering condition of the Free State Settlers there, and to take such measures for their relief as their condition demands.

The house was filled at an early hour by the substantial citizens of the town. The ladies of Canton, who are never backward in a good cause, were well represented. Miss Julia Crane presided at the Organ, and played the Marseillaise Hymn Air for a Voluntary. Ware's beautiful Hymn, 'Oppression shall not always reign,' was then sung by a fine choir under the direction of Mr. Elias Tucker.

Charles Endicott, Esq., then rose and said that we had met in pursuance of a call liberally signed and which explained itself. In order to proceed systematically the meeting should be organized. On motion of S. B. Noyes, William Bense was appointed temporary Secretary. On motion of Rev. Philemon R. Russell, the chair appointed P. R. Russell, Virgil J. Messinger, and Aaron E. Tucker to nominate permanent officers for the meeting, who reported the following:—

- | | |
|---------------------------------|----------------|
| For President, ELLIS AMES, Esq. | |
| Zebadiah Holt, | } Presidents |
| Nathanael French, | |
| William Tucker, | |
| Col. Cha's H. French, | |
| Edwin Wentworth, | |
| Dr. Ezra Abbot, | |
| William Mansfield, | |
| Abel Farrington, | } Secretaries. |
| Sam'l B. Noyes, Esq. | |
| William Bense, | |

Mr. Ames, on taking the chair, stated briefly the object of the meeting. He hoped that Kansas would have not only our heart-sympathy but the sympathy of our pockets in equal proportions. Mr. Ames then called upon Rev. Solomon Clark, who offered a fervent prayer, that Divine wisdom might guide the deliberations of the meeting.

On motion of Dea. E. Capen, a committee consisting of E. Capen, P. R. Russell, Ezra Abbot, Cha's Endicott and John W. Wentworth, was appointed to report resolutions for the consideration of the meeting.

On motion of A. M. Chase, a committee, consisting of Messrs. A. M. Chase, A. E. Tucker, William Dunbar, J. B. Fisher and Andrew Lopez, was appointed to be a committee on finance

Mr. Capen, from the committee on resolutions, reported the following, which were received with enthusiastic demonstrations of applause:—

Whereas, The slave power has committed a series of high-handed aggressions upon the rights of freedom and the acknowledged principles of the illustrious founders of this

ri Compromise, in order to extend slavery over a vast territory once consecrated to freedom, and has forced upon the people of Kansas a code of barbarous laws, enacted by a legislature chosen by armed invaders from a slave State, by which freedom of speech and of the press are prohibited and Free State settlers are virtually disfranchised, denied the right to vote as freemen, and are prohibited from practising at the bar, acting as jurors, or holding any responsible offices. The same power has inaugurated a reign of terror in Kansas—robbing peaceful citizens of their property—pillaging their villages and burning their houses, disarming both settlers and emigrants and driving all Free State men from the Territory upon the peril of their lives, murdering some and imprisoning others. And whereas the present national administration has identified itself with these aggressions upon republican freedom and the constitutional rights of American citizens not only by neglecting to redress the wrongs of the people of Kansas, but by upholding this system of oppression, therefore,

Resolved, That the present crisis of affairs require the immediate and efficient action of all lovers of freedom, and that we deeply sympathize with the settlers of Kansas, who have not only endured the hardships attendant upon the settlement of a new country, but have been plundered and robbed of their property, their lives jeopardized, and their rights of franchise trampled upon by ruffians and lawless men of other States, without the protection of government.

Resolved, That the sanction given to the perpetrators of these high-handed acts of violence by President Pierce, and his neglect to protect the rights of Free State settlers in this territory under his control, proves himself false to the trusts of an impartial ruler and regardless of the rights of freedom and the interests of the great northern portion of our country.

Resolved, That as lovers of freedom and as friends of these oppressed and suffering citizens of Kansas who went there from our very midst for the laudable purpose of peopling that vast wilderness, we now respond to a call of a committee of relief for suffering Kansas, chosen by a public meeting of the citizens of Boston, without respect of party, in Faneuil Hall, and will take immediate action to raise and remit to Patriek T. Jackson, Esq., Treasurer of said committee such contributions as our citizens are disposed to make; and we also resolve, that we will remember Kansas and our own rights at the ballot box, and use our influence to elect such men to office as shall restore our disgraced and suffering country to the policy of Washington, Jefferson and other illustrious fathers of the nation, who regarded slavery as a sectional evil, who interdicted its extension into the territories, by an ordinance of 1787, and who cherished freedom as the greatest boon of the nation.

Resolved, That the proceedings of the people of Kansas in the adoption of the Topeka Constitution, by and through which they ask admission into the Union as a Free State have been regular, and that the sentiments of the people are therein fairly expressed, that, therefore, it is the imperative duty of Congress, forthwith to admit Kansas into the Union as a Free State.

Resolved, That the 'brutal, murderous and cowardly' attack upon the Hon. Charles Sumner in the Senate Chamber of the United States, for his able and manly defence of Free Kansas, was a blow struck at the great Constitutional right of Free Speech, and should be branded as such by all who claim the name of Freemen.

The President then said there is a gentleman here to-night whose ancestor was a distinguished officer in the battle at Lake George, who with his own hand took Gen. Dieskau prisoner. The same ancestor was at the battle of Bunker Hill. His lineal descendant, GEN. S. C. POMEROY, of Kansas, was present, and he took pleasure in introducing so brave

It may interfere with their arrangements, but it is coming! It will purify the political atmosphere, and give us a serene and quiet season under the national administration of FREMONT and DAYTON.

The Mercury.

NEW BEDFORD.

SATURDAY MORNING, JULY 12, 1856

AID MEETINGS FOR KANSAS.—These meetings we observe all over the State. Large subscriptions are made in money, which will doubtless be applied strictly to the object in view. Meanwhile, no party from the North, if we are right, has entered the territory of Kansas, since the unhallowed pillage of Lawrence, while the South has sent there whatever desperadoes she could muster, very few it is to be hoped. We are not prepared to say, that the endeavor to send the Worcester company by way of the river, instead of Iowa was a blunder; it did not however succeed; it was at least a very unfortunate and needless accident. Many thousands of dollars have been subscribed in aid of Kansas, but either that territory is so distant, or our Northern Emigrant companies are so deficient in nimble feet that nothing gets accomplished. Kit Carson or some other able mountaineer, or pioneer guide might be profitably employed.

OREGON WAR.—We have received several papers from our attentive friends in Oregon, with long articles on the Indian war in that territory. Gen. Wool is on one side, the Territorial governors on the other. They desire to remove him because he will not exterminate the Indians; he writes, that the war is over, and the Governors sick at heart, because they cannot totally destroy the Indian race. It is difficult, so far from the scene of operations, to judge of the merits of the case. Gen. Wool's letters, or what we have seen of them, lead us to the opinion that he is a brave, clear-minded and understanding person, who sees the true merits of the Indian case, and believes it best not to carry on a war. But it must be confessed, the articles in the Oregon papers do put a totally unlike construction on the matter. Either the Whites or the Indians must be exterminated according to these prints, and war must be prosecuted.—Why do not Wool and the governors hold a convention, and arrange their mutual difficulties?

KANSAS IN THE SENATE.—Douglas, —the inveterate foe of good, and the promoter of evil, so far as in him lies, carries all before him, in the Senate, and passes his own bill over that of the House, which would have made Kansas free. We need not read a single line in the bill of Douglas. Whatever that creature does must be stamped with the proper and peculiar infamy appropriate to his character. In his guilty soul, the Kansas-Nebraska bill was born already the cause to this country of a wasted Congress, of hundreds of good lives, of inextricable confusion, and the possible extension of slavery over a country, as large as all New England and the middle states. And now the same Douglas, the author of these manifold iniquities perpetrates another bill, and it passes, in which a commission appointed by the President [Douglas being understood] regulates the election in Kansas, to form a constitution &c.—It is a second and worse Kansas-Nebraska bill, it is a cheat and a fraud and will make Kansas a slave State.

Massapoog Journal.

CANTON, SATURDAY, JULY 12, 1856.

Free Kansas Meeting:

Pursuant to a call signed by one hundred and fourteen of the citizens of

Canton, without distinction of party who are in favor of Free Kansas, a meeting was held at the Baptist Church in this town on Tuesday evening last, to consider the present unfortunate and suffering condition of the Free State Settlers there, and to take such measures for their relief as their condition demands.

The house was filled at an early hour by the substantial citizens of the town. The ladies of Canton, who are never backward in a good cause, were well represented. Miss Julia Crane presided at the Organ, and played the Marseillaise Hymn Air for a Voluntary. Ware's beautiful Hymn, 'Oppression shall not always reign,' was then sung by a fine choir under the direction of Mr. Elias Tucker.

Charles Endicott, Esq., then rose and said that we had met in pursuance of a call liberally signed and which explained itself. In order to proceed systematically the meeting should be organized. On motion of S. B. Noyes, William Bense was appointed temporary Secretary. On motion of Rev. Philemon R. Russell, the chair appointed P. R. Russell, Virgil J. Messenger, and Aaron E. Tucker to nominate permanent officers for the meeting, who reported the following:—

For President, ELLIS AMES, Esq.

- Zebadiah Holt,
- Nathanael French,
- William Tucker,
- Col. Cha's H. French,
- Edwin Wentworth,
- Dr. Ezra Abbot,
- William Mansfield,
- Abel Farrington,
- Sam'l B. Noyes, Esq.
- William Bense,

Vice Presidents Secretaries.

Mr. Ames, on taking the chair, stated briefly the object of the meeting. He hoped that Kansas would have not only our heart-sympathy but the sympathy of our pockets in equal proportions. Mr. Ames then called upon Rev. Solomon Clark, who offered a fervent prayer, that Divine wisdom might guide the deliberations of the meeting.

On motion of Dea. E. Capen, a committee consisting of E. Capen, P. R. Russell, Ezra Abbot, Cha's Endicott and John W. Wentworth, was appointed to report resolutions for the consideration of the meeting.

On motion of A. M. Chase, a committee, consisting of Messrs. A. M. Chase, A. E. Tucker, William Dunbar, J. B. Fisher and Andrew Lopez, was appointed to be a committee on finance

Mr. Capen, from the committee on resolutions, reported the following, which were received with enthusiastic demonstrations of applause:—

Whereas, The slave power has committed a series of high-handed aggressions upon the rights of freedom and the acknowledged principles of the illustrious founders of this

ri Compromise, in order to extend slavery over a vast territory once consecrated to freedom, and has forced upon the people of Kansas a code of barbarous laws, enacted by a legislature chosen by armed invaders from a slave State, by which freedom of speech and of the press are prohibited and Free State settlers are virtually disfranchised, denied the right to vote as freemen, and are prohibited from practising at the bar, acting as jurors, or holding any responsible offices. The same power has inaugurated a reign of terror in Kansas—robbing peaceful citizens of their property—pillaging their villages and burning their houses, disarming both settlers and emigrants and driving all Free State men from the Territory upon the peril of their lives, murdering some and imprisoning others. And whereas the present national administration has identified itself with these aggressions upon republican freedom and the constitutional rights of American citizens not only by neglecting to redress the wrongs of the people of Kansas, but by upholding this system of oppression, therefore,

Resolved, That the present crisis of affairs require the immediate and efficient action of all lovers of freedom, and that we deeply sympathize with the settlers of Kansas, who have not only endured the hardships attendant upon the settlement of a new country, but have been plundered and robbed of their property, their lives jeopardized, and their rights of franchise trampled upon by ruffians and lawless men of other States, without the protection of government.

Resolved, That the sanction given to the perpetrators of these high-handed acts of violence by President Pierce, and his neglect to protect the rights of Free State settlers in this territory under his control, proves himself false to the trusts of an impartial ruler and regardless of the rights of freedom and the interests of the great northern portion of our country.

Resolved, That as lovers of freedom and as friends of these oppressed and suffering citizens of Kansas who went there from our very midst for the laudable purpose of peopling that vast wilderness, we now respond to a call of a committee of relief for suffering Kansas, chosen by a public meeting of the citizens of Boston, without respect of party, in Faneuil Hall, and will take immediate action to raise and remit to Patriek T. Jackson, Esq., Treasurer of said committee such contributions as our citizens are disposed to make; and we also resolve, that we will remember Kansas and our own rights at the ballot box, and use our influence to elect such men to office as shall restore our disgraced and suffering country to the policy of Washington, Jefferson and other illustrious fathers of the nation, who regarded slavery as a sectional evil, who interdicted its extension into the territories by an ordinance of 1787, and who cherished freedom as the greatest boon of the nation.

Resolved, That the proceedings of the people of Kansas in the adoption of the Topeka Constitution, by and through which they ask admission into the Union as a Free State have been regular, and that the sentiments of the people are therein fairly expressed, that, therefore, it is the imperative duty of Congress, forthwith to admit Kansas into the Union as a Free State.

Resolved, That the 'brutal, murderous and cowardly' attack upon the Hon. Charles Sumner in the Senate Chamber of the United States, for his able and manly defence of Free Kansas, was a blow struck at the great Constitutional right of Free Speech, and should be branded as such by all who claim the name of Freemen.

The President then said there is a gentleman here to-night whose ancestor was a distinguished officer in the battle at Lake George, who with his own hand took Gen. Dieskau prisoner. The same ancestor was at the battle of Bunker Hill. His lineal descendant, GEN. S. C. POMEROY, of Kansas, was present, and he took pleasure in introducing so brave

a descendant from so worthy a race to the meeting. Gen. Pomeroy was greeted with tremendous applause as he took the stand. He said he was glad to mingle in the meeting. He was born and raised in old Massachusetts. He had become westernized. He had a habit of saying just what he thought ought to be said, in a plain way, and he wished to say it now. Allusion had been made to his ancestry by the President of the meeting. It made little difference what a man's ancestry was so he was of the right stamp. He should take upon himself to speak for Kansas. He was glad to see so much sympathy. The resolutions had the ring of the right metal. But it was not merely the Kansas question which we were to consider. He then proceeded to give a history of the state of affairs in Kansas, and for upwards of an hour and a half held the undivided attention of the audience. His words had the force and power of truth and carried conviction to the minds of his hearers. He spoke hopefully of the future of Kansas. Right and the principles of freedom, as guaranteed by the Constitution, will yet prevail and bless the people of that vast territory. But they have present and pressing need; settlers have been despoiled of their property, business is at a stand-still, an impetus is required, that labor may find a demand and meet its recompense. For this purpose money is needed, and he assured them that whatever might be subscribed would be sure to reach its proper destination.

An extract of a letter was read from one of our former fellow-townsmen, assuring the people of Canton that the stories reaching us through the public prints were not exaggerations, but worthy of full credit.

Rev. Mr. Russell made some remarks, ending to dissipate the idea that the aid appropriated to Kansas would fail of its object, and left no doubt on the minds of his audience, that their money would reach Kansas and do its appropriate work.

Subscription papers were then passed through the audience and the sum raised amounted to \$187. It was then voted that the Finance Committee make an early call on the people of the town so that all may have an opportunity to lay their offerings upon the altar of Freedom:

Voted, that the Secretaries publish a report of the proceedings in the papers.

The choir then, at the suggestion of the President, led in singing *America* which was joined in by the numerous audience, and the meeting dissolved.

Samuel B. Noyes, } Secretaries.
William Bense, }

Among the pleasing features of Tuesday evening, was the opportunity afforded of calling upon Gen. Pomeroy at the residence of Ellis Ames, Esq. A bountiful collation was prepared, and during its discussion, a great deal of information, having particular reference to Kansas, was elicited from Gen. P., whose familiarity and close connection with Kansas and her history enabled him to impart much that was valuable and reliable.



EVENING EDITION.

Half-past Two o'Clock, P. M.

SATURDAY, JULY 12, 1856.

Correspondence of the Journal of Commerce.

WASHINGTON, Friday, July 11.

Gen. Cass asserted in the debate of last Wednesday night, in the remarks which he made upon Mr. Geyer's amendment to the Kansas Bill, that the laws of the Territorial Legislature were a disgrace to an enlightened age, and that there could be no such thing as free suffrage, without freedom of speech and of the press. The Geyer amendment was therefore carried with but three dissenting voices. Now if the House refuse to pass this bill,—if the Republicans unite against it—how can liberty and order be restored to Kansas? Mr. Martin Van Buren, in his late letter, places his support of Mr. Buchanan upon very just grounds—and particularly upon the ground that Mr. Buchanan is pledged to use the Executive power to secure to the inhabitants of Kansas free suffrage. He says, truly, that the power of the Executive over the subject, to an adequate extent, has been doubted, but he adds that he does not know upon what ground.

Gen. Cass has said enough to disclose to Mr. Van Buren that ground. The President cannot alter the laws of the territorial legislature, and he is bound to enforce them. These laws conflict directly with free suffrage. The President cannot preserve order in Kansas by any armed force, without the aid of legislation for the abolition of the black and barbarous code of the territorial legislature of Kansas.

I notice that it is imputed to the President as an unjustifiable interference, that he should favor the Senate Kansas bill, and more,—urge its passage. Why, the President as long ago as last winter sent a special message to Congress, in which he pointed out the growing evil existing in Kansas, and proposed a legislative remedy. This Senate bill is that legislative remedy which, in his opinion, is demanded by the existing evil.

There is, however, no present prospect of the passage of this bill by the House. It is losing, instead of gaining votes. If the constituents of the republican members be made, in some way, to understand the question, they will, no doubt, require that Kansas shall be relieved from the black code and enjoy free suffrage, even should it spoil a capital issue for the canvass.

Governor Winston of Alabama has returned the resolutions relating to Kansas passed by the Massachusetts Legislature, "with a request that the future resolutions of the Legislature of Massachusetts on Federal affairs and the subject of slavery, be no more forwarded to this Department." He says:

"The obligations of the Constitution, and the laws of the United States passed in conformity thereto, being disregarded and nullified by Massachusetts, we desire no further intercourse with your State; and wish to be free, in future, from insult from a State whose citizens do not recognize accountability for insult and libelous imputations upon the character of Southern States and the citizens thereof."

ONE OF THE FIGHTERS FOR KANSAS FREEDOM.—The Lafayette (Ind.) American mentions the return to that place of one of the parties sent to aid "bleeding Kansas," being with him \$20 in cash and a revolver furnished by the Aid Society. The committee called on him to report about Kansas, which he did with great brevity; whereupon that body set upon him and made him disgorge \$18 of the funds which he had brought back.

THE NEW KANSAS BILL.—Anxiety is expressed on the part of the Abolitionists, lest the bill which passed the Senate with such unanimity for quieting disorders in Kansas, may also pass the House. The alarm exhibited on this head is well founded, for if the bill become a law, the vocation of those who are bent on inflaming the country for personal ends is gone. Their whole stock in trade is Kansas. It is their sole issue.

One of the Tribune's "Kansas outrage" manufacturers, is getting discouraged, for the want of material. Speaking of a Kansas company on the road, the writer says—
"I almost hope to hear that some of their lives have been sacrificed, for it seems as if nothing but that would rouse the Eastern States to act."

THE TRUE BILL FOR KANSAS.—How the bill for pacifying Kansas, recently adopted by the Senate, could possibly be rendered more perfect, it is impossible for us to discover. All patriotic men, all lovers of peace, law and order, will cordially unite in its support, no matter to what political party they may happen to belong.—
Detroit Free Press.

THE EVENING POST.

SATURDAY EVENING, JULY 12.

THE WAR IN KANSAS.

The following letter has just been received by a gentleman of this city, from his son. It is of a late date, and gives an interesting account of the present distressed condition of the people of Kansas:

OSAWATOMIE, July 2, 1856.

Dear Father: I wrote to you by last week's mail and in compliance with the request in your letter of the 16th ultimo, which was received on Monday, I write at this early date. Our condition continues the same as at my last writing. Reports reach us of an intended attack upon Potowatomie, and probably upon this place. A number of pro-slavery people have left the settlement with their families, and have circulated false reports with regard to the free-state people. One man from Potowatomie is supposed to have gone to the states for the express purpose of raising a party. We keep a vigilant watch for them, and have also placed a log house in a condition to answer as a block house, where we can rally at short notice, and defend ourselves until help can be procured.

This place and vicinity is almost entirely free-state, as shown at the polls. A number of these people are luke warm, keeping themselves in readiness to fall to the strongest side. Some, though they profess free-state principles, have made their submission to the bogus authorities. One of our representatives in the legislature, is believed to be of this number. These lead a small crowd, about thirty, and are in some favor with the rufian party. They may fight with us, but it will depend much upon circumstances; and some would willingly act the spy. Of good staunch free-state men, ready to act their part in any emergency, and within four or five miles, I count about seventy. Of these, about two-thirds live in town, or within a mile of it, and would rally at call, but they have not arms. I suppose there are not over twenty guns in town. The people in the country are better provided generally; scarce a house but has one, and sometimes more.

Ammunition is also scarce. We have collected all that can be had in the country, and hope to get a further supply from Kansas City. We are also dependent upon Missouri for breadstuffs, with but a limited supply on hand. Meat is plenty. It is also at great risk that we can get anything through. Teams have been frequently stopped and searched and robbed, and in some instances the owners killed. The present crops will not supply the demand. There is but little wheat in the country. The corn, owing to a combination of circumstances, has come up badly, and owing to the troubles, much less has been planted than would otherwise have been. From the same cause there has been great neglect of that already in the ground. Where it has received any care it looks well.

Our greatest deficiency is that of arms and horses, and a fund sufficient to keep a small party in the field. Thirty or forty horsemen, well mounted and armed with Sharpe's rifles, Colt's revolvers, and a good sabre, could effectually scour this section of the country; cut off small parties and give us timely warning of larger ones. The men for such a company could soon be found had we the horses and arms. Such a method has been practiced with considerable success at Lawrence. At present we have but six or eight horses in town, and some of them miserably poor things. We have difficulty in finding enough to send out scouts.

Another difficulty is our vicinity to the border, with no friends between us and the enemy to give us warning. Eight miles north on Bull Creek are the Peoria Indians, under the control of the Missourians among them. On the east of us are the Missisias, also pro-slavery. Thus you see a considerable body of men might approach quite near us without discovery.

And we stopped all improvement, and many men who come out expecting to find work are out of employment, and will have to leave unless provided for by some means. Send us, then, arms and money. More men will also be needed if these things continue long.

Our legislature is to assemble on the 4th, when it is expected there will be a desperate struggle. The bogus authorities will, doubtless, try to break up the assembly, and may employ the United States troops for that purpose. I hope, and it is my opinion, that our men will not yield, even to that power, as long as there is a prospect for a successful resistance. The maintenance of that legislature is everything to us. A few of our men have gone up, not to celebrate their independence, but to win it. I intended to have been of the number, but some professional business, and the prospect of danger at home, has detained me. We have recently heard of the disarming of two companies by the ruffians on the Missouri river, and their return to Illinois.

Let them not be deterred by that, but come in sufficient force to overcome all opposition, or come by the way of Iowa and Nebraska.

We have just heard that a company of one hundred Georgians have landed in Kansas City, and that they design settling in our vicinity. Whether they will or not is doubtful.

There are still fine claims to be had in this vicinity, especially on the Miami Reserve, which will be open for pre-emption very soon. Send us the men to occupy every quarter-section.

The nomination of Fremont and the Republican platform are received here with great enthusiasm. It did me good to read it, as also did the proceedings of the meeting at Chicago, which brought tears of joy to my eyes. Your suffering son, B. D.

The Need in Kansas.

We have seen a letter of recent date from Kansas, written by a highly respectable resident of that territory, and addressed to Anthony J. Bleeker, Esq., of this city, from which we are permitted to make the following extract:

"I have written several letters to my eastern friends during the last six weeks, but have received few answers. My name has not been affixed to any but those which went by private hands, for reasons you well understand. Missouri seems to be getting quite sick of her dirty work. Buford has fled South, and his company are breaking off for home as fast as they can steal funds sufficient.

"The shooting of Gay was a horrid affair. Atchison, Stringfellow, and others of the same ilk, were at Westport when the son returned with news of his father's murder, but no move was made for the arrest of the murderers until the Monday following. (He was killed on Saturday, in Missouri.) We keep a watch here constantly, and minute men are all the time on hand.

"We are in great need of funds for general distribution. Our people have been watching and standing on the defensive so long, that many who are dependant on their daily labor for subsistence, are suffering.

"As for myself, peaceable man as I am, I have been obliged to flee from night to night for my life, as the freebooters have threatened to hang me when they catch me. I dare not go from my home as it would certainly cost me my life. My family will leave for the East in the morning, there to remain until the war is over. Not a dollar of any of the money subscribed in the East has ever reached these parts."

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR ROBERTS'S LETTER.

The letter of Lieutenant-Governor Roberts, of Kansas, brings some very strong objections against the bill which has just passed the Senate, directing a new constitution to be made for the people of that territory.

It is remarkable that this bill denies to the people of Kansas the opportunity of voting upon the adoption of the Constitution which is to be framed for them. Delegates are to be elected to a convention before the cold weather sets in, and the delegates, when elected, are to have in their hands the entire power of imposing upon the people of Kansas just such a constitution as may suit their fancy. If the convention should act corruptly and frame a constitution which the people do not approve, the people are to have no redress; they cannot reject it. The Missourians and other adventurers from the slave states, now in the territory, can go on with their work till the election of delegates in the autumn, and if they can manage to elect Atchison and Stringfellow, and perhaps the Honorable Mr. Oliver, as delegates, with others of the like stamp, their

work will be complete; they may go home, in the perfect assurance that such a constitution as they desire for the territory will be made in spite of the people. It will be inconvenient for them to stay over, as Governor Roberts justly remarks, till March; they must in that case have houses to live in, and be put to a great expense in obtaining a supply of provisions to last through the winter. Mr. Toombs's bill or Douglas's bill—for it is called by both names, and the merit of paternity probably belongs as much to the one as the other—is admirably framed to suit the convenience of these people. If they should bestir themselves actively from this time to the fourth of November, they may so harass, disperse and discourage the free-state settlers as to get the elections wholly into their own hands, and then a constitution legalizing slavery is secured without the chance of appeal.

There are many other objections of great force urged by Governor Roberts against the bill, for which we refer our readers to his letter. The bill is ingeniously drawn up—an artful scheme, but it will not do; it is seen through. It is the device of men versed in political chicanery, and the House of Representatives would make itself absolutely infamous if it were to substitute so palpable a cheat for its own bill.

Teombs's Kansas Bill Dissected.

LETTER FROM W. Y. ROBERTS, LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF KANSAS.

NATIONAL HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D. C. }
July 11, 1856. }

To the Editors of the Evening Post:

Your note asking my opinion, as a democrat and as a citizen and friend of Kansas, in relation to the Senate bill entitled "a bill to authorize the people of the territory of Kansas to form a constitution and state government, &c.," which passed the Senate on the 2d inst., is to hand.

In reply, I would say that my objections to the bill are not confined to its details only—they may be amended—but attach also to the principles upon which it rests.

I. The bill proposes to repeal and amend certain territorial laws, and to leave others in force, and hence assumes the position that the Legislative Assembly was a valid authority, and affixes the seal of congressional sanction and approbation upon a body elected by a rule utterly subversive of the government, and in so doing, the Senate has sanctioned and legalized, as far as it can, the work of an armed mob, in open violation of the laws and constitution of the United States, in violating the great fundamental principle upon which rests our whole political fabric, popular sovereignty, or self-government.

It is not necessary to weary your readers by inserting here the proof of this proposition, and I shall only refer them to the testimony taken by the Kansas Investigating Committee, reported to the House of Representatives on the 1st inst. In this report the above allegation is proven by testimony the most positive and incontrovertible.

II. But my objections to the bill do not stop here; after thus acknowledging the validity of the territorial legislature, the bill proceeds to repeal sundry laws and parts of laws enacted by that body, by the very singular process of re-enacting certain important provisions of the Constitution of the United States. (See bill sec. 18.) It also enacts a new ~~elective~~ law—assuming the power of Congress to legislate for the territory on the most important subject of legislation, that of the elective franchise, whilst it has, in the opinion of the Senate, in full vitality, a local legislature of its own; thus utterly abandoning the whole theory of the democratic creed in relation to the government of the territories; and, as a democrat, I must be allowed to enter my protest against this abandonment of the faith, particularly in an instance when that abandonment is made necessary by assuming a former false hypothesis.

III. The bill further provides for the election and organization of a convention "to form a constitution

and state government," and, without submitting the constitution thus formed to a vote of the people or future action of Congress, admits the state into the Union "on an equal footing with the original states," and makes the action of that convention a *finality*, and denies to the people the invaluable privilege of acting in their primary and individual capacity upon the organic law of the land, "a right invaluable to them and formidable only to tyrants."

IV. To give to a board of commissioners, appointed by the President, the power to determine who shall vote for delegates to a convention, and to be the sole judges of the election and qualifications of said delegates, and to make the action of that convention final, in a matter so important as the formation of a constitution and state government, is to erect a power dangerous to popular rights, a power irresponsible to the people—a despotism; and is assuming the power of Congress to do that for which there is no warrant in the constitution, and which is subversive of the great principles of popular government.

V. One effect of refusing to submit the constitution to a vote of the people would be to obviate the necessity of retaining in the territory a large body of men during the winter, in order to vote on the constitution in the spring, as it would be impossible to frame a constitution, publish it and give the people time to discuss its provisions, in order to give an intelligent vote upon its ratification, before, probably, the 1st of March. I am aware that it would be exceedingly inconvenient to these people to stay in our territory during the winter without houses, and that houses and provisions are very expensive things; nevertheless, as a citizen of Kansas I cannot consent that they should be allowed to finish their work by the 4th of November and return to their homes, leaving the people to enjoy (?) a government established against their own will and wishes: and hence, as a citizen and friend of Kansas, must most solemnly protest against this feature of the bill.

VI. The bill further provides that the ratio of representation and the apportionment of delegates shall be determined by the number of voters, and not the number of inhabitants in the territory and the respective districts; thus giving to the mere adventurer the "soldier of fortune" upon the border, the same representative strength with the regular citizen permanently located with his wife and family of five or ten minor children. The injustice of this provision is too glaring to need comment, and its object too plain, to be misunderstood.

VII. The enumeration of voters is fixed at a time when many of our citizens have been driven from their homes and from the territory, and when an armed mob, unrebuked by government, has blockaded all the avenues to the country, not only preventing the return of the few who might be able and who might feel an inclination to return from doing so, but robbing and driving back all new emigrants from the free states who are seeking homes in the territory. Thus forcing upon the people a finality at a most inauspicious time and proposing to establish the institutions of a state when the country is under the government of an armed and irresponsible mob. What a mockery of popular rights! And what a fraud upon a people who were induced to emigrate to the territory under a pledge from the government that they should be left "perfectly free to establish their own institutions."

VIII. In addition to this, the bill, as far as it is intended "to authorize the people of the territory of Kansas to form a constitution and state government," is gratuitous. We have asked for no such authority. We contend as democrats, that we have authority whenever a majority of the people may so determine to call a convention, form a constitution and state government, and to apply for admission into the Union as a free and sovereign state. We hold that the people are better judges of when this shall be done, than Congress can be, and that to judge of, and to do this is one of the rights expressly reserved to the people by the constitution of the United States, and therefore, we have not asked of Congress an authority that expressly belongs to us under the constitution; but what we do ask, is, that Congress should fulfil all the requirements of the constitution and extend over us the protecting hand of the national government.

We ask of Congress no impossibilities—nor unconstitutional intermeddling with our domestic affairs. Congress cannot "give us back our dead," but it can wipe out a legislative government established by fraud and violence, and institute another that shall reflect the will of the people. It can refund to our people all the losses and damages that they have sustained by reason of this fraud, and restore and secure

to them what is more valuable than gold, and sweeter than life, the free enjoyment of all their political rights as American citizens. We ask a nation's disapprobation of a fraud unparalleled in the history of our country: let the nation wash her hands of the disgraceful act, and let the history of it go down to posterity with a nation's condemnation indelibly engraven upon its forehead.

Let Congress, in the place of repealing certain laws of the territorial legislature, because of their inherent defects, set them all aside because of the inherent defects in the power that made them. Let this be done, and the whole subject is open to Congress, the wrongs of the people may be redressed, their constitutional rights restored, and peace restored to the country and to the territory, the constitution itself vindicated, the theory of non-interference saved. The great principles of popular sovereignty and self-government re-established, an unmitigated fraud upon the sacred ballot-box branded with marked disapprobation, the character of our free institutions preserved untarnished, the confidence of the people in the perpetuity and strength of free government stimulated and confirmed, and the bonds of the Union strengthened and established upon the rock of eternal justice; but refuse to do this, and all these propositions are reversed.

If the bill was designed to effect these objects it will most certainly fail of its purpose, but on the other hand tend most directly to the reverse of all these desirable results, and therefore, finally, as a democrat, a citizen and friend of Kansas, one who loves the Union, and the harmony and peace of all sections of the country, I must most earnestly protest against its passage into a law.

Very truly, &c., W. Y. ROBERTS.

American and Gazette.

PHILADELPHIA:

SATURDAY, JULY 12, 1856.

THE BLOCKADE OF THE MISSOURI RIVER.—The Lawrence correspondent of the Cincinnati Commercial writes from Kansas under date of July 2d:—The slavery propagandists have decided to prevent all emigration to Kansas from the free States. This policy was adopted at a meeting of the pro-slavery magnates, held at Wyandotte on the 20th ult. Two companies of emigrants, numbering about one hundred and fifty, have already been compelled to return down the river. The closing of the land offices in the North West, has turned emigration toward Kansas. No less than eighty wagons, containing men, women and children, who designed to make Kansas their home, have been sent back. Thus Missouri intends to interpose an impassable barrier to emigration into the territory. In this she is assisted by hired bands from South Carolina and Georgia.

The United States government is aiding every day in the accomplishment of this object. The bands of ruffians who are now organized for the purpose of intercepting and robbing travellers, are armed with United States guns. These things transpire at Leavenworth under the eye of Col. Sumner. And yet, when he was requested to furnish protection to the emigrants, he replied that he should be compelled to disarm them if he interfered at all. The same day forty-three South Carolinians arrived at Leavenworth, armed to the teeth. It was demanded of Sumner that he should deprive these men of their weapons. This he refused to do; saying that he supposed the persons in question had only come out on a visit to their friends! Every time the United States has interfered it has been to protect our enemies, or to deprive us of our weapons, and to deliver us, helpless, into the hands of our blood-thirsty foes.

LIEUT. GOVERNOR ROBERTS' POSITION.—Horace Greeley telegraphs to the Tribune under date of Thursday: "Lieut. Governor Roberts, of Kansas, arrived here this morning, and informed me that the report that the Toombs bill was amended and got through the Senate through his influence, to save Pennsylvania, is not true. He suggested several amendments, but the only ones of importance were discarded, viz: declaring the Territorial Legislature and laws null and void, and restoring to the people of Kansas all their Constitutional rights. Before leaving Washington to go East, he placed in the hands of Senator Bigler, of Pennsylvania, a letter, under date of July 1, exposing the wickedness of the Toombs bill, showing that it was unconstitutional and opposed to Democratic principles, and was more oppressive than any other act performed or attempted by the Administration. Senator Bigler had this in his pocket when he voted for the Toombs bill. Gov. Roberts will analyze that bill in a letter shortly to be published in the New York Evening Post, and is about taking the stump in Pennsylvania against Buchanan.

Kansas Affairs.

A PICTURE OF KANSAS.—A correspondent of the New York Tribune writes from Ossawatimie, Kansas, under date of June 28th:

The southern portion of Kansas Territory, from the Wakerusa to the Neosho, is certainly the most beautiful in the world. The prairies are not very large. On the way from Lawrence to the south, the traveler has rarely to travel more than three miles between the streams. The prairies are neither so broken, nor do we find as much rock on the surface. Springs and clear fountains are more common. I do not think there are any prettier streams to be found in the West than the *Marie de Cygnet* (Merodesin). It is the upper part of the Osage River, and bears the latter name below Ossawatimie, where the Potawatimie unites with the Merodesin.

But beautiful although the outer aspects of the country, they did not conceal the evidences of the civil feud raging in Kansas. Removed from the more stirring points of action, there is not so much to startle; but the route I pursued toward the South portion of the Territory lay within forty or fifty miles of the Missouri frontier, and the foot prints of the border ruffians were observable here. I saw many deserted houses, and fields where the young corn was flapping its yet narrow leaves in the sunshine, while the owners of these establishments were fleeing from evils they deemed greater than loss of property, or poverty. One fact I noticed, however, no inconsiderable portion of those absentees were pro-slavery men.

THE FREE STATE PRISONERS.—The Lawrence correspondent of the Tribune, writes under date of July 2d:

I returned last night from an unsuccessful trip to see the State prisoners at Leecompton. Prior to yesterday morning, prisoners had been admitted, and as I went up at the request of the prisoners themselves, I expected to see them. Still, taking every precaution, travelled in company with one of the ladies who had been attending the prisoners and cooking for them, took in the carriage provisions and other peaceable conservative articles; but the fiat had come forth that morning. We were halted at a hundred yards distance from the prisoners' tent, and told we could not enter. We were informed that positive orders had been received that morning to the effect that there should be no access to the prisoners, no going to or coming from, until after the 6th of July. Then, we were told, matters would be referred to their former position, provided there was no disturbance, and the Fourth passed off quietly. Captain Walker, who commanded the dragoons, was polite but inexorable. I asked him what authority had issued these orders, but he evaded my question by telling me the "authority was sufficient."

This stringency extended to a prohibition of written communications. I had a pocket full of letters, which had come through the Post Office to the prisoners and the two ladies now in camp, Mrs. Robinson and Mrs. Jenkins, but all of these were pronounced contraband, the officer asking the lady if there were any letters in the carpet bag that was sent in. He was polite enough to take her assurance that there were none, but told us that no letters could go in, so the lady brought back the letters we had. My companion, Miss Emily Hunt, a resident of Gov. Robinson's household before it was destroyed, had intended to remain some time and assist the other ladies. After using some argument, the officer at length consented that she could stay, but she could not be allowed to leave the camp until after the 6th, and not desiring to be a prisoner as the other two ladies thus virtually are, she returned. I got but one glimpse of some of the prisoners. I saw the Governor standing in front of the prisoner's tent; he saw me and touched his hand to his breast with a sad smile. Dietzler came out to the side of the tent. I saw him shake his head ruefully, and strike his heels on the ground energetically, as it in deprecation of hard fate.

From the National Intelligencer, July 12.

KANSAS MATTER.—A Southern correspondent writes us to state that several companies of Southern men have been refused admission to Kansas by Col. Sumner, and that this is the cause why Southern men have disarmed and refused the landing of Northerners into that Territory.

From the National Era.

FREMONT.

All hail to Fremont! Swell the lofty acclaim
Like winds from the mountains, like prairies aflame!
Ounce more the Pathfinder is faith on his hunt,
Clear the way for free soil, for free men, and Fremont!

We'll spurn every fetter, we'll break every rod,
And Kansas shall bloom like the Garden of God,
When we plant the white banner of Freedom upon't,
And cry, "To the rescue, free men and Fremont!"

Oh! the land that we love shall be sacred from slaves,
From the tyrant's misrule and the plunder of knaves;
We'll baptize the Union in Liberty's font,
And the faith of our fathers shall live with Fremont!

Go, brave mountain climber, lead on in the path
Where the people shall sweep in the storm of their wrath.
Who shall hinder their triumph if God so appoint?
Who stay the bold march of free men and Fremont?

Then East, West, and North, swell the lofty acclaim
Like winds from the mountains, like prairies aflame!
Clear the way, the Pathfinder moves on in our front,
And our hearts shall keep time to the march of Fremont!

The Daily Journal

R. M. RIDDLE, Editor & Proprietor.

PITTSBURGH:

SATURDAY - - - JULY 12, 1856.

REASONS WHY.

A few plain reasons why every man should protest in the most unmistakable language against the bill falsely called the "Pacification Bill" with which we are threatened to be sold out again to the enemy, are these:

Because, first, it comes from the very source and head spring whence flow our woes unnumbered, from Douglas, prompted and advised by the very men who have led the border hordes against Kansas:

Because, in the second place, it fixes the time at which the bill is to commence operating, on the very day when the Borderers from Missouri had appointed to hold a mass Convention in Kansas and all who were in the Territory on that day and will swear at proper time that they resided there for three months previous to the election to be held on November 4th, are entitled to vote:

Because, thirdly, the appointment of the Commission to take the census is in the hands of the most dangerous man that ever occupied the Executive chair, the man who appointed and keeps in their places, Shannon for Governor, Donaldson for Marshal of the Territory, the fearful Leecompton and Cato, Judges:

Because, moreover, the procuring causes of the terrible evils under which Kansas bleeds and languishes, there is in this bill no attempt to remove:

Because, above all, it goes into operation on a basis of wrong, a system of terror, a foundation of crime which to think of makes the blood boil with indignation. The whole power of the Government has been used to "crush out" the immigrants from this and sister free States; the Missouri river has fallen into the hands of pirates; the crime is done, and now comes the consummation.

It is embodied in the false and dangerous measure which every body with one voice

who prefers freedom to slavery should protest against, or else make up their minds to bow their necks submissively to the yoke.

We say, then, the authors of the Bill: the time fixed for it to commence taking effect; the man to whom the appointment of the Commission is to be committed; the fact, that the procuring causes of the evil still remain, and that the bill is based upon crime which is unavenged of the law, all conspire to unite us as one man in protesting against its passage and branding it as a cheat to ensnare; as a stratagem to effect what the bold "we-will-subdue-you" doctrine has failed in bringing to a successful issue.

[From the Chicago Tribune.]

LATER FROM KANSAS.

Free Kansas and Fremont!
GREAT RATIFICATION MEETING
AT TOPEKA.

Speeches of Free State Squatters.

A Hint to Governor A. H. Reeder.

[Reported expressly for the Chicago Tribune.]
GARVEY HOUSE, TOPEKA, JUNE 30, 1856.

To the Editor of the Chicago Tribune:—

Free Kansas receives the nomination of Fremont with joyous cheers. Lawrence, I am told, has ratified his nomination. Topeka has endorsed him; Council City, Wauabansa and Manhattan will follow their example as soon as the result of the Republican Convention is received in their section of the State.

The ratification meeting at this place was held in Kansas Constitutional Hall on Saturday evening. The attendance was large.

Bonfires were prepared, and a volley was to be fired in honor of Fremont; but a thunder storm prevented the citizens from carrying out this plan. So they kept the tar for Atchison and Stringfellow; and the cartridges for their followers when they invade this Territory again.

The meeting was organized by the nomination of Judge John Curtiss, (National Democrat) formerly from Jackson county, Missouri, as President; and William Ross, editor of the Kansas Tribune, as Secretary.

Judge Curtiss, on taking the Chair, said, after thanking the audience for the honor conferred on him, that he had always acted with the Democratic party, and had always been an active member of it, and had never for a moment doubted that he would act with it till the end of his life. Yet he had found, since the recent Cincinnati Convention, that he could not any longer consistently act with it. [Loud applause.] Not, gentlemen; that I have any personal objection to Mr. Buchanan; I object to him solely because he is the exponent of the principles incorporated in the Cincinnati Convention, and that platform, in my opinion, is one that no friend of Kansas—at least not of Free Kansas—can support.

As far as Col. Fremont is concerned it is not necessary for me to say any thing. Every one knows Fremont's character. No man of his age occupies a prouder position in the history of his country, especially as a Western pioneer. The platform he stands on is made of Kansas timber. We are all proud of it. We like the platform and we like the man.

In conclusion, gentlemen, I have only to say that I believe that there are two words which will henceforth be inseparably connected, and these words are—"Free Kansas and Fremont." [Cheers.]

The President then asked that if any gentlemen had resolutions to offer, they should be presented now.

The following resolutions were presented in the order in which they are given:

RESOLUTIONS:

By Col. C. K. Holliday, (Democrat) formerly of Meadville, Pennsylvania:

Resolved, That we, citizens of Kansas, in mass meeting assembled, believing that the only hope of freedom and justice for ourselves and our posterity, depends upon the triumph of the Republican party at the approaching Presidential election, do hereby cordially ratify and endorse the nomination of Col. John C. Fremont, of California, for President, and William L. Dayton, of New Jersey, for Vice President of the United States. [Prolonged applause.]

By John W. Stephens, Esq., (Democrat) formerly of Cincinnati, Ohio, and member of the Kansas House of Representatives:

Resolved, That in John C. Fremont we recognize a true patriot, who, as the champion of "human rights in Kansas over "Southern" Despotism, should receive the unanimous support of all opposed to the infamous measures of the present imbecile administration.

By M. S. Hinman, Esq., (free soiler) from Beloit, Wisconsin:

Resolved, That in Wm. L. Dayton, of New Jersey, we recognize a patriot and statesman, and true friend of the Constitutional rights of Northern citizens, whether in the States or Territories.

By E. R. Zimmerman, Esq., (Democrat), of Kickapoo, formerly of Reading, Pa.:

Resolved, That we heartily approve and endorse the conduct of Gen. Jas. B. Lane, one of our Senators, in supporting the Republican or Free State party; and opposing with all his ability

and energy, the so-called Democratic party, of which he was formerly a distinguished member. [Loud and prolonged applause.]

By Mr. Wm. Chase, (Whig), from Wisconsin: Resolved, That we endorse the action of Col. Wm. M. Delahay, our Representative to Congress, in opposing the Democratic organization of which he also was formerly an active member. [Applause.]

By Mr. A. A. Jamison, (Whig), member of the Kansas House of Representatives, formerly of St. Louis, Missouri:

Resolved, That if, as we are informed on private and public communications from the East—which, however, we are unwilling to believe—Andrew H. Reeder, one of our Senators elect, is favorable to the candidate of the Slavery Propagandists, James Buchanan, we shall repudiate his action with scorn and indignation, and demand of our General Assembly that they request him to resign the office to which he was elected, and thereby deprive him of the influence which, as our accredited representative, his decision might have in the Northern States.

By E. C. K. Garvey, Esq., (Democrat), from Milwaukee, Wisconsin:

Resolved, That the election of James Buchanan of Pennsylvania, as President, and of John C. Breckinridge, of Ky., as Vice President of the United States, would be to the people of Kansas a most disastrous event. [Cheers.]

By J. F. Cummings, (National Democrat), formerly from Ohio:

Resolved, That as we have neither voice nor vote in the election of President—notwithstanding the passage of the Nebraska bill, whose advocates pretended that it gave to the squatter all the political rights he possessed in the States—we earnestly advise all our friends throughout the Union to use all their exertions to secure the election of the standard bearers of the Republican party. [Loud applause.]

The resolutions were then taken up in order and discussed.

The first resolution was passed without discussion. The second was amended by inserting "squatter's rights" instead of "human rights," and "slaveholding despotism" instead of "Southern despotism," an attempt to strike out "imbecile" as characterizing the Pierce administration was unanimously voted down. The third, fourth, and fifth resolutions were passed by acclamation.

GOV. REEDER'S COURSE DISCUSSED.

The resolution in relation to Gov. Reeder gave rise to a long debate, in which the firm determination of the people here to repudiate any representative of theirs who shall support the Democratic nominations were plainly shown. No less apparent was their anxiety not to prejudice any of their friends, who did not clearly prove that they had gone over to the enemy. I will give merely a synopsis of the discussion.

The resolution was read. Mr. Jamison stated that he had been a Reeder man up to that time; had voted for him both for delegate and Senator; but if Reeder was going to support the nominee of the Democratic party he would as soon vote for David B. Atchison as for him. [Applause.] He had seen it publicly stated in Eastern papers that Reeder had had an interview with Buchanan, and since then had said he did not intend to take part in the Presidential campaign. That report had been denied since, as far as it relates to an interview with Buchanan.

But it was still stated that he did not intend to take part in the Presidential campaign in favor of the Republican candidates. Now, gentlemen, that election is of the most momentous importance to us. If the Republicans lose the election, Heaven only knows what we are to do. We cannot content forever with Missouri, and the South and the Federal Government arrayed against us.

We want our Representatives and Senators to try to secure the triumph of that party. We want them to work, and if they refuse to do that, we want to put men in their places who will work. [Applause.]

Mr. McClure, (Dem.), formerly from Pennsylvania.—I have always been a Reeder man, like my friend upon my left; but if Gov. Reeder comes out in favor of Buchanan, no man will oppose him more heartily than I will. But, Mr. President, I am opposed to that resolution as it stands. I do not believe that Gov. Reeder will support Buchanan. I believe him to be in favor of Fremont. [Applause.] The resolution condemns him for supporting Buchanan, it takes it for granted that he will oppose Fremont; now what evidence have we, I would ask, for supposing any such thing?

Mr. JAMESON.—Mr. President, the resolution does not condemn Reeder, without evidence. It does not say he has supported Buchanan. It says if he does so we will repudiate him; it says, also, that we are unwilling to believe that he will do so. I have been asked on what evidence I have pre-icated my resolution. I will tell the gentleman. I have read a letter from a true friend of Kansas—a gentleman well known in this city—who states that Reeder's course in relation to the nominee of the Cincinnati Convention had created much uneasiness among our friends in Ohio. He adds that Gov. Reeder said to him that he did not know whether or not he should support Buchanan until he had had an interview with him. Now, gentlemen, that is no rumor.

I wish to show to Gov. Reeder, that if he supports Buchanan we will repudiate both Buchanan

and him. We want no trifling in so earnest a matter. Gov. Reeder has great political interest in the east—because—and only because—he is regarded as the representative of the squatters of Kansas. Now, we want that influence directed in favor of Fremont; if Reeder misdirects it—why, we must repeat that influence by repudiating Reeder. I must recall, I have no intention of condemning Gov. Reeder; if he favor Fremont, he would again be, as he always has been, my first choice for any office in the gift of the people of Kansas. [Applause.]

Mr. Merrill (Whig) from Massachusetts, briefly said that although the resolution did not condemn Reeder, it would indicate that we suspected him—and as Reeder held the vote of Pennsylvania in his hands, which he believed he did, this would be bad policy as well as bad taste. It was uncalled for, he thought. The resolutions endorsing Fremont and Dayton showed where our preference pointed. That would surely be enough to warn Reeder, if a warning was what the gentleman designed by his resolution on. Let me add, said the speaker, that if Gov. Reeder does come out for Buchanan, I believe that he will be scorched by the lightning breath of the people of Kansas. [Applause.]

Col. C. K. Holliday thought the resolution an imprudent one. He would suggest that the resolution endorsing Lane be called up and so amended as to say that if either of our Senators supported Buchanan we would repudiate them.

The resolution as it stood, whatever its intention, would be looked upon as condemning him; and it might have a tendency, if Reeder thought he had lost our confidence, to shake him from us. At the same time, I must say that by every account, Reeder's course is not satisfactory thus far. I have seen the letter Mr. Jamison referred to. It is from a most reliable man, and you are aware of its contents.

I see in the New York Tribune that it is denied that Reeder will support Buchanan. It says he will keep aloof from the politics of the day, and devote himself to the cause of Free Kansas. I do not understand how he can plead the cause of Free Kansas and keep aloof from the politics of the day, when the cause of Free Kansas is the principle ingredient in the political caldron. In the same paper it is stated that a gentleman at Easton, at a public meeting there, offered a resolution calling on Reeder to give his opinion of the Cincinnati and Philadelphia platforms. That resolution was withdrawn—not voted down nor approved, but withdrawn—at the request of Reeder's personal friends. This thing looks strange with regard to the Governor's course; but still I think the language of the resolution is too strong.

Mr. Caleb Pratt, (K. N. Whig), from Massachusetts, suggested that the resolution be laid on the table and a copy of the proceedings sent to Gov. Reeder. The mere fact that a resolution of this kind has been offered, and not voted down, will be of itself a sufficient indication of our opinion of his course.

Mr. Holliday thought it would be more desirable to withdraw it.

Mr. Jamison offered to do so; but the gentleman who seconded his resolution refused his consent. He offered as a substitute:

Resolved, That if either of our Senators, or our Representative, supports the Democratic nominee, we shall expect him to resign.

A gentleman from Lawrence suggested the appointment of a committee of three to correspond with our Senators and Representative, to ascertain their views on the Republican party. If these views were favorable to the Democratic party, then he suggested that a public meeting be called to repudiate the views and their authors.

Not seconded.

Mr. Stephens moved that the words "with scorn and indignation" be stricken out.

Not seconded.

After some further discussion, Mr. Holliday said that laying it on the table would leave Reeder in a worse position than ever; that while our records would show an endorsement of Lane and Delahay, it would be silent about Reeder or mention him suspiciously. He wished to prevent this resolution from going on the record. Therefore he moved that it be indefinitely postponed.

Dr. Root, of Wauabansa, (Whig), formerly from Connecticut:

Mr. President: I did not know the object of this meeting when I entered this hall, and I had not the most remote idea of speaking. But I find that you are discussing matters not of local interest, but of general importance, matters of which the people of every section of the Territory are interested.

Personally I know nothing of Gov. Reeder or General Lane. I know but little of their actions for the last three weeks, or I have either been in the hands of the enemy, or in uninhabited districts of the State.

But, gentlemen, from what I do know, I must oppose the resolution of the gentleman from Fremont City, (Mr. Cameron) I think Gov. Reeder has occupied a different position from that occupied by General Lane. I believe that Reeder is doing all he can for Kansas. He has run great risks, personally and politically, for the sake of Free Kansas, and, sir, it is not likely he will forsake her by supporting Buchanan, the candidate of our enemies.

If this resolution is laid on the table, Gen. Lane will evidently have the preference. I move that the resolution be postponed indefinitely.

After some further discussion, Mr. Pratt moved that a committee of three be appointed "to so

frame the resolutions in relation to our Senators and Representative as not to imply that we suspected any one but to intimate that we expect them to support Fremont and Dayton." [Applause.]

Seconded and adopted.

The resolutions in relation to Lane and Delahay were then called up, and placed in the hands of a Committee, who with drew, deliberated, and submitted the subjoined resolutions 4, 5 and 6. It was adopted by acclamation unanimously:—

Resolved, That our thanks are due and are hereby tendered to our Senators and Representatives at Washington, Hon. A. H. Reeder, General J. H. Lane, and Col. M. W. Delahay, for the able, manly, and energetic course which hitherto characterized their action in Kansas affairs; that we have every reason to believe that their future course will correspond with their past in this respect, and that henceforth they will be found battling for free Kansas under the banner of Fremont and Dayton. [Loud and prolonged applause.]

The resolutions were then adopted as a series.

Daily Enquirer.

OFFICIAL PAPER OF THE CITY.

SATURDAY MORNING.....JULY 12

Kansas—The True State of Affairs.

The following letter is from a highly respectable citizen of Ohio, who went to Kansas a few weeks ago to observe for himself the condition of affairs in that Territory. The result of his observation is contained in the letter which follows, the moderate and benignant style of which shows the real character of the writer as a man of prudent, thoughtful and impartial mind and sterling integrity. We commend it to the perusal of our readers as entitled to their entire confidence and respect, as presenting the most truthful and reliable statement which has yet been published of the condition of affairs in Kansas, and of the cause of the present troubles.

WYANDOT, K. T., Tuesday, July 1, 1856.

To the Editors of the Enquirer:

I ought to make an apology to you for not sending an accurate and truthful statement of the various transactions in the Territory for the last two months. The great reason why I have not was because it was almost impossible to get the exact truth of many of the passing transactions, and I was unwilling to send anything which I did not feel confident was true. There are so many heated partisans, who are anxious to produce political effect, besides so many others that have become so much excited that they can see nothing except in a greatly distorted view, so that it is almost impossible to tell exactly how the various transactions have occurred. At last I have come to the conclusion that, after spending something like two months in the Territory, traveling through it for hundreds of miles, associating with all parties, and yet taking no part in the war—that if one would know the truth he must believe the statements of heated partisans with great caution. Of course I do not mean to say that there has been no difficulty here, for there has been much. The Territory has been overrun with armed bands of men. Theft, robbery and murder have been committed with impunity, and I can as yet see no end to the difficulties, for armed companies of men, fully equipped for war, are constantly arriving, some of them for the avowed purpose of declaring anarchy, and resisting the laws there are in the Territory for the punishment of crime. Until all self-appointed armed bodies of persons are driven out of the Territory I can see no prospects of peace. A few days ago two of the companies thus armed and equipped were disarmed as they came up the river, and when they arrived at Leavenworth they were not permitted to land. I know of no legal process by which they were disarmed, yet I cannot help thinking it was well, and hope all other armed companies will be treated in the same manner, including Lane's company, which is said to be coming through Iowa. Probably there will be much said about interfering with the right of the citizen to emigrate from one part of the country to another. There can be no good objection to any peaceable, well-disposed persons immigrating here, but there are objections to armed companies coming here to overrun

peaceable citizens. To show you the kind of citizens such persons would make, I would state that a great number of them are boys, and I am credibly informed that the captain of one of the disarmed companies had a woman along with him with a sword under her dress. He said she was his wife; she said she was not, they having never been married. Such persons will do no good here under the present circumstances. Let all good citizens come and settle freely; but I do hope that all of these military organizations, consisting, as they generally do, either of inexperienced youths or blackguards, will be sent back; they come for no good, and will do no good. If those persons who contribute to the Emigrant Aid Companies really knew the effects produced, they certainly would pause before they did it. Take, for example, a company which arrived here some two months since, from Michigan, under the lead of a preacher, who was said to receive forty dollars per month from some parties in Michigan, for organizing and bringing the company here. I do not speak of this company from any insidious feeling, nor because I think it worse than other companies, both from the North as well as from the South, but because I have happened to know more of its affairs—having stopped at the same house with several of its members, from whom I understand that the reverend leader borrowed all the money which he could get from the members, promising to pay them with a draft which he expected from Michigan.

As soon as they landed at Kansas City they commenced quarreling among themselves. When they started into the Territory it was raining hard, and they could get no shelter except the tents they brought with them. About thirteen of them were women, and about one-half of the remainder were mere boys, having no experience whatever of frontier life.

They had proceeded but a little way before they discovered that the committee which had been sent on to select a location had done nothing, and they knew not where they were going to. Several of the members got an order for the provisions which had been left in Kansas City, and which was nearly all they had, sold them and put the money in their pockets, and went off, nobody knows where, leaving the company with little money and only three weeks' provisions. As a matter of necessity the company had to scatter.

A few days after, as I was standing in the Kansas Hotel, I saw two or three small boys hanging around the wharf, ragged and dirty trying to get down the river on their way home. They had no money; they had no clothes except what were on their backs.

Of all that company not more than one-half remain, the rest having left, cursing the persons who induced them to join the company. Even the Methodist divine has gone down the river. Well might these unfortunate boys curse the persons who seduced them from home. Should they thieve, rob, or even murder, under the circumstances, who so much to blame as the parties who seduced them from home, particularly as those same parties tell them there is no law in the Territory for the punishment of crime? It would be well for such to remember the Christian precept, "Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil." Many persons in the States do not understand the position of things here. Although it may appear as an old story, I will endeavor to give a short, concise statement of them. When Douglas introduced the Nebraska-Kansas Bill, allowing the people of the Territories to regulate their own domestic affairs, many persons in the North immediately raised a tremendous cry about the iniquity of the bill, denouncing it as a great swindle which the people of the South were trying to perpetrate upon the North—a grand scheme for the purpose of extending the influence of slavery. No one knew exactly how it was going to accomplish that object; at least if they did they never attempted to explain the *modus operandi*. But thousands upon thousands took up the constant cry, "Swindle, swindle—the

North has been cheated by the South!" With this constant cry they succeeded in getting up a tremendous excitement throughout the North. Acting under this excitement they organized immense emigrant aid societies for the purpose of throwing a population into the Territory to control the elections. The persons thus emigrating were of the most rabid kind. They went through Missouri with badges and banners, with mottoes denouncing the South and Southern institutions. As was natural, this aroused the Missourians, who came to the conclusion that if the Northern States are going to import voters for the purpose of controlling the elections, they too must do something to counteract these movements. When the election came, these two classes of voters met, Missouri being nearest the field of action. They succeeded in sending the most men, and in many instances took possession of the polls. Of course, under such circumstances they succeeded in electing their candidates. The Emigrant Aid Society said they would not submit, and immediately after the election began forming themselves into military companies, openly saying they would resist with arms, all laws made by that Legislature, calling on their partisans throughout the States to assist them both in men and in arms, which was done Sharp's rifles were furnished from many pulpits. In the mean time, A. H. Reeder recognized the majority of the persons elected at that election, and declared the remaining portion void on account of the fraudulent taking possession of the polls. He called the men thus elected to assemble at a little town which he owned, called Pawnee. The members of the Legislature, not liking the place of their meeting, resolved to adjourn to another place. The Governor, being the principal owner of Pawnee, vetoed the bill; the Legislature passed it by a two-thirds vote, when he, too, joined the party who had appealed to Sharp's rifles to resist all laws enacted by that Legislature—declaring that by the act of adjournment they had lost all right to make laws. In pursuance of the adjournment, the Legislature met at Shawnee Mission and enacted a code of laws, most of them good—two or three of them very bad. This threw many persons who would not otherwise have resisted the laws into a coalition with the party who had determined from the first to resist all the laws which that Legislature should make. The coalition called a convention to form a State constitution, the revolutionists alone voting for the members of the convention, none others recognizing its validity. The convention formed a constitution, under which the same coalition proceeded to elect a Legislature and State officers. The Legislature met and adjourned until the 4th day of July next. The State officers thus elected were sworn into office, and attempted to assume the functions of such office, for which Robinson, the pretended Governor, is now indicted and held as a prisoner—the same man who was sent out there as one of the agents of the Emigrant Aid Society. When the officers appointed under the authority of the Legislature which met at Shawnee Mission have attempted to execute any writ, they have been resisted by Robinson, Reeder & Company, upon the ground that there was no law in the Territory protecting a man in his life or property, save that of force. They did not pretend to resist because the laws themselves were bad, but because the Legislature had no power to pass any law whatever, either good or bad. I believe it to be a fact, that, in every case where the law has been resisted, the party accused has been charged with a crime which any well regulated society punishes. The resistance to the officers induced the calling out of the *posse comitatus*, which the armed organizations resisted, whereupon armed companies have rushed into the Territory, the one professedly to enforce the laws enacted, the other for the purpose of resisting them, declaring there is no law in the Territory. This is what has led to all the difficulty in the Territory. Without attempting to justify the conduct of either party, they have both done wrong; yet I cannot help thinking that the far greater wrong has been committed

by the persons who are now making such a tremendous cry about mob violence. It is they themselves who say that there are no laws in the Territory for the punishment of violence, and have armed to resist all the laws which have been enacted. They did not make this resolve after the laws were passed, and on account and against their tyranny, but because they said the Legislature had no power to make such laws. It is they, the Abolitionists, who have declared the country in a state of anarchy—inviting all the lawless people of the country to come and rob, steal and murder, for there is no law to punish such things. Even if their pretended Legislature had passed laws to govern the people by, there would have been more excuse for their conduct; but to resist all laws is a wrong for which I can find no excuse, particularly as the United States Courts are open to them for redress against such laws as are unconstitutional. Allow the doctrine that one party of irresponsible individuals may declare, without any further ceremony, the incompetency of a Legislature, and there is an end of all government. These men have not the excuse even of bad laws, for, at the time of forming their resolutions, there had been no laws passed. Of course they could not tell whether they would be good or bad at that time. Of all men, these Abolitionists have the least right to complain of fraud and violence; they were the first to commence it and arm in its defense.

Before the bill organizing the Territories was passed they denounced it as a swindle, and commenced organizing incorporated companies in a distant State for the purpose of defeating its provisions. And what was this swindle of which they so lustily complained? Nothing under Heaven but the giving the right to the people of the Territories to regulate their own domestic affairs; nothing more, nothing less. How that could be a fraud upon the free States is beyond my comprehension. It seems to me that the people of a Territory are just as capable of governing themselves after removing into a Territory as they were before so removing, and that they are just as likely to exercise that right justly, without the distant State of Massachusetts or the ministers of New England protesting in the name of Almighty God, as if they were the only righteous within the land capable of self-government. But they say this is a great scheme, gotten up by the South to increase slavery. I know not who got it up, nor do I care for what purpose it was gotten up; if it was right I am in favor of it. I do not believe in denouncing everything which an opponent may propose, nor am I willing to glorify anything which a professional philanthropist may propose, whether he chooses Seward or Sumner. But, acting on my independent manhood, I judge any measure for myself, favoring that which is right and opposing that which is wrong. What do I care, what ought any one care, about the intentions of either Sumner or Douglas, so far as the bill is concerned? Intention may be a test to try the merits of the men but not of the bill, as their intention can have nothing to do with its merits. A man may introduce a good bill from a bad motive; but that is no reason why anybody should oppose what is good. The bill should stand upon its own merits, not upon the honesty or dishonesty of the party which favors or opposes it. Testing the Kansas Bill upon this principle, and it will stand the test of an examination. But will this giving the right to regulate their own affairs to the Territories, increase slavery? If it will, then perhaps the opponents of the bill have some excuse for the course which they have pursued. Upon an examination of the debates, I find that the leading men who opposed, as well as those in favor of the bill, such as Everett on the one side, and Cass and Hunter on the other, admitted that slavery would not go into the Territory whether it was passed or not inasmuch as the climate and country was such that slavery could be more profitably employed further south. Again, by examining the census returns, it will be seen that in 1790, when the first enumeration was made, two-thirds of the slaves were north of the southern line of North

Caroline, and in 1860 there were near five hundred thousand less than one-half north of that line. In 1790, two-thirds of the whites in what is now called free States were north of Pennsylvania. In 1850 less than one-half were north of that line, clearly showing that both slave and free population is gradually working southward. It may be thought that the annexation of Louisiana, Florida and Texas may have caused this result, but they would have had but little effect, for Louisiana, Florida and Texas had less than one hundred thousand slaves altogether when they were annexed, the greater part of which came in with Texas. Under this law of emigration, even were there no other, there is no doubt but Kansas would have been a free State, nor is there now, unless the Black-Republicans shall succeed in their efforts to destroy the Union and reopen the slave-trade. Destroy the Union, and there is no law to prevent their importation, and there is no telling what State will not be a slave State.

It is well known that slave labor seeks employment upon that kind of products which seek a foreign market—such as cotton, sugar, rice and the other tropical productions; it, therefore, will naturally tend to the Gulf, where they have plenty of land to employ the slaves and their increase for a hundred years; and at the same time the whites, having taken up the cheap lands upon the lakes, are driven almost exclusively to seek them upon the navigable rivers in the West and North-west, among which lands Kansas is most accessible after Iowa, thus proving, beyond even a contingency, that Kansas would have been a free State without any assistance from the pretended friends of freedom. They have done nothing to make it a free State, but, on the contrary, done everything they could to endanger its freedom, as I will show by and by. But even admit, what has been proved not to be true, that the Kansas Bill endangered the freedom of Kansas, and still there was no good reason for refusing the voters the right to regulate their own affairs—for the spreading of slavery did not increase it, as Jefferson well said when he opposed the course pursued in 1820 by the North, but rather obviates the evil, inasmuch as it places it more directly under the influence of a wholesome public opinion. Where there are but few slaves and many freemen, a master dare not abuse his slave with the same impunity he could in a community where there were more slaves and fewer freemen. This has been the universal experience of history. If any one doubts the correctness of the statement, let him compare the history of the immense slave population of the West Indies with the slavery of the United States, and he can no longer doubt upon that point. Nor will the extent of territory increase the number of slaves, for there is room enough within the present slave States to support the increase of the slaves for more than a hundred years, and then not be half so much crowded as the free States would be. Let any one take the extent of territory embraced within the United States, and compare it with the increase of the whites and blacks, and he can come to no other conclusion. I know it is said if you increase the demand they will breed faster, and that by giving them more territory you increase the demand. This is an assumption utterly untrue in every particular, so long as there is more land than they can occupy, which is and will be the case for a hundred years with reference to the slaves. If that position was true, then from 1810 to 1820 there ought to have been a greater increase per cent. than from 1820 to 1830, after slavery was cut off from all the country west of the Mississippi above 36 30; whereas just the reverse was the fact, notwithstanding the annexation of Florida in 1819.

The truth of the matter is, the slaves have increased just as fast as nature would allow, and they would not increase any faster if the whole continent was annexed, unless they were imported.

For these reasons, together with many others which might be given, it would appear that the Kansas Bill was not a swindle upon the North, nor was it a scheme calculated to extend the influence

of slavery; and if so, what excuse can there be for the tremendous denunciations which have been hurled against it? What excuse can distant States have for organizing immense moneyed corporations for the purpose of controlling the election of a distant Territory? Admit the principle which these emigrant aid companies assume, and in less than five years all harmony between the States will cease. Suppose Pennsylvania were to incorporate a company for the purpose of inducing persons to go to New York to control the elections there, would any man, even of the Black-Republicans in that State, be willing to submit to such an influence? And yet there is no difference in principle. It was this wrong of the Emigrant Aid Society which produced the hostile feeling upon the part of the citizens of Missouri. Had the Abolitionists not commenced importing voters, the Missourians would never have tried the same game. Both were wrong, but the one who commenced the wrong had little right to complain of the persons who beat them at their own game. When they were beat at their own game they made a tremendous complaint about fraud, &c. I do not attempt to justify the fraud of the Missourians so far as the honest *bona fide* settler was concerned. He undoubtedly had been wronged by both parties. But the imported men had no right to complain. When they found that their attempt to palm one wrong upon the *bona fide* settlers had not resulted as they expected, these same Emigrant Aid men, acting under the direction of the agent of that society, commenced organizing a military force for the purpose of perpetrating a far greater wrong upon the honest, peaceable citizens of the Territory; and they, by the assistance of their allies, the disunionists of the South, have but too well succeeded in their scheme.

They, the Abolitionists, the disunionists of the North, determined there should be no law in the Territory except that of force, and armed for the purpose of resisting all other law. What greater crime could they have committed against the quiet citizens than in the first place to attempt to control their elections by means of foreign money corporations, and when they found that they had failed in that, because another foreign influence determined to neutralize their action, had usurped the right, then to declare that there should be no law in the Territory for the protection of life or liberty? And yet that was the position of these very men who make such long and loud complaints about force and violence, who have enlisted the sympathies of so many preachers, who, forsaking the example of Him who founded the Christian religion, have turned crusaders, preaching Sharp's rifles, and the blessings of fraternal strife. That these are the men who are the great wrong-doers is evident from the fact that there have been no difficulties in the Territory, excepting such portions as have been under the influence of these Emigrant Aid men. These men, who organized to allow no law but that of force, acting, as it were, in concert with the disunion Abolitionists proceeded to make some most extraordinary laws which could not be enforced. I have said the disunion Abolitionists, sometimes known as Black-Republicans, and the disunion slavery men were allies, both endeavoring to destroy the rights of the honest settler in Kansas; and so they are—both are endeavoring to destroy the Union. To do this they must engender bitter feelings and hatred between the two sections of the country, and nothing can do this more effectually than by keeping up the strife in the Territories.

They are ready to do anything which will further their object; but why this same desire by those apparently hostile factions? Because the extreme pro-slavery men, thinking that the North has an inclination to legislate for the commercial advantage of the North at the expense of the North; besides, say they, the North is constantly gaining in strength upon the South, and will continue to do so as long as the Union lasts, they having the right to increase their population by immigration, while we of the South cannot import a corresponding population of slaves, and with

this increase of strength the North is constantly inclined to interfere more and more with the slaves and commerce of the South. On the other hand, the disunionists of the North consist of two kinds—the one who really thinks what the English emissaries have told him, that if the Union was dissolved, slavery could not exist; for either the slaves would rise against their masters and assert their freedom, or else the Northern men would steal them away. The other kind is a sly, cunning kind of mortal, who would assume any garb which would pay best; anything to gratify his desires; and yet he would have the world believe that he is one of the most humane, disinterested persons in the world. Under pretense of relieving his soul from the sin of slavery, which corrodes and blackens his pure and tender conscience, so long as he lives under a federation, one of whose members has laws which recognize slavery. One does all in his power to destroy the Union, well knowing that if that was once destroyed there would be no law against reopening the slave-trade, and he, poor, tender soul, would again be enabled to embark in buying and then selling poor heathens to Christian masters; besides, if he could be enabled to embark freely in this traffic, sugar, cotton, coffee, and other tropical productions would be so much cheaper at the North! Such are the real genuine English and New England disunionists. It is their interest to reopen the slave-trade. The American Union stands in the way of that interest, and they are determined to destroy it. They will stop at nothing which will engender strife between the North and South. The Black-Republicans are now their hope. If they can succeed in breaking up the only national party now remaining they think their selfish objects are nearly accomplished.

I fear I have extended this entirely too much already. I had intended to have given you a description of the country, but will put that off for another letter. The Revolutionists are to assemble at Topeka on the 4th of July, when it is expected the troubles will again commence, there being comparative quiet at present. Some say Colonel Sumner will disperse the Topeka gathering with force; others say not. A. L. O.

RICHMOND WHIG.
SATURDAY MORNING, JULY 12, 1856.

Who Did It?

Through whose special agency was the bill for the admission of Kansas as a free State, under the Topeka Constitution, passed by the House of Representatives? Who is responsible for it? What party? Who did the deed? Is the Fillmore party or the Buchanan party the guilty party in this matter? The record answers that upon the Buchanan party rests all the blame? To this simple but significant fact, we call the attention of the Southern people.

To show where the blame rests, for the passage of the Kansas free State bill, we cite the following brief, but faithful, account of the proceedings on the subject from the New York Herald. Speaking of this bill, it says:

"Our readers will remember that when first brought to the question of its passage, it was lost by one vote—yeas 100, nays 101—very much to the consternation of the free State party. The report of the Kansas investigating committee, however, at this point fell among the Northern Democracy of the House like a bomb-shell; and, according to our correspondent, Mr. Barclay, of Pennsylvania, a "strong Buchanan man"—felt the necessity of immediately taking the back track. He had voted against this bill admitting Kansas as a free State, and by his vote the bill had been lost; but with a night's reflection upon the proceedings going on in the Senate, and upon the astounding facts brought home by the Kansas committee, Mr. Barclay moved a reconsideration of the final vote upon the House bill. There was an instantaneous rebellion against this motion by the Southern Democrats; but it carried the reconsideration, and thus the original judgment of the House was reversed, and the bill passed by a vote of 101 to 99.

It was Mr. Barclay's re-consideration that did this business."

Sure enough! It was Mr. Barclay, of Pennsylvania, a strong, zealous, uncompromising Buchanan man, who "did this business." He had voted against the bill on its passage. A night's sleep convinced him of his error and changed his opinions utterly. Consequently, immediately after the House met the next morning, he moved a re-consideration. The motion to re-consider was carried, and the bill for the admission of Kansas, as a free State, was carried amid the wildest exultations of the Black Republicans.

This foul deed was done by Mr. Barclay, of Pennsylvania—by (Heaven save the mark!) a national Democrat—by an ardent friend and supporter of Buchanan—by one of the immortal "seventy-four" that sustained Richardson for the Speakership, and that have been held up to the South; and lauded as splendid specimens of Democracy, "pure and undefiled."

But why this sudden change of front on the part of the Buchananized Barclay? Why his vote against the bill one day, and his hasty and mysterious motion to re-consider it on the next? Why? Because the Democracy saw that the loss of that bill—a bill admitting Kansas as a free State—would operate terrible mischief to Buchanan's prospects in all the Northern States! And so they consulted and caucused together on that night, and they determined to prevent disaster to Buchanan and the party, by making Barclay—a Buchanan man—get up in the House, early the next morning, and move for a re-consideration. This motion being made by a Buchanan man, it could be argued at the North, during the entire campaign, that the free State bill for Kansas was saved in the House by the friends of Buchanan. And the Southern Democrats, who voted both against the bill and the motion to re-consider, would come home and swear that Barclay had forfeited his right to be considered a Democrat, and was denounced as such by the whole Democratic brotherhood. We have no doubt, ourselves, that Barclay acted in strict accordance with the wishes and suggestions of a caucus of his party, North and South. It was necessary to try to save Buchanan in Pennsylvania and the North, and hence, the Democracy, forgetting the South and thinking only of party success, concluded to force the passage of the bill for the admission of Kansas as a free State.

We invite Southern attention to this ugly and significant fact. It shows the double game which the Democratic party mean to play in the present canvass. In the North, they are running Buchanan upon the ground that he is favorable to free Kansas. In the South, he is held up to us by some of his friends as a better Southern man than R. M. T. Hunter. If he is not a good enough Abolitionist for the North, it is argued by his friends in that region, why should Martin Van and the Prince and Old Bullion, and so many other eminent free-soilers, be supporting him? We confess the argument thus employed is a clincher. No Abolitionist, however astute he may be, can get around it. It is a regular bruiser. It at once silences all objections to old Buck on the part of the Black Republicans. These latter feel perfectly safe. It makes no difference with them whether Buchanan or Fremont is elected. Either will answer their purposes well enough. Both believe that Congress possesses unlimited power over the subject of slavery in the Territories. Both are eager for Kansas to be admitted as a free State, under the Topeka Constitution. And of the two, Buchanan is the more acceptable to all true Abolitionists, because he will be guided and controlled by the counsels of MARTIN VAN BUREN! For fifteen years under the weather, MARTIN VAN BUREN is once more at the top of the ladder, and is again the chieftain of the great Democratic party of the country! Long may he wave!

The Daily Picayune.

LUMSDEN, KENDALL & CO.

SATURDAY MORNING, JULY 12, 1856
The Vote on the Kansas Bill.

The following is an analysis by States of the vote in the House of Representatives on the Kansas bill, "the Black Republican" project for the adoption of the proceedings of the Anti-Slavery Convention at Topeka:

The whole number of members of the House is 231. There is a vacancy in Missouri, caused by the death of Mr. Miller, and another in Virginia, by the death of Thomas H. Bayly; and Mr. Herbert, of California, is in prison on a charge of murder. The aggregate vote cast on the bill is 197, leaving therefor thirty-four absent, or otherwise unaccounted for. Judging from the closeness of the calculation, and the great interest of the vote, it is probable that these thirty-four have paired off, and that if present they would make no material difference in the result.

Taking the vote as cast, it will be seen that all the slave States voted unanimously against the bill, and that California gave the only free State vote with them. Florida, with one Representative, did not vote. Of the free States thirteen voted for the bill, one (California) against it, and two (Iowa and Illinois) were divided. The general result is, fifteen States against the bill, thirteen for it, two divided, and one not voting.

If the House had been full, every member voting, it is probable the vote would have been sixteen States against the bill, fifteen for it, and Iowa divided.

Fifty-nine of the hundred votes cast in favor of the bill were from the three Middle States of New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio.

An important deduction from this calculation is, that the Black Republicans will find it difficult to command a majority of votes by States should the Presidential election come into the House of Representatives. The analysis in this table does not show the party division in regard to other candidates, but simply the power of concentration which exists against Black Republicanism:

FREE STATES.		SLAVE STATES.		
	Yeas	Nays		
Massachusetts.....	8	00	Delaware.....	00
Maine.....	4	1	Maryland.....	00
New Hampshire.....	3	00	Virginia.....	00
Vermont.....	3	00	North Carolina.....	00
Rhode Island.....	3	00	South Carolina.....	00
Connecticut.....	1	00	Georgia.....	00
New York.....	25	6	Florida.....	00
New Jersey.....	2	00	Alabama.....	00
Pennsylvania.....	17	6	Louisiana.....	00
Ohio.....	17	1	Texas.....	00
Michigan.....	3	1	Mississippi.....	00
Indiana.....	6	3	Arkansas.....	00
Illinois.....	3	3	Tennessee.....	00
Wisconsin.....	2	00	Kentucky.....	00
Iowa.....	1	1	Missouri.....	00
California.....	00	1		
	100	23		71

RECAPITULATION.	
	Yeas
Free States.....	100
Slave States.....	00
	100

(From the Christian Engineer, July 12.)

The Kansas Resolutions in the Western Conference.
Not having been present at the meetings of the Western Conference at Chicago, and having access only to the imperfect newspaper reports of its discussions, we have not been able clearly to see why it should have refused to pass the resolutions condemnatory of the outrages upon liberty in Kansas and at Washington. We have, to be sure, no great faith in, or esteem for resolutions, whether of caucuses or conferences. We think it would be better at all our religious conventions, to have simply the discussion of topics and the statement of individual opinions. It is hard to frame resolutions to which any number of men can conscientiously subscribe; and the attempt to do it generally leads to a periphrasis of words that may mean almost anything and therefore, practically mean nothing. But it does not appear that it was any objection of this sort that weighed with those who opposed the resolution introduced at Chicago. The rules of the Convention, it seems, require a unanimous vote. But there was but one mind as to the sentiments involved in the resolutions. The objectors hastened to declare their individual condemnation of the outrages. The clerical objectors hastened to proclaim their anti-slavery fidelity and boldness of speech at home in their own pulpits. They only objected to having the united voice of the Conference say what, as individuals, they all said. And why? the question recurs. We can gather no better answer from the reported speech than this. That the resolutions were out of place at a religious meeting; that their passage would disturb the harmony of the Conference, destroy its usefulness, weaken its influence, and injure the cause of Unitarianism.

best of the law and order party of Kansas. If I am correctly informed four of them are citizens of Missouri—Atchinson, of Platte City; Russell, of Lexington; Boone of Westport, and Stringfellow of Weston; Anderson, doubtful, and Buford an itinerant lecturer and champion of Alabama. Any light you can throw upon the subject will afford pleasure to your readers.

KANSAS.

[Our correspondent is correct in his conjecture. The persons named are well known residents of Missouri, and have no more right to interfere in the affairs of Kansas than in those of Illinois or any neighboring State.—Ed. DEM.]

FROM KANSAS.

Correspondence of the St. Louis Republican, July 14.

PALESTINE, K. T., July 8, 1856.

Mr. Robert Ewing has just passed through in great haste for St. Joseph, to give information to Major Baldwin, agent of the Kickapoo Nation, that that tribe have had a serious difficulty among themselves, and that several of them were slain, and that his personal presence and authority would be necessary to quell the excitement. This people, who have been considered more orderly and steady than any other along the frontier, have suffered in morals and habits from the pernicious influences of certain white men, who, under the protection of licenses to vend liquors, have located their dens upon the confines of the Indian reservations, and have used many arts to seduce that already too susceptible people into dissipation and excesses. The Indian agents have forbidden them to come within the confines of the Indian domain, and before the settlement of Kansas by the whites, were able to keep them entirely out of the country; but since the tribes are hemmed within narrow boundaries, with licensed white men all around them, the utmost vigilance cannot prevent communication and illicit traffic.

Not long since the Kickapoos received their annuities, and many of them came here, and went to St. Joseph for their supplies of groceries, flour, &c., and although abounding in gold, they continued sober, and behaved with great decorum; but on their return to their home, which is now upon the Grasshopper, some fifty miles distant, they met these sharpers, who laid snares for them and got their money and loaded them with liquor, and sent them away reeling and furious with excitement. If you have never seen a drunken Indian, you can form no conception of his frantic wildness. Reason is utterly destroyed and the worst passions run riot. They yell and leap and run, and roll upon the ground, and often tear themselves and beat each other. These Indians reached their home in that condition. The old men who had remained to keep the wigwams in their absence, endeavored to restrain them; but they flew upon them like wild beasts and tore them to pieces. The son fought his father, and brother attacked brother. Worse than furious beasts, they knew no ties of consanguinity, and the nearest bonds were fiercely broken in the death struggle, by hands that should have tenderly preserved them. It is hoped that their store of liquors is exhausted, or that Maj. Baldwin will soon reach there and stop the unnatural and horrible warfare. The chief of this tribe told me not long ago, that he had never had trouble with his young men, until white men came among them.

Your excellent paper has brought us the substance of Douglas's bill, as it passed the Senate. We endorse it cordially, and think that no member should object to a suspension of the rules, so that it should pass the House, become a law and go into effect at once. We need relief. Have Kansas settled, and it would become populous and wealthy in a very short time. In our portion of the Territory, where we have no disturbances, there are already some highly improved farms, and our wheat and oat crops are equal to any in old Lancaster county, Pa., while our corn is as promising as that of the great Platte purchase of Missouri.

P.S.—I open this letter to say that Col. Greiner has just got in and informed me that Lane is actually on his way into the Territory with several hundred men, and that he heard him say he would take Kansas or die. So we may look for further news in a day or two. He says Lane was highly excited, and seemed wild with desperation, and talked like a madman. I have also just learned that Harding and Jamison, delegates from this county to the Topeka Legislature, returned to their homes this evening. In haste,

B. F. Stringfellow, and J. Buford. We are sorry that we have not the space to give the whole document to our readers, but must content ourselves with a few extracts. Here is the beginning of the "Appeal" stating the issues presented to the people by the contest in Kansas:

"The undersigned, at a recent meeting of the party, were constituted a committee, charged, among other things, with the publication of this address:

That a state of insurrection and civil war exists among us, is abundantly evident.—The Law and Order party on the one side, opposed on the other by the Abolitionists, who are backed up and sustained by the Emigrant Aid Societies of the North. A brief review of the points at issue, and their controlling circumstances, may be useful to justify this, our appeal for aid. In Territorial politics, the question of free or slave State has swallowed up every other. The Abolitionists on the one hand, in accordance with their early teaching, regard slavery as the greatest possible evil—they deem it a monstrous national evil, which their fabled theories of government impute equally to every portion of the confederacy, and thus feeling themselves individually responsible for its existence, they feel bound to struggle for its overthrow: to such extremes have wicked demagogues stimulated their fanaticism, that their perverted consciences justify any mode of warfare against slaveholders, however much in violation of law, however destructive of property or human life, and however atrociously wicked it may seem to others; nay, many of them, already go so far as to oppose all religion, property, law, order and subordination among men as subsversive of what they are pleased to call man's natural and inherent equality. And with them it is no mere local question of whether slavery shall exist in Kansas or not, but one of far wider significance; a question of whether it shall exist anywhere in the Union. Kansas they justly regard as the mere outpost in the war now being waged between the antagonistic civilizations of the North and the South; and winning this great outpost and stand-point, they rightly think their march will be open to an easy conquest of the whole field. Hence the extraordinary means the Abolition party has adopted to flood Kansas with the most fanatical and lawless portion of Northern society; and hence the large sums of money they have expended to surround their brother Missourians with obnoxious and dangerous neighbors.

On the other hand, the pro-slavery element of the "Law and Order" party in Kansas, looking to the Bible, find slavery ordained of God; they find there, as by our law, slaves made "an inheritance to them and their children forever." Looking to our national census, and to all statistics connected with the African race, and considering too their physical, intellectual and moral nature, we see that slavery is the African's normal and proper state; since in that state that race multiplies faster, has more physical comforts, with less vice and more moral and intellectual progress than in any other. We believe slavery the only school in which the debased son of Ham, by attrition with a higher race can be refined and elevated: we believe it a trust and guardianship given us of God for the good of both races.

Without sugar, cotton and cheap clothing, can civilization maintain its progress—can these be supplied without slavery? Nay, in the absence of slave institutions, must not social distinctions supervene among the free, to the detriment of republican equality? This is no mere property question, but a great social and political question of races. It is not a question of whether A or B shall be owner, but of whether the slave, still having a master, shall still be a working bee and not an idle drone in the hive."

Now we ask every candid man—particularly Buchanan men—in the North—to read

the above over again and weigh well every word of it and dissect every sentence.—And while they do this let them remember that while the Kansas Nebraska bill was before Congress, every Southern as well as Northern member who favored its passage in any speech, solemnly declared that Slavery could never go to Kansas, that the climate and soil was unfit for it, and no attempt would, of course, be made to force it upon any territory. It was only by these repeated assurances that the bill was passed, as well as by labeling it with the sweet name to every Republican ear, of popular sovereignty. Let them remember too, that every man whose name appears signed to the above "Appeal" is in favor of Buchanan for the Presidency and most of them were in the Cincinnati Convention, urging his nomination—that Atchison and Stringfellow have been the leaders of the Kansas invasions and the promoters of outrages there by Missourians—that they urged on the ruffian forces at the sack of Lawrence and battered down and burned and plundered houses simply because their owners believed in the promises of the getters up of the Kansas bill, that Kansas was to be a free State and that they were at liberty to help make it so. These are facts apparent to all the world, which stand upon record from the date of the introduction of the Kansas bill by Douglas, down to the last murder committed in Kansas because the people would not submit to the coercion of a foreign State.

How, then, in the name of all that is just to the fame and interest of our common humanity and country, can a man, educated in a free State, and knowing the blessings of freedom, be brought to support such an utter perversion of his nature, as that party which inaugurates such a system and teaches such doctrines as the above "Appeal" sets forth, by voting with its getters up, for James Buchanan? We hold that no man who understands the issue can do it and preserve a clear record of his conduct to his country or render a clear account to his God.

But there are some things in the extract which pervert the truth and which require answering in order.

The Free State men do not consider Slavery a monstrous national evil, and as such, consider themselves responsible for its existence to the extent of creating uncalled for agitation for its overthrow in the States as above charged. It is a bare-faced misrepresentation and a begging of the whole question, for the infamous purpose of stirring up bad blood in the South to make such a charge. But the Free State men do believe Slavery to be a monstrous local evil protected and kept up only by local or State laws and they are determined that such laws shall not override the national Constitution and extend that evil into national territories. For this we each, as citizens of the Union, do hold ourselves responsible and are bound to stand up and fight against it to the last—especially when a solemn covenant was broken with us on the subject, under the seal of sacred promises which have never been kept, but which are already reversed as the policy of the above "Appeal" sets forth. Not only is Kansas now declared to be fit for Slavery in soil and climate, but a system of foreign

WEEKLY ADVERTISER.

OFFICIAL COUNTY PAPER.

D. P. WHARTON, Editor.

CITY OF ROCK ISLAND:

Monday Morning, July 14, 1856.

A PRECIOUS DOCUMENT.

One of the most refreshing documents of the times, appears in the St. Louis Republican of the 10th inst. It is entitled an "Appeal by the Law and Order Party of Kansas Territory to their Friends in the South," and is signed by David R. Atchinson, W. H. Russell, Jos. C. Anderson, A. G. Boone,

invasion and infamous and despotic laws inaugurated thereby, are attempted to be enforced to introduce it, and free men are already in prison under them for constructive treason and many have been murdered in their name, property destroyed and stolen and a general reign of terror given us for the breaking of that forever plighted compact and those promises made to us in its stead. And now we are charged with a war upon Slavery as a national institution to cover up and justify all these infamies, when we have never considered it, neither by the construction of our statesmen, or our supreme courts, of the Constitution, anything but a local evil, and as such which we are bound to confine if possible to its present localities. For the guaranteed rights of those localities or States where that evil does exist, to maintain it if they wish, we are bound by our relation to them, to, and will fight, if necessary; but for our own guaranteed rights under the Constitution to prohibit that evil in our national territories, we are equally bound to, and will fight, to the death, if called upon.— While we maintain the rights of all the States to legislate for themselves on this evil, we shall be recreant to every attribute of duty if we do not also maintain our own national rights under that Constitution as construed by those who framed it and by our Supreme Courts. D. R. Atchison & Co. are welcome to their own opinion in regard to the danger of allowing freemen to settle in territories open to settlement adjoining Slave States, but if they continue to attempt to prohibit it by such action as they have taken in this free country—by forcibly driving back, by rapine and plunder and murder,—they may yet have an opportunity of testing the virtues of some of their own native hemp when applied as a corrective. If such men are allowed to dictate to freemen as good as they, where and in what territories they shall settle, then we shall have passed from a free government into a state of anarchy in which the Constitutional liberties of our citizens are not worth a straw and when a revolution, even if it must be effected by Sharp's rifles and hemp, is our bounden duty.

D. R. Atchison & Co. are also welcome to their opinion about the Bible sanctioning Slavery and the proper place for the negro, and to extol the blessings of such a system, but why do they not tell us of the curse of indolence and tyrannical nature which it entails upon our own race. Why do they not balance accounts with the negro in this particular and see which has the advantage of the bargain. While we of the free States are satisfied that the negro should develop his energies and nature as much as possible, we see that in proportion as the white race is unemployed and undeveloped it degenerates, and its progress suffers greatly—too greatly to make the sacrifice of extending negro servitude a blessing. In proof of this we only ask a comparison of the progress of the Slave and Free States in all that makes a people great. The intelligent labor of one white man is worth more to himself and his race, morally and physically, than the indolently or severely directed labor of a thousand negroes. This is good sense, sustained by practical experience, which is worth more to humanity than all the abstractions in support of Slavery which could ever be

hatched up, anywhere by all the men of the Atchison stamp which have ever existed from the days of Hann down to the invasion of Kansas in 1856.

This precious "Appeal" after stating the issue then goes on to indict the Free State people of Kansas as follows:

Thus radical and marked the difference in theory between the two parties, and not less so, their difference in practice; while we in good faith sustain and uphold the laws, the Abolitionists, on the other hand, in effect repudiate and set them at defiance. With open disloyalty they assert the invalidity of the Territorial laws, while they render our national insignia only the mockery of a hollow respect—indeed, more than once they have openly resisted the Marshal in the service of processes, and in some places their organized armed resistance to the Territorial laws is so overwhelming, that ministers of the law there never attempt the discharge of their official duties: they have repudiated payment of taxes, and have held and published the proceedings of large public meetings, in which they resolved to resist, even to blood, the Territorial law, and especially the laws for the collection of public revenue.

Circumstances would have allowed George III. to have made precisely a similar complaint against the colonies after their Declaration of Independence. It is sufficiently proved that the Territorial Laws spoken of were passed by a legislature of men from a foreign State elected by the citizens of that foreign State to rule over the people of Kansas territory. Taking this into consideration let any man read the declaration of Independence, with the events in Kansas as they are proved upon record, and he will find that there is scarcely a count in that celebrated indictment against that treacherous monarch, which may not be applied with equal force to the Legislature which passed the territorial laws of Kansas and the Federal Government. If "resistance to tyrants was obedience to God," at that time it is none the less so in this case. And none but those who would have been Tories in that day can help sympathizing with the people of Kansas now. This is all the answer necessary on that subject.

But we have not space to comment further on the "Appeal." After telling a quantity of incredible and inflammatory lies about the outrages of the Free State party, and the Congressional Kansas Investigation Committee, the report proceeds.— We extract from the conclusion to indicate its advised policy as follows:

It is but too evident the troops cannot enable our friends to maintain their ground in any part of the Territory where the Abolition element is in the ascendant: notwithstanding, we assure our friends that, after the most diligent enquiry and attention to that point, we firmly believe that our party has a well established, decided and increasing majority of actual settlers in the Territory. This majority, however, we do not believe can be maintained unless something be done to give confidence to our friends where they are few and weak in number: this can only be done by colonizing large settlements together, under one common head with absolute control. Let, say, from one to three hundred Agriculturists, Mechanics and Laborers, so settle together, in some suitable point, to be indicated by the undersigned, or some other committee charged with the general interests of this party. This can be lawfully safely and efficiently done. By this means the Territory can be saved, and we say this too notwithstanding we are in possession of very convincing evidence to this fact that the Abolitionists of the North intend, during the coming month, to introduce large numbers of their

tended government into operation by force.

These measures of mutual defence and future progress, however, require means and demand aid from our friends abroad. The Colonists should be subsisted a reasonable time, and each individual furnished with adequate agricultural or mechanical outfit, so there can be no want of settlers coming and remaining at the points where they are most needed. Funds are required and for these we call upon our Southern friends—upon all having a common interest, or a love of equal State Rights, or of a Union based on true fraternity. * * *

Send us men and means, we must have your help. Appoint agents, responsible, trusty, reliable men, for every State district and neighborhood, whose sole business shall be to canvass for aid. Did we know suitable persons who would not hesitate to appoint them all over the country. Let our friends send their names with details as to character and qualification, and we will duly accredit them.

Friends of the cause must contribute their aid according to their several gifts. We must not meanly abandon our birthright, and without a struggle, yield to grasping monopoly this fairest Eden of our common domain—this land of flowing brook and fertile plain. Kansas is indeed the garden spot of America; in every way adapted to Southern institutions: in no other part of the Union is slave labor so profitable: and in the present imperilled state of our civilization, if we do not maintain this outpost, we cannot long defend the citadel. Then rally to the rescue.

The Ottawa Kansas Settlers.

The Alton Courier of Monday publishes the following account of the treatment received by the emigrants from Ottawa to Kansas:

Another company of Illinoisans were rough; back from Leavenworth on Saturday, and were landed below the mouth of the Missouri river, at a wood yard. They were from Ottawa, and numbered sixteen when they started. They complain of very rough handling, and four of their number were left behind in the confusion of their forcible re-embarkation. Among the missing is William Strawn, the son of Jacob Strawn the prince of Illinois farmers. This company succeeded in making a landing at Leavenworth, and in landing a part of their goods at that place. They appealed for protection from Russian violence to the United States troops at Fort Leavenworth.— The troops reached the landing just as the boat was forced out by order of the border ruffians.

These emigrants had with them the implements of husbandry, and their object was peaceable settlement. A full statement will be published here after. Some of our citizens became responsible for the necessities of the company, as they were destitute. Our readers can draw their own conclusions. The above are facts.

DAILY TRIBUNE.
CITY OF CHICAGO.
Monday Morning, July 14, 1856

CAMPAIGN TRIBUNE.
FREE SPEECH, FREE MEN, FREE KANSAS
Legislation of Buchanan's Friends in Regard to Foreign Emigrants.
For what reason is it that Mr. Douglas' bill, providing a new constitution for Kansas, disfranchises the emigrants from the Old World? The Journal of Commerce this morning answers the question in this manner. After observing that the bill requires a residence of three months in all persons who shall vote for the delegates to the Kansas Convention, the Journal proceeds:

"The bill goes a step further than this, and a step further than has been usual, by restricting the right to vote to citizens of the United States. It has been the policy of the new States in the West to encourage immigration, on the part of foreigners, by allowing them to vote after six months' or a year's residence, whether citizens or not; and the power has been long exercised under organic provisions of their State constitutions. This arrangement has been highly beneficial to the growth of new States, and has had the effect to thin the ranks of this species of population on the seaboard, where it would be hurtful, and to turn the new emigrant into a useful cultivator of the soil. Had the bill in question conformed to this policy, a few foreigners might have been induced, before their right of citizenship had become complete, to aid in subduing the wilderness—for such Kansas is and will long continue to be—to the uses of man. But the change which the bill makes in this respect in the policy which has prevailed at the West, is doubtless recommended by the certainty that in no other form could it obtain the votes of the American party in either branch of the Legislature. Under the circumstances, it was therefore wise and judicious."

Wrong in itself, but "wise and judicious" because it conciliates the good will of the Know Nothings. The policy of allowing persons to vote in the early elections of a territory after six months' or a year's residence, whether their right of citizenship is complete or not, is admitted by the *Journal* to be beneficial both to the territory and to the older parts of the country, but this beneficial policy, consecrated by long practice, and never attended with any injurious consequences, is all at once set aside for the sake of forming a combination with the Nativists to carry the bill through the House of Representatives. It is a device to promote what in modern language is called a "fusion" of the friends of Buchanan with those of Fillmore, for the purpose of getting the Kansas quarrel out of the way till next December, when the competition for the Presidency will have been decided. The Buchanan party are in a hurry for this arrangement, and the Irish and German emigrants being in the way, they sacrifice them without scruple.

But there is another reason for this provision in the bill, on which the *Journal of Commerce*, does not touch. The emigrants from the Old World, like those from the free States, are hostile to the introduction of slavery into the territories. An Irish settler, or a German does not willingly take his place as a laborer in a community in which labor is a badge of servitude and degradation. By taking from the residents of this class the privilege of voting, Mr. Douglas and his confederates get rid of so many free State voters. They are saved the trouble of driving them out, or stopping them on the frontier. Pass this bill and then if the emigrant on his way to Kansas is found to speak with the pure Irish brogue, as if fresh from the island, or if he can only speak German, he may safely be allowed to pass; he will do no mischief; he is no voter. For this reason likewise, no doubt, the *Journal of Commerce*, though prudently silent on that point, regards the exclusion of the resident of foreign birth from the right of voting as "wise and judicious."

It is a remarkable proof, however, of the regard which the Pro-Slavery party has for the rights of foreign born residents. A little while since that party was pelting the Nativists with all manner abusive epithets—the language could hardly supply words to express its abhorrence of their tenets. Now, for the sake of passing a bill, the object of which is to introduce slavery into the territories, it departs from the time-honored usages of legislation, and concedes to the Nativists all they ask. What will be the next step? To pass some other bill, it may by the same rule, make a residence of twenty-one years a necessary qualification for the voters of foreign birth. "In no other form," the *Journal of Commerce* will stand ready to say, "could it obtain the votes of the American party," and therefore the alteration of the naturalization laws was "wise and judicious."

"Wise and judicious," because it obtains votes! A new test in legislation is introduced. According to this, we inquire no longer whether a measure is just and beneficent, but whether it strengthens the party, whether it purchases votes. That course which procures us new allies, whether it be right or wrong, is "wise," that concession which buys votes for a favorite measure is "judicious," however liberal or even profligate.

One thing is clear, Buchanan is attempting to bid as high as Fillmore for the support of the American party, or at least high enough to

get their votes. The *Journal of Commerce* is one of the organs of his friends, and its confession that the foreigners were thrown overboard to propitiate the American party, is worthy of being put on record and held up to the public attention.—*N. Y. Post*, 18th.

The Four Years' Race.

TUNE—"FEW DAYS."

The four years' race is to be run,
In a few days, a few days,
By Slavery's back it can't be won,
Oh! take "Buck" home.
"Buck's" wind was hurt on the Federal track,
In his young days, his young days,
And Slavery's load has strained his back,
Oh! take him home.
For Freedom's colt is training,
For a few days, a few days,
He'll run without spur or rein,
Oh! take "Buck" home.
"Old Buck" has fed at the public rack
So many days, so many days,
When he ought to trot he's sure to rack,
Oh! take him home.
A hack that's fed on Federal oats
Will find too late, find too late,
It ain't the fit for winning votes,
Oh! take him home.
For Freedom's colt is training, &c.
'Tis cruel to run so old a hack,
In a few days, in a few days,
His shoes are loose, no spine in his back,
Oh! take "Buck" home.
Our Free Mountain colt will win the field,
In a few days, a few days,
And Slavery's notions will have to yield,
Oh! take them home.
For we've a colt in training, &c.
Next November when we get the news,
In a few days, a few days,
Take away his grain, pull off his shoes,
And send him home.
Poor old hack, we'll send him to grass
In a few days, a few days,
On a Michigan prairie with old Cass,
Oh! take him home.
For we've a colt in training, &c.
A bachelor President was ne'er seen yet
In our days, in our days,
And what is more, won't be I'll bet,
For he's a g'ing home.
Such a one-horse team would look forlorn,
In our days, in our days,
We'll give him "Jessie" as sure he's born—
Oh! do take him home.
For we've a colt in training, &c.

CHICAGO DAILY JOURNAL

R. L. WILSON, } Editors.
C. L. WILSON, }

MONDAY EVENING, JULY 14, 1856.

THE ROCK ISLAND BRIDGE—Immediate action of our Board of Trade is demanded by the state of things in regard to this fearful nuisance. A letter was shown us yesterday addressed to the Marine Association of this city, dated St. Louis, July 7, informing them of the appointment of a Committee of five leading merchants of St. Louis, all men of influence and means, by the Chamber of Commerce of that city, to sue out an injunction against the Rock Island Bridge Company; that committee consisting of the following gentlemen, viz:—J. A. Brownlee, John J. Roe, D. A. January, George Prtridge, and R. M. V. Kerchival. The St. Louis Chamber ask the immediate and active co-operation of our merchants, steamboat owners and Board of Trade. Steps should at once be taken to direct the attention of our members of Congress to the subject.—*Pittsburgh Dispatch*.

While the leading merchants of St. Louis are exercising themselves on account of the obstruction to the navigation of the Mississippi River by the Bridge in question, they remain perfectly oblivious to the fact that the Missouri River, is not allowed to be navigated at all, by citizens of Illinois.

Here is an obstruction to navigation worthy of their notice and at their own doors. It is not like the offending Bridge, intended for the use of those who join in the march of Empire westward, but is shut up completely and wantonly.

Travelers on that national highway are arrested, robbed and sent back, and "merchants, steamboat owners and the Board of Trade of St. Louis" are as dumb as oysters about it.

We have no doubt, with the Missouri shut to the citizens of Illinois, and the bridge over the Mississippi pulled down, that our neighbors in St. Louis would rest easy for a while!

The *Daily Chicago Times*, does dispute and does emphatically deny that the administration, the Cincinnati convention, the democratic party, or the democratic candidates are all, or any of them, pledged to make Kansas a Slave State.—*Times*.

But the *Charleston Mercury*, the *Richmond Enquirer*, *Stringfellow's Squatter Sovereign*, and all other "democratic" or Border Ruffian organs at the South, declare that "all, or any of them" are "pledged to make Kansas a Slave State."—Gov. Wise also understands them to be so pledged. The *New York Herald*, long a Northern pro-Slavery "democratic" organ, gives its opinion decidedly that they are so pledged—And every intelligent man, at the North or at the South, who has ordinary political discrimination, knows that "the administration, the Cincinnati Convention, the democratic party, and the democratic candidate, are all pledged to make Kansas a Slave State."

Douglas and Richardson's penny organ may attempt to "dispute" or "deny" the fact; it is a fact, notwithstanding, and a most disgraceful one.

CAUGHT A TARTAR.—The Cincinnati *Enquirer* "pitched in" to the Rev. J. A. Gurley for taking an interest in politics.

That gentleman rebukes the editor in this wise:

Talk about preachers keeping silence when such damnable deeds are being committed under the name of law and order—when men are stricken down in the capitol of the nation for the expression of honest opinions, and the lash of the slave-driver is raised over their heads! Talk of silence when civil war rages on our frontiers, and the Republic itself is in peril! Why, sir, what sort of things do you take preachers to be? Dumb idols, stocks, stones, slaves, fools, or servants of the Devil!

Preacher or no preacher, sir, I would cry out against such iniquity, and spare not, though it should cost me my life! Although always a Jefferson and Jackson Democrat, (the first vote my father ever gave was for Jefferson) I say, down with the despotism and tyranny of the party now in power, or the liberties of the nation are gone.

I agree with you that it is beneath the dignity of the ministerial office to engage in politics when the object is the elevation of men and not principles of truth and justice. But any man who can keep silence when he knows what is going on in Kansas and Washington city, must have a heart of stone.

In conclusion, sir, I beg leave to say that because I love liberty and hate oppression, I dare to denounce the government at Washington as seeking the subjugation of an industrious and free people. For the declarations I make in public and private, I am alone responsible—not my religious associates and friends; and I hide myself under no robes of ministerial dignity. I ask to be treated as a freeman and citizen. That is all.

Yours, in all kindness,
JOHN A. GURLEY.

The people in the neighborhood of Wau-pun, Dodge Co., Wis., held a large meeting on the Fourth, and were addressed by S. M. Booth on the issues of the day, and in response to an appeal for Kansas, raised over a thousand dollars. The heart of the People beats warmly for Freedom everywhere.

The committee to raise money and equip crusaders for slavery to Kansas, reported to the citizens of Charleston, S. C., on the 13th inst., that they had received \$9,511, and spent "for the south" \$8,938. They had armed and shipped to Kansas 73 men.

Very Late from Kansas—Quick Trip of Col. Holliday—Convention at Topeka—Petition for Admission of Kansas—Dispersion of the Legislature—Prisoners at Leecompton—Business and Crops—Old Line Democracy for Fremont—New Bill of Douglas & Co.

Col. C. K. HOLLIDAY, of Topeka, Democrat and formerly of Meadville, Pennsylvania, a very intelligent, candid and influential citizen of Kansas, called on us this morning, having arrived Saturday evening direct from the Territory.—He made the trip from Topeka to this city in a little less than six days—and from Leavenworth City to Cleveland, in less than four days! This is bringing Kansas pretty close to our own doors.

Col. HOLLIDAY reports matters comparatively quiet when he left, with some fears, however, among the Leavenworth people of an outbreak at that place. He met with no interruption in coming down the Missouri river, though bodies of armed men were guarding two or three points in anticipation of the arrival up of the *Keystone State* with a company of Free State Kansas emigrants. The alarm of the River Regulators was probably without cause, as the Colonel did not meet the *Keystone State*, or hear from an authentic source that she had a company on board. He thinks single, prudent emigrants, can go up the River now, and land at Leavenworth without danger or serious interruption. The armed bodies of men on the watch, are supported by Atchison, Stringfellow & Co.

On the 2d of July, in answer to a circular signed by prominent Free State citizens, a Convention of Free State delegates was held at Topeka. This did little more than interchange views concerning Kansas affairs generally, and devise action for the grand Mass Convention of the 3rd of July. The Mass Convention was one of the largest and most enthusiastic ever held in Kansas, there being from fifteen hundred to two thousand persons present on the occasion. The Convention appointed a Committee to survey and construct a road from Topeka to Ft. Des Moines and Iowa City, via Nebraska City, and to petition Congress for the establishment of a daily mail route by this road. It is to be earnestly hoped that Congress will readily grant their prayer and forthwith establish this mail route, which is, unquestionably, of so much importance to the citizens of Kansas. By the 1st of August, immigration can take this new Road. The route is mainly through a prairie country, and the most that is needed to make a passable road, is to build a few bridges and grade some of the hills at the streams.

The Convention also determined to memorialize Congress, forthwith, on their grievances; and to petition, as the only method of redress, for the admission of Kansas into the Union with the present Constitution. It is thought that five thousand signers will be obtained to this petition in Kansas; and it is intended to confute Mr. Senator Pugh's position that but 719 persons in Kansas felt interested enough in the State organization to vote for the Constitution. We commend the Memorial to the attention of all persons who would understand the true condition of matters and public feeling in Kansas.

MEMORIAL.

To the Honorable, the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America:

The undersigned, citizens of the Territory of Kansas, respectfully represent: That from and after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, whereby the public lands in this Territory were thrown open to pre-emption and settlement, we

availed ourselves of the opportunity thus afforded to erect homes for ourselves and families, improve and cultivate our lands, in this land, and that in all things we have labored to conduct ourselves in that peaceable and orderly manner becoming citizens of the United States, expecting in turn to receive that protection to our property, persons and principles which we had the right to claim, under the Constitution and Laws of the Federal Government.

As American citizens, we regret to be under the necessity of making complaint that we have not received that adequate protection to which we were entitled. Repeatedly have our most sacred rights, our most cherished principles been invaded, insulted, and outraged; while our property has been destroyed, our families driven from their homes, our business prostrated, our persons maimed, and many of our fellow citizens stricken down by the hand of the assassin. Those who have been guilty of these outrages—which are without parallel in the history of nations—either go unarrested and unpunished, thereby giving them assurance to commit still further depredations, or have been encouraged to repeat these acts of violence by receiving promotions to places of public trust and honor.

The right to vote—the right to choose our own officers—which the Constitution of the United States guarantees, and we, as American citizens, regard as the highest and most sacred of all other rights, has been repeatedly most violently wrested from us. To effect this, large bodies of armed men from neighboring States invaded our soil and bearing all the semblance of all organized armies, with ammunition, arms, provisions, equipage, cannon, music and banners, took possession of the polls, diving, by force, the bona fide settlers therefrom, and chose persons to govern us who are not the choice of a majority of our settlers, and with whom we are mostly unacquainted, as in many instances they were foreign to our soil.

This state of things had been repeatedly represented to the Federal Government, praying the redress of our grievances, and the avenging of our wrongs. Our petitions have been followed by repeated outrages, each succeeding outrage being attended with greater violence than the former.

Being fully satisfied of our right to govern ourselves, and believing that we had the requisite population, and that in a separate and distinct governmental capacity, we had the ability to sustain ourselves, protect our rights, and prevent the gross outrages upon property, person and principle to which we have hitherto been subjected; and believing that we had no other way in which to secure our protection—we proceeded as the "PEOPLE OF KANSAS" irrespective of party distinctions, and with the full concurrence of five-sixths, or more, of our entire citizenship, to organize a government for the State of Kansas.

For this purpose a delegate convention, fully representing every district of the territory, convened at Topeka on the 19th day of September, 1855, to take the preliminary steps necessary to such organization. By this Convention it was ordered and publicly proclaimed, that an election for members to a Convention to frame a constitution would be held on the 9th day of October, 1855. Said election was held in due form, and on the 23d day of October, 1855, the Convention thus elected assembled at Topeka and framed a Constitution of the State of Kansas. On the 15th day of December, 1855, the Constitution thus framed was ratified by the People by ballot, and on the 15th day of January, 1856, officers for the State Government and members of the General Assembly were duly elected by ballot. On the 4th day of March, 1856, the General Assembly convened at Topeka; after effecting its organization, it proceeded to Memorialize your Honorable Bodies upon the object of our State organization, and praying the admission of Kansas into the Union as a sovereign State.

The Daily Republic.
JULY 14.

Spirit of the Border Ruffian Press.

The republican party goes for the north against the south—for arraying section against section.—Troy Budget.

It turns out that Colonel Fremont, instead of "planting the American flag on the highest peak of the Rocky Mountains," actually erected a cross there, according to the forms of the Romish Church, and took possession of the country in the name of the Pope of Rome! Quite a

difference, and one that the American people will make a note of.—Rochester American—(Fillmore.)

The traitors continue at their work. Our telegraph report shows that they are in session at Buffalo, devising ways and means to keep up the rebellion in Kansas. Col. Sumner has driven home the "Border Ruffians" and dispersed the Topeka rebels, but these agitators are contriving new routes by which "to march troops into Kansas," and propose to raise \$100,000 per month, to "send armed men into Kansas." They will stop at no crime which promises to give them political power and plunder.—Albany Atlas and Argus.

Fremont's Roman Catholicism is no bar to his being the President of the United States if the people of the United States see fit to elect him to that office—but the indications certainly are that a vast majority of them have fixed their eyes upon a very different man; a protestant not a papist; a statesman not a trapper; a patriot not a "trimmer," a lover of his whole country not an enemy to a part of it, and whose regard for the rest is of a very doubtful character.—Rock American.

The Daily Democrat.

ROCHESTER, N. Y.

MONDAY MORNING, JULY 14, 1856.

Slavery Degrades Labor.

Free white laborers in any branch of mechanical business, says the Newark Mercury, cannot live where slavery bears sway. No white laborer is respected there, nor looked upon but as servile. Mechanics are always treated as white negroes at the South. So that if any man should here acquire a trade and desire to settle in South Carolina or Georgia, he would feel himself excluded. He could not endure the treatment he would receive. He would be dominated over by the slaveholders, and if he did not do their behests, or vote their ticket, he would be compelled to retire from the country. Every man knows this who has any knowledge of what the influence of slavery is.

From all the territories of the United States where Slavery is established, white mechanical labor is excluded, by the pressure of the Slave institution. The negroes are the mechanics; and whites, who are mechanics, are no better esteemed than negroes. If a young man wishes to set up his business as a hatter, or harness-maker, or clothier, or iron worker in any branch of industry, the act of making the territory of Kansas a Slave State, would shut the door effectually against him there. What then can he do? Why, he can stay here, and work as a journeyman for some employer. Instead of having a chance to establish business for himself in any of the inviting and new fields open to him, he is compelled by the extension and influence of Slavery to remain a journeyman here all his life, and take the wages which his rich employers ordain.

The questions now at issue in the country also cut right into a man's interests, and govern his business relations. There is more at stake in this issue than the question whether the rich employers in our cities shall amass untold wealth by keeping the territories of our Republic closed through Slavery, against Free white labor, and thus holding in their hands the destinies of every journeyman in all time to come. It is the question whether our country shall be Free; shall open her territories to competition among her Free laborers of the North and give them a chance to rise. And how mean is it, for any man to set up the fact that Slavery pays him well, as a proper ground for up holding the institution and advocating its extension? How utterly incompatible with correct principle is such a course? Who can but admire the answer of a northern house in New York to Southern dictation when they wrote, "Our goods, we offer for sale, but not our principles."

Written for the Rochester Young Men's Republican Club.

TUNE—"Jordan."

Hurrah! boys, hurrah! we have met in a cause
That we may be proud of sustaining;
For Liberty's fate hides the victory great,
And that we are quite sure of gaining.

Chorus—Then wake up, my boys, and give a loud cheer,
For Fremont the brave is a coming;
Then wake up, my boys, and give a loud cheer,
Old Buck will be rowing up the river next year!

There's a stain on the banner that floats o'er our land,
And all the wide world can behold it,
And we hang down the head when we think of the dead
That did first in its glory unfold it.

Chorus—Then wake up, my boys, &c.
But that stain we'll wash out, and that banner shall wave,
For Freedom the brave is a coming;
And the nations shall look to Columbia's sons,
And honor the flag they are bearing.

Chorus—Then wake up, my boys, &c.
We're bound to have Kansas come in a Free State,
No matter what the South may be saying;
We'll fight against wrong with an arm that is strong,
And with hearts that know not dismaying.

Chorus—Then wake up, my boys, &c.
So give us your hand, and together we'll fight,
Our country from shame to deliver;
Our Freedom is strong, and he'll send before long
Fillmore and old Buck up the river.

Chorus—Then wake up, my boys, &c.
All of Liberty's sons are with us, my boys,—
As for Brooks and the bullies accordin',—
Why early next spring as sure as any thing,
They'll stand on the other side of Jordan.

Chorus—Then wake up, my boys, and give a loud cheer,
For Fremont the brave is a coming;
Then wake up, my boys, and give a loud cheer,
Old Buck will be rowing up the river next year!

AN APPEAL TO THE BENEVOLENT.—We hope there will be a good attendance this evening at the First Baptist Church, to hear Mrs. HIBBARD, of Chicago, on the subject of the sufferings of women and children in Kansas. The disturbances, the robberies, murders and persecutions which have so long afflicted the people, must have brought down upon helpless women and children an untold amount of suffering. Whatever the merits of the struggle now in progress, it is one of the first and holiest duties to relieve these classes, and to do it speedily. It is unfortunate for them that the necessities of any political party demand a suppression of the true state of facts, lest the natural feeling of indignation and horror at the outrages of the pro-slavery partisans, should influence people to take sides against the real authors of these atrocities.

It is the object of the ladies who have entered upon this charitable enterprise, to organize associations for the relief of helpless women and children, whose husbands and fathers have been murdered, imprisoned, or compelled to fly from the Territory to save their lives. There are scores of people here who know, from their own acquaintances and friends, that the accounts from Kansas have not been exaggerated. On the contrary, there are hundreds now suffering, whose persecutions have been borne in silence, because they had not the means of communicating with those who could afford relief.

Mrs. CUTLER and Mrs. HIBBARD are ladies of intelligence and talent, and have undertaken to afford relief to the suffering in Kansas as a duty, in which none but the unfeeling can refuse to aid them. If the statement of facts—the touching narratives of suffering, of which there enough to fill volumes—has any bearing upon political matters, it is not their fault, nor does that make it any less our duty to extend help. They have no political designs, and if those who express opposition to these efforts on political grounds, will devise and put in force a better and more practical plan of relief, we doubt not it would be cheerfully adopted. We hope there will be a good attendance this evening to hear Mrs. HIBBARD on the subject. The invitation is not confined to ladies.



MONDAY EVENING, JULY 14, 1856.

The State Kansas Committee.

The Atlas, being unable to substantiate a single one of its charges against the State Kansas Committee, backs down. But it endeavors to get out of the scrape with credit, by this exceedingly cool demand:—

Does the Journal mean to say that this money goes to the widows and orphans in Kansas? Let it produce the evidence, or let its assertion stand as the evidence that it is still seeking to prolong this imposture and profit by the delusion.

No Sir. You have slandered the Trustees of this Fund and declared they perverted it from its true ends. Now it rests with you to prove

the charge, if you can; if not, you own it a falsehood. The *onus probandi* is on you to convict, not on them to acquit themselves. The plain rule of Law and Equity is that every man is assumed to be innocent until he is proved to be guilty. Your inability to produce a single witness shows you made the assertion, without having any evidence to substantiate it.

What kind of an accusation would it be for a District-Attorney to say, "May it please your Honor, I want to have the prisoner at the bar convicted of theft. But I can't find a single witness nor a shadow of evidence against him. So I don't know how to fix it, unless you'll just be good enough to send him to jail unless he can rebut all the testimony I would have produced against him if I could!" Yet this is precisely the position into which the Atlas has been driven.

The President ordered Col. SUMNER'S Dragoons to disperse the Topeka Legislature on the 4th of July, as "an unlawful assemblage." What law had they violated? What law did the Dragoons find them violating? When the Colonel led his soldiers into the Topeka Court House, they found a few unarmed men, in citizens dress, sitting in consultation. The Constitution of the United States guarantees "the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for redress of grievances." This was just what these men met to do. They had no guns, nor ammunition. They contemplated no violence and had committed none. They were assuming no authority. They had formally declared that all their acts were provisional; and that their bills, resolutions and elections, were never to be executed, or to have any effect, unless sanctioned by Congress. The Members were peaceable, law abiding men. They offered no resistance to the execution of any law whatever. They declared their readiness, if arrested, to go; if tried, to submit. They had issued a formal recommendation to their friends to abstain from all violence, personal encounters and bloodshed. What law, then, of the United States, or of the Territory, had they violated? We want Mr. Buchanan's friends to tell us the chapter and verse.

Atchison and Stringfellow at their head, have endorsed the nomination of James Buchanan and will support him.

Political Facts and Reflections.

Those who blame the Free State men of Kansas for assembling their Legislature at Topeka, and call the act a treasonable one, should remember that the principle of "popular sovereignty," recognized by the Kansas Act and long supported by the Democrats, authorizes such steps, and that the House of Representatives have legalized all the doings of these men by accepting the Topeka Constitution.—The *Times*, with its usual unfairness, endeavors to make the supporters of Fremont answerable for all the vagaries of Gerrit Smith and the Radical Abolitionists. The *Times* ought to know that Gerrit Smith is their candidate for the Presidency.—Gov. Yell, the American candidate for Governor in Arkansas, is stumping the State in opposition to the Pierce and Buchanan Democracy, and has, by his eloquence, infused new life and vigor into the American party of that State.—The two committees of the Hards and Softs in New York, have agreed to unite. Three tickets will be run in that State.—The *N. Y. Express* asserts that Fillmore's Albany speech has already redeemed Ohio!—The life of J. C. Fremont, published by Ticknor & Fields, is in such demand, that 20,000 have already been published.—There is no more telling evidence of the depth and breadth of the Fremont and Freedom movement in the North than lies in the fact that Professor C. C. Felton, of Harvard University presided at a Fremont and Dayton ratification meeting in Cambridge, Massachusetts, July 12, and that Judge Joel Parker, the head of the law school among the speakers. When such men stir in politics, the world may well feel that something has happened, and that something else will happen.—The *N. Y. Herald* of Saturday, in speaking of the chances for the Presidency, says:—"Thus, then, they stand: Fremont ahead all over the North, Fillmore bristling up in the South, Buchanan losing ground. At this rate, where will the democracy be in November?"

Gov. Reeder refused at Rochester, to speak in favor of the nomination of Fremont and Dayton at a ratification meeting held in that place—and it is now said he opposes Fremont.—*Times*, July 11th.

The *Times* on the same day says that Reeder is appealing for support for Fremont. "Oh consist—cy'thou art," &c.

The Courant.

HARTFORD:
MONDAY MORNING, JULY 14, 1856.

THE CHARACTER OF Border Ruffianism in Kansas was never more definitely marked out than in the murder of Major Guy. He was the Indian Agent of that Territory, appointed by Mr. Pierce at the recommendation of Gen. Cass, whose friend he was. He was a native of Michigan, a free state, but had always been a supporter of the Cass Democracy at the polls. A party of these Ruffians met him—asked him where he was from—and, on being told he was from Michigan, riddled him with bullets.—It is no wonder that the Pro-Slavery party are ashamed of this assassination—of this indiscriminate attack on every Free State man. It is no wonder that General Cass, in his seat in the Senate, should denounce the laws of the Border Ruffian Legislature in Kansas, and that Geyer of Missouri should desire to wipe some of them out. Here is a man killed—a Democrat—an offending man—one who never committed an act of that constructive treason about which the pro-slavery paper the Hartford Times prates so much—an officer of the Federal Government—killed by the "Law and Order" party, for no other reason than that he was a citizen of Mich! Is there any wonder that the blood of Free State men is roused up? The Border Ruffians, with

The Evening Press.

HARTFORD:
MONDAY, JULY 14.

The Kansas Bills.

"Do the 'Republicans' and 'Know Nothings,' who support FREMONT, want Kansas to be free? No. They oppose the Senate's bill, which would certainly make it free this fall. That bill guarantees the full vote of actual settlers, and a protection from fraud. Are the actual settlers there free State men? Let REEDER and LANE answer. In a letter to the President, (asking him to issue his proclamation,) dated Lawrence City, Jan. 29, 1856, these gentlemen say:

"The Free State men constitute nineteen-twentieths of the entire population."

"The bill then will make a free State of Kansas, and settle all difficulties. Why do these hypocritical Republicans oppose it? Because they don't want the question settled—they don't care anything about the 'freedom' they prate of—but they do want to get into office, and mean to keep the Kansas troubles brewing, if possible."—*Times*.

If the *Times* were honest and sincere in their statement, they would advocate the immediate admission of Kansas under the Topeka constitution. Why does the Senate hold out factiously against it, after the House, the immediate representatives of the people, have decided in its favor? If the Senate bill would "certainly make Kansas free this fall," why not accept her present constitution, and let her be free at once. The *Times* has spoken in terms of just commendation of the constitution, but to quote

its words, "hypocritically opposes it." The excuse of the sham democracy is that the proceedings were irregular. But they are not more so than those of Michigan, Florida and California. The Senate bill is in every feature of it an irregular and unprecedented proceeding. Now where there is so much irregularity and conflict, why not allay the whole difficulty by urging upon the Senate to do as the House has already done—admit her at once into the Union.

The *Times* declares the result will be the same under the Senate bill as by the other alternative. Then, if sincere, why continue disension, wrong and violence by delay and forms. Why continue to occupy the country with troops—why put the Government to the expense of supporting a horde of worthless and vicious officials in place—why impose upon the people the burden of doing again what they have already done so well, provided the result is to be the same? If the *Times* is not very "hypocritical," it is singularly weak and fastidious in its conclusions.

We have no faith that the Senate's bill would certainly make Kansas a free State; on the contrary, its appropriate title is "a bill to enable the Border Ruffians to make Kansas a Slave State." Such, we have no doubt, is the object and design of the bill. When the Missouri Compromise was repealed, Senators and editors declared as solemnly as the *Times* now does, that there was no intention to extend slavery into the territory. That the "institution" could not go there, would not go there, and no attempt would be made to put it there. The *Times* knew these statements to be false and "hypocritical," and we knew them to be so. These statements respecting the Senate bill are as worthless and deceptive as those so solemnly uttered on the floor of the Senate in 1854.

If the *Times* believes its own assertions, if it believes the Republicans "don't want the question settled"—"don't care anything about the freedom they prate of"—but "want to get into office and mean to keep the Kansas troubles brewing," why not defeat them by making Kansas free this summer instead of next fall. If what you say is true, it is a mere question of a few months' time. We have no faith in your statement, none in the Administration, none in the border ruffians, and are therefore opposed to the Senate bill which is intended to crush out freedom in Kansas. We are sorry to see the *Times* so much under the influence of the nullifiers, and so wedded to their schemes. It is unlike the ground it occupied in 1854. Ill temper and ill manners are poor substitutes for arguments.



NEW HAVEN:

MONDAY, JULY 14, 1856.

FOR LATEST NEWS—SEE THIRD PAGE.

The People's Nomination.

FOR PRESIDENT,

JOHN C. FREMONT,
Of California.

"OUR STANDARD BEARER TAKES
THE BRAVE PATHFINDER BE!
FREE SPEECH, FREE PRESS, FREE SOIL, FREE MEN!
FREEMONT AND VICTORY!"

THE SENATE KANSAS BILL.

If ever there were a time when the Free State men at Washington needed to remember the warning of the *Æneid*—"I fear the Greeks even bearing gifts," it is now. The members of the House of Representatives are being coaxed and threatened, button-holed and bullied, entreated and owed to vote for the bill for the "pacification" so called, of Kansas, which has been shoved through

the Senate by the indomitable energy of Douglas. If they do so and pass it, we believe the cause of FREEDOM in that territory is irremediably hurt. We are glad to find most of the Northern journals taking the same view. Indeed we know of but two Fremont papers that advocate its passage—the *N. Y. Herald*, and the *Albany State Register*.—The *State Register* openly declares that it supports the bill because its passage will be another drop in the cup of iniquity filled up by the present Administration, and must hasten the overthrow of its party.

We cannot acknowledge the force of the *State Register's* reasoning. Grant all that it claims, and we still say—the experiment is too hazardous. The interests in Kansas that will be jeopardized are too momentous. FREEDOM can never afford to make the sacrifice called for. Too much has been done to prevent the issues which would follow this bill, to let it go into operation.

We will try and show why this bill should be looked on with suspicion, why the Free State members of the House should be uncompromising in their opposition to it, and earnest to defeat it.

1st. *Its source is suspicious.* Does it come from men who have hitherto professed or even now profess a desire to make KANSAS A FREE STATE? Did FREEDOM's party originate it? Have they been earnest in its advocacy? No—it emanated with Senator Toombs of Georgia, the man who has boasted that he will yet call the roll of his slaves beneath the shadow of Bunker's Hill. It was pushed through the U. S. Senate in a night session, lasting until 8 o'clock on Thursday morning, July 3d, by Stephen Arnold Douglas. It is advocated now in every way, shape and manner, by these men and all the administration forces at the National Capitol. Are these the men from whom FREEDOM is to receive benefits? Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots? Have they forgotten their denials of the Kansas outrages now fastened upon their perpetrators by the Report of the Investigating Committee of the House? Have they abjured their upholding of the ruffian who struck the twenty blows at Sumner, at Massachusetts, at the whole North? Have they in short given up their devotion to the behests of Slavery? Are they even willing to let *bona fide* residents of Kansas settle the Freedom or Slavery of that State, themselves? If so, do they then back down from the Cincinnati Platform which boldly declares that SLAVERY goes wherever the flag of the United States floats?

Northern Representatives—unless they do all this—and you know they do not—you cannot believe them though they sing to you "never so sweetly," charming you with dulcet harmony.—You were sent to Congress to make KANSAS A FREE STATE. This is the issue you have before you, and you must be "wise as serpents" in doing your duty. At the least, you will not take counsel of those who have before this plunged their daggers deep in Freedom's side.

2d. *You should be suspicious of the haste and force with which this bill is pressed.* We hear that Douglas and his minions are crowding it upon you, as if as it really does—any hope for the "democracy" in the coming campaign depended upon its passage. They dare not go before the country without this attempt at a show of fairness in regard to Kansas. Already do they read the writing on the wall. It is growing blacker every day. Good men are rallying here in the North, around FREEMONT, for FREEDOM, with a vigor and earnestness, and in multitudes, that convince the powers that be, that their platform candidate (he says he is not James Buchanan, but the platform) is dropping into obscurity, and by November will only be remembered as a fossilized seventy year old bachelor who accepted the nomination from a party of thieves and ruffians—to be laid on the shelf among other formations of the tertiary strata. Beware then, Representatives of FREEDOM! how you aid them in their attempt at political capital.

3d. *Be especially careful not to be deceived by the method of its advocacy.* So important do its objectors feel this bill to be to their success, that they are leaving no stone unturned. Every trick is attempted—every artifice resorted to. The Border Ruffian leaders from Missouri are gathered in Washington. This and that one of them is instructed to go among Free State Representatives cursing the bill as an attempt to make the Territory a FREE STATE. Remember again to "fear the Greeks, even bearing gifts."

4th. *Be convinced—the bill is a bill to make Kansas a Slave State.* This we believed from the character of its authors, and examination satisfies us of it. Let us see how.

a. It purports to be a bill to "pacificate the Kansas troubles by admitting the territory as a State." That is the claim its projectors put forth. To do this, it provides for a new census of the inhabitants of the territory on the last 4th July, with a view to an election in November next, by the voters thus determined, of delegates to a Convention to form a State Constitution. This census is to be taken and the election held under the control of a Board of five Commissioners to be appointed by FRANKLIN PIERCE. We would as soon trust a lamb in the jaws of a lion as to put the interests of FREEDOM into his hands, with him at the beck of his Southern drivers. They tell the friends of FREEDOM that the Board shall be fairly appointed. That is all bosh. Grant, as has been said, that Wm. H. Seward and Joshua R. Giddings were on it—their wishes and opinions could be overruled by these pro-slavery men. Have you a doubt that they would?

b. The bill in many places recognizes the authority of the border ruffian legislature of 1855—Northern Representatives, can never vote to do that. If they do, their cause is lost, and slavery fastened upon Kansas. Can a single Northern man in Congress indorse the acts of that infamous body?

c. The registration of voters is to come from those in the Territory on the 4th of July last.—Well, on 4th of July, detachment after detachment poured anew into the Territory, from the "Blue Lodges" of Missouri, and the *N. Y. Herald's* correspondent telegraphs that this was done in accordance with an understanding from Washington that this bill should be put through. The slavery forces are well marshaled. Their strategy is admirable. For the sake of FREEDOM and HUMANITY, let not Northern men be taken in by it.

d. Section 11 of this bill provides that all the Free State men and Missourians who have been *bona fide* inhabitants (not residents) of the Territory at any time can come back by the first of October, be registered and vote at the election for the convention. There will, we presume, be no impediment offered to the entry of all such Missourians—but the Missouri river is blocked to Free State Emigrants, and will be. Witness the infamous treatment and sending back of the first Chicago and of the Worcester, Mass., parties. Have the friends of Freedom any guaranty that the passage to Kansas will be kept open to them from now to October 1st by U. S. troops, under direction of Franklin Pierce? The idea is absurd, in the light of past events.

e. The bogus legislature is not displaced by this bill, but continues in power until 1858, and if the convention chosen by the pro-slavery voters enrolled under the previous provisions, should refuse to ask for immediate admission as a State, they will go on crushing out what little liberty is left, if there be any in Kansas.

f. Sheriff Jones and all the other officers of this infamous legislature are not displaced by this bill. What their animus is, and what they will do for FREEDOM, we all pretty well know.

g. While some of the nefarious acts of the sham Legislature are swept away by this bill, no notice is taken of the defenders of liberty now under arrest for "treason." Their "treason" does not ex-

ist, for treason can only consist in this country in "levying war against the United States," or aiding their enemies," but they must suffer on at the mercy of the harpies of Slavery.

But we weary of analyzing this bill. Its "pacification" for Slavery could be still farther deduced. Let the friends of FREEDOM be watchful. The hosts of the Devil need but two or three votes to pass it. *These they must not have.* Let the North strengthen its Representatives by letter, by advice. The efforts put forth to get it passed will be Herculean. If necessary, two or three Northern men may be mauled, to keep them from the House when the final struggle is resolved on. Let everything be guarded against, let the passage of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise be remembered—accomplished as it was, by brow beating and overriding a sturdy minority at the hands of this same Douglas—and we may come out of this trial with honor, having preserved Kansas, or at least refused to enslave her. Meanwhile let our friends read the following from a letter sent to the editor of the Vermont Watchman, by a member of Congress from his State:

"HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
WASHINGTON N. July 3, '56."

"Helps of Missouri now says that with Toombs bill, [as reported to the Senate by Douglas,] Kansas would be sure to be a SLAVE STATE."

The Republican.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.
MONDAY MORNING, JULY 14, 1856.

Who are the Traitors!

We are getting used to the usurpations of the present lawless administration. Its last great outrage upon the freemen of Kansas, the dispersion of the free state legislature at Topeka on the 4th of July, is taken very coolly, quite as a matter of course. But where is the warrant for the deed? Not in the constitution—certainly, not in any law of the United States. To say that the free state legislature was a treasonable body, is to utter nonsense. The crime of treason is clearly defined in the constitution and no single act of the free state men of Kansas, or any one of them, has ever been shown to come under that definition. The people of Kansas had a right to frame a constitution and present it to Congress, asking for admission into the Union as a free state. We take it there is no treason in that. Their legislature elected under that constitution had a right to meet on the 4th of July or any other day, to deliberate as to their future action. There was no look of treason in that. If they had, without consent of Congress, proceeded to set aside the bogus territorial government by their own, the national government might have assumed a justification of its military interference. But they had neither done that nor intimated any intention to do it. All their action up to the moment of their dispersion by the dragoons was strictly under the constitution and laws, and only with the consent of Congress did they propose to make their government an actual fact. We believe that not even the anomaly of "squatter sovereignty" has taken from the people of the territories the right to assemble peacefully to ask Congress for the redress of grievances.

The free state legislature of Kansas has been dispersed at the point of the bayonet; the leaders of the people are held as prisoners by guards of U. S. soldiers, under mock charges of treason, to be tried for their lives by a federal judge who has already made himself infamous by decisions at war with all law and decency; they are kept in a cloth tent on the open prairie, although Col Sumner offered rooms for them in fort Leavenworth, in order that their condition may be made as uncomfortable and fatal to their health as possible, and they are not allowed the poor privilege, accorded to the vilest criminals, of free communication with their legal counsel and with their relatives and friends.

Thus is the general government crushing out the freedom of Kansas, for the brutal Judge Le-compte is but the obedient tool of the despots at

Washington. Away with this shameful cry of treason against the patriots and martyrs of freedom in Kansas! The traitors are at Washington; they hold secret conclave with border ruffian delegates at the White House and plot new mischief against the freemen of Kansas under the name of protection and justice. Let no such men be trusted.

The Missouri River Banditti.

We do not see any intimation that the general government intend to disperse the pirates of the Missouri river. They still continue their robberies with impunity, a large number of them being armed with the U. S. muskets sent to Gov Shannon for the residents in Kansas, but promptly delivered by him to the invading banditti. The government should at least take its muskets out of the hands of these pirates. A member of the company from Ottawa, Ill., lately robbed after having landed in the territory at Leavenworth, in sight of the fort, and then sent down the river under ruffian guard to St. Louis, states in the St. Louis Democrat, that all their trunks and other baggage were broken open with hatchets, all the arms and ammunition of the company that had been left by the Lexington robbers, were taken, and at least \$1000 worth of clothing and some money besides. Some hundreds of armed ruffians then forced them on board the boat and a dozen accompanied them to the landing this side of St. Louis.

A. E. Parrott, formerly a democratic member of the Ohio legislature, writing from St. Louis, the 1st, on his way to the territory, gives particulars of the robbery and brutal treatment of individuals going up the Missouri, and adds with wholesome indignation:

"How effete, how emasculate, how unworthy of its name, is the government which fails to protect its citizens while traveling along our great national highways! While the South is allowed to hold the gate of Kansas territory and to close it against every man guilty of the atrocious crime of being from a free state, which is the subjugated province, the North or the South, and which is the sectional party, the administration or its opponents? A South Carolina company was driven out by Col Sumner, took a boat at Westport and got back to Leavenworth, where they are now engaged in pillaging and cheating of the free state men. Col Sumner has been deprived of nearly all his men, under the pretense of relieving Fort Kearney, which it is said is besieged by the Indians. There are only about thirty men now at Fort Leavenworth, so that Buford's troops have full swing in the territory. Gen Fessler F. Smith is here on his way to Kansas, and he is learning all he can of anything of what his course will be, but the free state refugees here are very hopeful of good things from him. I shall probably go up with him to-morrow in hopes that his presence will be a protection from the river pirates at Lexington. If compelled to abandon this plan I shall go at once to Lane's camp at Iowa City, in hopes of reaching the territory by that route. Governor Corwin is here, and talks of these outrages as only Tom Corwin can talk."

THE REIGN OF TERROR IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

The mode in which South Carolinians are compelled to give their money to sustain the banditti in making Kansas a slave state is unmistakably indicated in this paragraph from the Charleston Courier, a Buchanan paper:

"This community is extremely tolerant of opposing opinions, especially upon the subject of slavery. But it must be essential to the safety of the Union when an era of anarchy becomes weakness. Now, upon the proposition that the safety of the institution of slavery in South Carolina is dependent upon its establishment in Kansas, there can be no rational doubt. He therefore who does not contribute largely in money now, and largely in his efforts in the October election, proves himself criminally indifferent if not hostile to the institution upon which the prosperity of the South and of the state depends. Let the names, therefore, be published daily, that we may see who are lukewarm in this vital issue—then we may see who are the people in this community who require to be watched. To secure this end, we will add, as a suggestion, that the finance committee of the Kansas association be also a committee of assessment, and that each individual informed of this amount before his subscription be taken. We also suggest that the Kansas association appoint a large vigilance committee, whose consultations shall be secret, and who shall take in charge the conduct of the delinquents and adopt such severe measures in reference to them as the interests of the community demand. In this way the contributions will doubtless be adequate, and the cause of Kansas will prosper."

Alabama is indignant at Massachusetts and sends back by her governor the resolutions of our legislature on Kansas. The Alabama executive cuts us up thus:—"The obligations of the constitution, and the laws of the United States passed in conformity thereto, being disregarded and nullified by Massachusetts, we desire no further intercourse with your state; and wish to be free, in future, from insult from a state whose citizens do not recognize accountability for insult and libelous imputations upon the character of southern states and the citizens thereof."

GEORGE W. CURTIS.—At a great Fremont ratification mass meeting in Yonkers, Westchester Co., N. Y., on Friday last, George W. Curtis (Howadji) and Wm. Cullen Bryant, were present, and made eloquent speeches. We take the following extract from Mr. Curtis's speech, as showing that he has a correct view of the politics of the times:

I am sure, gentlemen, that the echoes of the Fourth of July bells, and the boom of the Fourth of July cannon have not yet died out of our ears, and I am sure, also, that you will not forget the day and cause when these bells rung in alarm and not in joy, and when those cannon announced that men were falling for freedom for their country. And, gentlemen, through the ringing of those bells and the roar of those cannon, did you not hear another ringing of bells, and another sound? Did you not see stretched along the West a singular black cloud wafting across the Continent and smothering us as we sit there, full as it was of the cry of our brothers who are bleeding, not of our fathers who have bled—full of the cry of their wives and children fleeing—full of the smoke of their blazing homes which comes in at our windows as we sit here placidly, saying "Peace, peace."—Gentlemen, there is no peace. We know that there is no peace. Every man that was put upon a raft in Kansas bound to go down the river alone—every man who was caught by the Border Ruffians in Kansas and hung or slain that he might not vote—every Border Ruffian that came from Missouri and voted in Kansas—every one of these men is the loudest possible cry—is a dreadful affirmation of the truth that there is no peace, but that we have come to a struggle which can only be laid by every son of a freeman coming out for the cause for which freemen fell.

FOR KANSAS.—A gentleman of considerable experience in pioneer life will start on his return to Kansas by Iowa, on the 21st inst., from the Worcester depot, in Boston, at 4 P. M., with a party of emigrants, whom he will see safe through, if spared to live. He has a small advance party of friends, who went out in April, and are putting in a crop, and making other arrangements which will be advantageous to the company, during the coming winter, till they can secure a return for their labor on their own claims.

Any person proposing to go on their own resources, or sent out by subscriptions from different places, as bona fide settlers are cordially welcomed to the company.

They can report themselves at the Emigrant Aid Rooms, No. 3 Winter street, by noon of the day named. Mechanics will do well to take a small supply of tools.

It should not be forgotten that the day above designated is the last upon which emigrants can leave and arrive in season to be voters on the great and final question of a State Constitution, provided the Toombs bill passes the House and become a law.

Persons in this vicinity desirous of joining this party—and able to furnish part or the whole of their own outfit, are requested to communicate with Rev. T. W. Higginson of this city, in person or by letter.

For the Spy.

Aid for Kansas.

In the Spy, of Friday, July 11, we find a letter from a "Friend of the Cause," calling for some plan. "For solicitation among" the ladies. The writer says—"Will not your committee suggest some method for solicitations among the" ladies; "there have been none as yet."

All honor to the benevolent spirit which prompted this proposal. Still the last statement is not correct. Our "Friend" will rejoice to learn that our own noble-hearted "Stella" is already collecting subscriptions for this good cause. She called upon the writer a few days since, when her list of contributions certainly gave promise of very good success.

Let "the ladies of Worcester and the neighboring towns" send their "mites" (and as much more as they please,) at once to "Stella," or the editor of the Worcester Palladium, and they may be sure they will be appropriated to that cause which claims our sympathy, influence, and prayers, as well as pecuniary aid. E. W. A.

ROUTE TO KANSAS.

To the Editor of the Atlas:—

As the "Border Ruffians" seemed to have full possession of the Missouri River, and have established an embargo or blockade on all travel from the Free States to Kansas, and as that river at best is a very difficult one for navigation, especially during the warm season, it is desirable that the public should be in possession of all possible information in regard to the best routes by land.

You have mentioned the route from Chicago to Nebraska city, by way of Davenport and Iowa City. This is a good route, and emigrants will find themselves, not among enemies but among friends on the whole line of the route. But there is a still better route from Chicago, through Burlington to Nebraska, and a saving of nearly one hundred miles of travel.

At present there is completed between Chicago and Missouri River, by way of Burlington, a railroad—

From Chicago to Burlington,.....	211 miles.
" Burlington to Mt. Pleasant,.....	49 "
From Mt. Pleasant to Nebraska city,.....	240 miles.
From Chicago by R. Road, via Rock Island and Davenport to Iowa city,.....	311 miles.
From Iowa city to Nebraska city,.....	363 "
	673 miles.

Showing a distance in favor of the Burlington route, of ninety-two miles.

The Western Stage Company, I understand, are now establishing a daily line of four-horse coaches, between Mt. Pleasant and Nebraska city, to run through in four days.

The country is better improved and more settled on this route than between Iowa city and the Missouri River, and it would seem to be the more desirable route for emigrants. M.

Boston Journal.

The Assault on Senator Sumner.

SPEECH OF HON. L. B. COMINS, OF MASSACHUSETTS.

IN THE UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, July 10.

(VERBATIM REPORT, CORRECTED BY MR. COMINS.)

The Speaker stated that the business in order was the consideration of the following resolutions, reported by the select committee to investigate the alleged assault upon Senator Sumner by Mr. Brooks:

Resolved, That Preston S. Brooks be, and he is forthwith, expelled from this House as a Representative from the State of South Carolina.

Resolved, That this House hereby declares its disapprobation of the said act of Henry A. Edmundson and Lawrence M. Keitt in regard to the said assault; and the pending question being on the amendment of Mr. Cobb of Georgia, to strike out the resolutions, and insert in lieu thereof, the following:

Resolved, That this House has no jurisdiction over the assault alleged to have been committed by the Hon. Preston S. Brooks, a member of this House from the State of South Carolina, upon the Hon. Charles Sumner, a Senator from the State of Massachusetts, and therefore deem it improper to express any opinion on the subject.

Mr. Comins. Mr. Speaker, as I have never trespassed upon the time of the House, nor asked its indulgence, I embrace this opportunity to say a few words which have been suggested by the occasion.

In taking a seat in this House, it was not my intention, and it is not now my intention, to participate in the daily debates and scenes of strife which so constantly occur upon its floor. I intend only to avail myself of opportunities to speak, and then briefly, when it is my right and duty so to do, in explanation of any vote I may deem it expedient to give, or in vindication of any position which I may assume. In discussions involving the principles of legislation, either in its domestic policy, or in the foreign relations of the Government, there are those of my colleagues, and

gentlemen from other States, with whom I agree in sentiment and in principle, who are qualified by genius, by knowledge, and by all the acquisitions befitting statesmen, to meet, analyze, and discuss any question which may come before us, and to whom I much prefer to listen, than to consume the time of the House by my remarks of mine. I have all my life, so far as its sands have fallen on the pursuits of public life, been engaged in fields of debate, halls of eloquence, are comparatively strangers to me. But, sir, in view of the events which are transpiring before us, about us, and crowding themselves upon us, I should do injustice to my own feelings, and prove false to a generous and confiding people, in failing to express myself at this time.

By the fortunes of the wheel, my seat has been cast on this side of the Hall—directly in the midst of the Democratic and Southern members of this House. I am free to confess, however, that the disappointment and sorrow with which my mind was filled, when I found I was obliged to separate myself, locally, from those with whom I had been acting and voting during the protracted struggle for the organization of the House, has been dissipated by the very kind and courteous manner in which I have been received by all about me. My only fear has been, that through the power and influence of association I might become a Democrat myself; which I should not very much regret even, if Democracy was now what it was in the early days of the Republic. I have, on my part, endeavored to re-actuate the measures which have been so freely made, and have done all in my power, and at all times, to maintain and perpetuate that harmony and goodwill which is so essential, not only to our individual welfare, but to our usefulness as legislators.

By daily and social intercourse, an intimacy had grown up between myself and the gentleman from South Carolina. By the interchange of those kindly attentions which are so refreshing to us when in health, but which become tenfold more dear when administered in the sick chamber, a friendship was growing up between myself and the gentleman from South Carolina which should never have been broken by any act of mine. I leave that gentleman in the silent reflections of his own mind, to judge of the surprise and assault with which I was filled when informed of the assault which he had committed upon my friend and fellow-citizen, the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts.

The seat of Charles Sumner, a Senator from Massachusetts, was vacant on the 23d day of May for the first time in five years. On the day preceding, Mr. Sumner was stricken down while in the discharge of his senatorial duties. The murderous blow was by a member of this House. Nothing was further from my thoughts on that day, when, after having listened in this House to most touching and eloquent eulogiums upon the life and character of a deceased member, that, before that very hour should have passed away, one of his noble colleagues, and one of our best citizens, would be prostrated in the adjoining chamber, and by the hand of one who but a moment before had joined us in resolutions of respect for the dead, and placed the sacred emblem of mourning upon his arm.

Sir, I have no voice to express—no tongue to utter opprobrious epithets on an occasion like this. But, sir, I should do but to utter the language of those kindly say that I have yet heard no expression in denunciation of the assault upon Mr. Sumner which does injustice to the perpetrator. There are crimes which are so revolting, that language becomes wholly inadequate to express our reprobation of the act. There are crimes so revolting, that however elevated may have been the previous position of the perpetrator, in all future life the criminal must partake of the infamy which attaches itself to the crime. There are crimes so revolting, but committed under such circumstances, that he who strikes the blow occupies but little nearer relation to the act for which he stands accused, than they who uphold and defend him for what he has done, and for this head I accuse no person other than those included in the report of the committee, (Messrs. Keitt and Edmundson.) Future developments may prove whether that list might or might not have been extended.

In contemplating the report of the committee, the resolutions before the House, and the issue involved, all political, local and personal considerations fade into insignificance. I am not the sympathizer of the House for Charles Sumner—I ask not this House to vindicate Massachusetts, for Massachusetts to-day needs no vindication; but I do ask every member of this House—I implore every gentleman upon this floor, who loves his country, peace and order, to join as one man, and hurl such the tide of ruffian violence which has become so prevalent, and which is becoming so common and so arrogant.

Mr. Speaker, when I reflect upon the assaults which have been committed by members of this House; when I see a member of this House arraigned before it for an offense so revolting in every point of view; when I see two members of this House standing by his side, so arraigned as accomplices—I say when I see these things, I am reminded of the very eloquent, but exciting, speech delivered during the early part of the session by the honorable and distinguished gentleman from Mississippi (Mr. Bennett), a speech which I really did not expect to see so soon verified, in which the gentleman from Mississippi, in alluding to scenes which were then transpiring on the floor, said that he was almost ready to exclaim, in the language of Ferdinand:

"Hell is empty, and all the devils are here."

The murderous blow which prostrated CHARLES SUMNER, fell no more upon Massachusetts than upon any free State in the Union. It was but the representative of a power, which, finding its sphere too small in its own latitude, having prostrated all before it in the Territories, having failed to sustain itself in intellectual conflict, resolves itself into brute force, stalks into the Senate Chamber, of this House, and there, with bludgeon in hand, beats freedom down, and casts it to the day in blockading our public squares and avenues with foreign stipendiaries and discharged convicts—making night hideous in carousing, and knocking down unsuspecting men, and insulting innocent and unprotected women! but in your arrogance you assume to be the sole and rightful judges of parliamentary decorum and decorum in this House. We, plainly, we will no longer submit to these things. We of the North have forborne, and forborne until forbearance has ceased to be a virtue. Slavery has com-

the Constitution itself, until its very name is but a mockery.

Sir, the honorable gentleman from Georgia (Mr. Cobb) is about to expound the principles of the Constitution, and Constitutional law. But, sir, I tell the honorable gentleman that, however sound he may be in his premises, and logical in his argument, the slave power has so trampled the Constitution into the dust, in contempt of benevolence, that little remains for us to do but to draw margin to the Constitution, and write *expunged* upon its face. If the gentleman from Georgia is able to restore to us that instrument, in all its original purity, the people of the North, will, as they always have done, stand by its principles.

It has been said that the Senator from Massachusetts, in the speech which has been so universally approved, and so favorably commented upon by the wise and good throughout the Christian land—but which has given so much offense to the people of the South—departed from accustomed senatorial dignity. Without intending to reply to the most extraordinary speech of the gentleman from North Carolina, delivered in this House yesterday—without intending to criticize the matter, manner, or style of the Senator from South Carolina, (Mr. Butler) to whom Senator Sumner, in his speech, alluded—without intending to criticize or censure any one for his manner or style of speech, I heartily rejoice that the American people have been addressed by Daniel Webster said, a long time ago, the country ought to be governed by the wisest and the best of the Senators from Massachusetts had the prerogative to place before the American people the true character of the present Administration. Thank God the Senators from Massachusetts have had the courage to place before the American people the true character of the slave power, and the real character of the men who support it.

In reply to remarks about Senatorial dignity, I will adopt the language of the distinguished historian, Macaulay, who, in the commencement of the history of England, said he would most cheerfully bear the reproach of having descended below the dignity of the Englishman, if he could succeed in placing before the English people the true character of the men who were the life and vices of their ancestors.

Our time is now too precious and passing away too rapidly to allow me to enumerate and discuss the offenses which have for a series of years been committed against the best interests of the country by the slave power, and by which freedom has been deprived of its true position in the constitution, and the country upon its broad American platform deprived of place, and the country deprived of the benefits of their experience and their patriotism. The assault upon Mr. Sumner was not merely a blow upon the head of a Senator, but one of a series of the aggressions of the slave power upon the Constitution. Sir, it is a little singular that these assaults and these aggressions should so generally have emanated from the same source, and that when individual violence is intended, the cane and the club should be the favorite instrument of slaughter.

The expulsion of the Hon. Samuel Hoar, a venerable and highly respected citizen of Massachusetts, by a personal assault and the arbitrary authority of South Carolina in 1844, was in an direct violation of the constitution as any act could be; and barring the question of brutality, it was as insulting to Massachusetts and the country, as the assault recently committed upon a distinguished Senator. Sir, in support of my remarks relative to the expulsion of Mr. Hoar from South Carolina and the arbitrary proceedings on that memorable occasion, I will, with the permission of the House, read a short extract from a letter which I received some time since from that venerable and good man:

"I was threatened with personal violence by a man in the street, who approached me with a large cane, or club, which he offered to use upon me, and I was told to strike, and who warned me not to remain in the city until the next morning. The sheriff said he would endeavor to defend me, but doubted his ability so to do. Dr. Walbridge, of Charleston, a gentleman at the head of a profession at that probably as respectable a man as any in that State, informed me that the populace were collecting in groups and that nothing was wanting to bring them upon me, but some one to say 'God is your time'."

Mr. Aiken (interrupting)—I will say to the gentleman—

Mr. Wakeman—I object to the interruption.

Mr. Aiken—It is necessary that I should answer the gentleman from Massachusetts.

The Speaker—The gentleman from South Carolina is not in order upon the question of order.

Mr. Aiken—I do not wish to interrupt the gentleman from Massachusetts, or cast an imputation, but I can show the gentleman that the statement he has read is perfectly false.

The Speaker—It is not in order to interrupt the gentleman who is entitled to the floor.

Mr. Aiken—Then I rise to a point of order. Here is a legitimate question presented to this House by the reports and resolutions before it, and anything which may have occurred in South Carolina ten, twenty, or thirty years ago, has nothing to do with this issue, and is outside of it.

The Speaker—The Chair is of the opinion that the gentleman from Massachusetts has a right to allude to the incident, but cannot determine for what purpose it is introduced, nor can the Chair determine that the gentleman is out of order.

Mr. Houston—Will the Chair determine that an issue of this sort, presenting a single question involving the rights of one or more members of this body, those persons who have to try the cause and are sworn to try it according to the testimony—

Mr. Giddings—I call the gentleman from Alabama to order. Is there any appeal from the decision of the Chair?

Mr. Houston—I am presenting a point of order, and Mr. Giddings—I call the gentleman to order and object.

The Speaker—There is no appeal from the decision of the Chair, and debate is objected to.

Mr. Houston—I am not doing that in which an objection can arrest me. I am presenting a point of order.

The Speaker—There is one question of order already pending.

Mr. Houston—The Chair has overruled that question of order, and there is no appeal from that decision.

The Speaker—The Chair will state the question of order so that there may be no misunderstanding. The gentleman from Virginia (Mr. Letcher) has presented a question of order.

Mr. Houston—I withdraw my question of order, and will let this thing go.

Mr. Brooks—I most earnestly request my friends not to try to stop any gentleman.

Mr. Houston—I would not have done so, if the gen-

leman from South Carolina (Mr. Aiken) has been allowed to make an explanation; but I will withdraw my question of order.

The Speaker—The Chair feels it to be its duty, under the circumstances, and in regard to the question before the House, to state that where a member has the floor, and is addressing the House upon the question before it, it is not the right of any member of the House to interrupt him except by rising to a question of order, with this single exception, that a member who has spoken has a right, under the practice of the House and parliamentary rules, to explain when he is misrepresented in what he said—not to enlarge on it, but merely to explain that which he did say or which he meant to say.

Under the circumstances, the Chair thinks it its duty to hold the House rigidly to the rules, and will call upon the House to pass upon the ruling if the question be raised.

Mr. Comins—I say to the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. Aiken), that I rely upon the statement of my venerable friend Mr. Hoar, believing him incapable of falsehood, and that the remark of the gentleman from South Carolina is unjust and untrue.

The Speaker—It is not in order for the gentleman from Massachusetts to reply to the remark of the gentleman from South Carolina, that remark not having been entertained by the Chair.

Mr. Comins—Then it was not in order for the gentleman to have interrupted.

Mr. Aiken did not wish to interrupt the gentleman, and disclaim any intention of casting an imputation upon any one.

Mr. Comins—That is satisfactory. Sir, I regret exceedingly the delay to which we have unavoidably been compelled to submit in disposing of the question now before us. The manifestations which should have been made on the part of this House, should, in my opinion, have been made at once to have been effective; and if these manifestations could have been made at the instance of, and supported by, the minority of the House, they would have been all the more potent.

One of the most lamentable facts which is connected with this transaction—historically connected—is the cold indifference, the frigidity, aye, the stolidity which has been exhibited on the part of the Senate, the body against the privileges of which a deadly blow has been aimed.

Mr. McMullen—(interrupting.) As the Speaker proposes to enforce the rules of order so strictly, I rise to a point of order; and it is that it is not in order for the gentleman from Massachusetts, or any other gentleman, to reflect in his remarks upon the co-ordinate branch of the Legislature.

Mr. Comins—I will, then, confine my remarks to the proceedings of the House, if the Chair decides that it is not in order to allude to the Senate Committee.

The Speaker—It is in order to allude to the proceedings of the Senate so far as they are embodied in the report submitted to the House.

Mr. Comins—The manner in which this whole subject has been treated by the Senate, the body of which has been so violated, is second only, in the humiliating scene which this whole transaction presents to the civilized world, to the deed itself. Sir, the indignant humiliation with which I was filled when I heard the announcement of a committee to investigate so grave a charge by the Senate, composed wholly of the opponents of the assessor, was in the highest contrast to the feeling of pride with which my heart beat, when our own presiding officer, with his accustomed magnanimity and courtesy, appointed on the committee of this House a full minority, composed of two of the ablest men in this body, and political and personal friends of the gentleman from South Carolina, South Carolina (Mr. Brooks). But, such liberality, no such justice, was to be manifested towards Mr. Sumner on the part of the Senate. The appointment of the committee of this House by the speaker is but one of the many acts of strict justice in the administration of this branch of the government which are to be found upon its records; proving that not only the rights of one section of the country, but the rights of the whole Union, would be safe in its hands.

God grant that the verdict of this House shall be such, in the case now before it, that the gentleman from Mississippi shall no longer have fearful forebodings! I join with that gentleman, with all my heart, in the wish and hope that the scenes through which this House has passed, and which have been enacted within the walls of this capital, shall be enacted no more forever. I most sincerely hope, for the honor of my country, for the credit of the American Congress, and the honor and glory of the American people, that many of the scenes which we have thus far witnessed are no fair exhibition of what is to greet our ears and meet our eyes during the time allotted to us for seats in this House.

I do not, however, speak to examine the report of the committee and the testimony in detail. It is in able hands. I prefer to leave to the professional and more experienced members on this floor to judge of the extent which it is necessary and proper to introduce testimony when the accused has already pleaded guilty. To the report of the committee, the gentleman from South Carolina cannot in the least object. General Webb, in his able and elaborate letter to the New York Courier and Enquirer, classifies the assault upon Mr. Sumner as an outrage which merited death on the spot. General Webb, in commenting upon the assault, says:

"Looking at it solely as an insult to the country, a trampling upon the Constitution, and an outrage upon the sanctity of the Senate Chamber, it was an outrage which merited death on the spot from any patriot present who was in a position to inflict the punishment."

And to this letter of General Webb, I understand the gentleman from South Carolina takes no exception, but says it is satisfactory. Surely, then, the gentleman from South Carolina, having merited the death of death by his own admission, his friends cannot object to his expulsion from this House.

A GOOD JOKE.—At the celebration in Battle Creek, Mich., on the 4th, while the Declaration of Independence was being read, a loofoooc as in the crowd under the impression that he was listening to the oration. When the reader came to that passage which charges GEORGE III. among other things, with having sanctioned "acts of pretended legislation," our Buchananian friend, not doubting that allusion was made to FRANK PIERSON and the border-ruffian laws in Kansas, jumped up with the exclamation, "Just—a d—d Abolition Arranger," and left the ground swearing like a trooper. This is a liberal fact.

A BOSTON LAWYER IN KANSAS. The Bee contains a letter from Lawrence, dated July 1st. We understand it to be from G. W. Collamore, Esq., of this city, a member of the Suffolk bar, whom the Bee describes as "an out-and-out radical conservative Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, Massachusetts, Faneuil Hall, Rufus Choate Whig." He went to Kansas, believing that the stories about the outrages were got up merely for political effect. He is now satisfied that this is not so. We make a few extracts from his letter.

Mr. Collamore seems to have pitched in among the Border Ruffians wherever he found them, without any hesitation. He left St. Louis soon after the Chicago company had been interrupted. At Lexington he began to make inquiries concerning the company, and especially concerning the rifles which had been taken from them. While the boat remained, he says:

"I left in order to get information relating to the passengers of the Star of the West. All that I had previously heard was fully confirmed. As my enquiries were numerous relative to the rifles, a gentleman by appearance inquired if I would like to see them. Repeating in the affirmative, he led me into the rear part of Magraw's store, and feigning to look for the rifles, replied that he did not know where they were. By this time I was surrounded by about thirty ruffians, and then and there was heaped upon me a volley of oaths and curses, sufficient to sink the whole of the slave States. Mr. Wm. Allen, a brick maker by trade, a stout, athletic man, weighing over two hundred pounds, one of five, constituting a vigilance committee, appointed by the citizens of Lexington to prevent emigration to Kansas, addressed me in the following gentlemanly and courteous language:

"You want to see the rifles, do you?" I replied, yes. "You do, do you, why did n't you bring men with you to take them you g—d d—d abolitionists: we'll hang you g—d d—m you." "Our boys would like to hang such a fellow as you." "We have half a dozen ropes here now to hang you with, and we'll soon put a rope round your neck, d—m you." "Boys, bring the ropes and hang this g—d d—d abolitionist." I replied, "if you intend hanging me you had better hurry up, for I would like to see you about it." At this he raised his hand and shaking it, said, "Boys, stop a moment, I'll tell you when." At this moment another ruffian, a tall, slim man, who is in the employ of Magraw, commenced with "G—d d—m you; you are the d—d rascal who writes letters to Chicago." "You d—d abolitionist, we'll hang you and every one we can catch." "Have you written any letters to Chicago?" I replied, that is none of your business.

This treatment rather started my disposition and I began to feel quite at home, but was ashamed of the company I was in. Others joined in the same kind of threats and language, and finding their threats of no avail they gradually slunk away. Some of the armed ruffians took the control of the boat; passengers were interrogated with impertinent questions, whether they were pro-slavery or abolitionists; state rooms were searched, the ladies' saloon entered, bawdy language used to the ladies and every insult imaginable offered. A number of these armed ruffians remained on board as spies up the river. During the afternoon they left the boat."

The writer visited the camp where are confined Gov. Charles Robinson, Judge George W. Smith, George W. Brown, George W. Deitzler, Gains Jenkins, and Capt. Brown. He visited Sheriff Jones, and asked permission to visit them.

"Jones said I could do so if I had business with them, otherwise he must refuse, as the marshal had given orders not to permit visitors except those having business; but, said he, Capt. Walker has discretionary power and may admit you. I returned to the camp, when Capt. Walker had just arrived. I entered and made known my wants. In answer to his inquiry, I acknowledged I had no business with them, but called as a friend; he inquired my name and sent for the sergeant of the guard, who conducted me to the prisoners' camp. I spent with them some two hours, and I really felt that I should not object being a prisoner under such circumstances. They were as cheerful as could be expected. The only regret they expressed was that a great work was to be accomplished, and their assistance was needed out of the camp."

We quote the following, which is the concluding part of the letter:

"Until my arrival in Kansas, I never could realize the bravery, perseverance, forbearance, patience and courage of the heroes of the Revolution. The free State people in Kansas will equal those of the revolution, both men and women. I never saw such a set of people; their motto is liberty or death, fearless beyond belief, and all for the cause of freedom. Every man, woman and child, are ready to lay down their life for freedom in Kansas.

Our Eastern people have no idea of the wrongs, insults, cold blooded murders that have been perpetrated in this territory by 'border ruffians,' 'Burford's men,' and others in the employ of pro-slavery people—no person or property is safe that passes through Missouri. The freedom of speech and the freedom of travel is prohibited. It matters not what free State one hails from, he is considered a 'd—d abolitionist' and a 'd—d yankee,' and he must die or go home to a free State, or take an oath to support slavery. Missourians will tell you there is no danger in traveling in Missouri, and that all the trouble is over; let me tell you it is as false as their black sulphur hearts.

On Sunday morning last I visited the grave of poor Barbour; fresh no doubt is the murder of this man in your memory. The murder was committed by G. W. Clark, the Indian Agent, who has frequently boasted of this murder; recently he keeps quiet. Dr. John P. Wood, a pro-slavery Judge of Probate, residing at Leecompton, and another man besides Clark, were on horseback at the time the murder was committed. It is believed that Wood fired with Clark, but Clark boasted when he fired that he saw the wool fly and claims the honor of being the murderer. I have seen Clark, who is a short, stout, dark complexion man, and is considered here the worst man in the territory. The stage that arrived last night from Leavenworth city, informs of another party of settlers who have been disarmed and deprived of their property. You shall hear further on the subject soon.

Are these things to be permitted longer? is the North to be trampled under foot? are we all to be made slaves? Will the North open its eyes now? if they do not I fear the time will come when it will be too late. Kansas is now suffering for food and men. The crops, owing to the troubles, are comparatively nothing. The inhabitants are not yet discouraged; for, they say, if the Free States render no assistance, we will fight the battle alone, although it end in our death. If Kansas is not free, it is not our fault."

Wm. Allen
Daily Evening Traveller.

BOSTON:
MONDAY, JULY 14, 1856.

The Douglas Kansas Bill.

In compliance with a request of the editors of the New York Post, Lieut. Gov. Roberts' of Kansas, has addressed them a note, in which he expresses his opinion upon the bill which recently passed the Senate, to authorize the people of Kansas to form a State government. Lieut. Gov. Roberts presents some forcible objections to this bill, which are not, he says, confined to its details only, but attach to the principles upon which it rests. He asserts, in the first place, that by repealing and amending certain territorial laws and leaving others in force, the Senate has assumed the position that the Legislative Assembly of Kansas was a valid authority, and thus affixed the seal of Congressional sanction upon an irregular and lawless body of men who were elected by a rule utterly subversive of the principles of our government.

Another objection which he advances is, that by enacting this bill the Senate enacts a new elective law, thus assuming the power of Congress to legislate for the territory in regard to matters of internal concern, while, in the opinion of the Senate, the Territory has already a local legislature of its own; thus abandoning and repudiating by their action, the main principle on which the friends of the Kansas bill claim that it was based.

But the gravest objection urged is that, under the provisions of the bill, the action of the Constitutional Convention which is to assemble next fall, is to be a finality; the Constitution which shall be adopted by that Convention is not to be submitted to the people, and they are therefore denied the invaluable privilege of acting in their primary capacity upon the organic law of the land. In regard to the alteration of the elective law of the Territory, in the election of delegates to this Convention, and the finality of the action of the Convention itself, Lieut. Gov. Roberts very justly remarks that to give to a board of Commissioners, appointed by the President, the power to determine who shall vote for delegates to a Convention, and to be the sole judges of the election of such delegates, and to make the action of that Convention final in a matter so important as the formation of a constitution and state government, is to erect a power dangerous to popular rights, and virtually to establish a despotism.

Mr. Roberts says that "one effect of refusing to submit the constitution to a vote of the people would be to obviate the necessity of retaining in the Territory a large body of men during the winter." Missourians and others, who have no permanent abiding place in the Territory, will probably take up a temporary residence there, in

originated in the wise counsels of CLAY, of CASS, of WEBSTER, and all those pure men who have shed lustre upon the national character, and whose names are constantly recalled as wholesome recollections in these days of peril? Did they submit, when the whole country was anxious that they should submit? Did GAZELY submit? Did SEWARD, or HALE, or any of those men who now clamor in the forefront of the opposition ranks in favor of JOHN C. FREMONT; did these men yield? On the contrary, Mr. SEWARD and other FREMONT leaders declared that the Fugitive Slave law should be repealed.

The agitation began at that time; and was continued as we know wherever an attempt was made to enforce the law based upon that provision of the Constitution, without which no Constitution would have been adopted, and consequently no Union could have existed. Then it was "down with the Constitution!" then JOSIAH QUINCY, of Boston, declared that the fugitive slave law should be repealed at the hazard of overwhelming the Constitution, then it was that SEWARD rallied his cohorts; then it was that GERRIT SMITH attended the celebrations of the Jerry rescue in New York, and went to Massachusetts to defy the law and to involve and organize opposition to it, and then the whole nation saw infuriated mobs composed of indiscriminate gatherings of blacks and whites resisting a statute which had passed in the spirit of compromise and peace!

After the Compromise measures had been agreed upon, the principles which prevailed in the Missouri Compromise act was regarded by all sensible Statesmen as the end of that geographical line, and as a logical sequence that the people were henceforth to assume control over their own domestic affairs, and not a majority of the Federal Legislatures.

In accordance with this understanding, which no one saw more plainly than Mr. BUCHANAN, when in his letter of 1851, after the Compromise measures had been enacted, he declared that the Missouri line had "passed away," Mr. DIXON, a Whig Senator from Kentucky, rose in his place, in 1854, and proposed the repeal of the Missouri line. The question was met, and how met, the country knows. The Democratic party espoused the sacred principles of popular sovereignty, and as they had done in many a hard fought fight before, they suffered for adhering to the truth in the midst of the clamor and confusion of these demagogues who have always assailed the policy of the great progressive party. The principle upon which they now stand is, that the majority of the people in the Territories shall rule, or, in other words, the actual residents of the Territory shall control their own affairs, in their own way, restrained only by the Constitution of the United States. This just and equitable doctrine prevails in all assemblies of the people in this free country. It is that under which they prosper in primary organizations. It is the whole basis upon which our free institutions repose. It is the solution of every great national difficulty, and it will as certainly triumph in the struggle as it has always triumphed before.

That errors have been committed on both sides in Kansas, it would be madness to deny; that much of the legislation of the Territorial Legislature of Kansas is absurd, illogical and unjust, every fair-minded man must admit. All these results have, however, chiefly flown from the persistent opposition, in the first place, of Abolitionism to the extension of the Missouri line to the Pacific, and from the violent antagonism raised against the Compromise measures of 1850 as a part of the legislation of the country

but their convenient reconciliation is forcibly recalled by a perusal of the following list of names of clergymen, successors and imitators of the "three thousand" who volunteered to instruct the Senate of the United States on a question of expediency and constitutional propriety.

The following clergymen are signers to a late appeal to all the churches of Massachusetts:

- CHAS. LOWELL, Pastor of West Church.
- EDWARD N. KIRK, Pastor of Mt. Vernon Church.
- ALEX. H. VINTON, Rector of St. Paul's Church.
- BOLLIN H. NEALE, Pastor of 1st Baptist Church.
- A. A. MINER, Pastor of 2d Universalist Church.
- JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE, Pastor of Church of Disciples.
- WM. R. CLARK, Pastor of 2d Meth. Epis. Church.
- HENRY M. DEXTER, Pastor of Pine-st. Church.
- T. F. CALDICOTT, Pastor of 2d Baptist Church.
- RUFUS ELLIS, Pastor of 1st Church.
- BARON STOW, Pastor of Rowe-st. Baptist Church.
- A. L. STONE, Pastor of Park-st. Church.
- E. EDMUNDS, Pastor of Tyler-st. Christian Church.
- HOSEA BALLOU, 3d Pres. of Tuft's College.
- HENRY A. MILBURN, Sec. Am. Unitarian Association.
- JAS. PORTER, Presiding Elder of Boston District.

We venture to suggest that christian co-operation in missionary propagation has not yet so far affected the world of involuntary heathenism, as to afford these donations of SHARP'S rifles, gifts and other aids to Kansas. If the migration contributed by Massachusetts is of a heathen character, so deplorably marked as to compel for its relief the combination and concert represented by the names above stated, it was a high-handed disregard of primary duty in the Kansas emigrant aid societies to banish such people from the civilization of Massachusetts.

Will the Clergymen of the above list, unite and labor together for any cause of home charity and home duty about Boston?

DAILY NEWS.

BY LANGDON & GILES.

C. C. LANGDON..... EDITOR.

MOBILE:

MONDAY EVENING..... July 14

THE VOTE ON THE KANSAS (TOPEKA) BILL.—The name of Mr. T. G. Davidson, of this State, is not found recorded on the final vote upon the Kansas (Topeka) bill, in the House of Representatives. Mr. Davidson paired off with Mr. Norton, of Illinois.

Mr. Jambell, of Kentucky, paired off with Mr. Moore, of Ohio.

Gen. Quitman, of Mississippi, paired off with Mr. Watson, of Ohio.

Mr. Maxwell, of Florida paired off with Mr. Pennington, of New Jersey.

Mr. Foster, of Georgia, paired off with Mr. Simmons, of New York.

Mr. Vail, of New Jersey, paired off with Mr. Ritchie, of Ohio.

Mr. Letcher, of Virginia, paired off with Mr. Bishop, of New Jersey.

Mr. Hoffman, of Maryland, paired off with Mr. Pettit, of Indiana.

Mr. Boyce, of South Carolina, paired off with Mr. Burlingame, of Massachusetts.

Mr. Keitt, of South Carolina, paired off with Mr. Wood, of Maine.

The first named of all these pairs were against the bill—the second for it.

This carries the vote up to 110 yeas, 107 nays—fourteen States for the bill, sixteen against it, and one divided. In our yesterday's paper the figures were right, but it was erroneously printed that there were fifteen States for the bill.—[N. O. Pic.

THE CHICAGO AND MASSACHUSETTS MEN.—The Chicago battalion whose memorable surrender at the sight of four unloaded stove pipes, has obtained such distinction, are not the only persons who have earned dishonorable fame in the war of treason. The Massachusetts men—those who started from "Bunker Hill, to plant freedom in Kansas, or die, like Warren on the field," but who allowed themselves to be disarmed and sent home, and also receiving "Jessie." Theodore Parker preached a sermon in Boston, and he thus spoke of his cowardly brethren:

"He denounced the New England Kansas emigrants as cowards. He denounced 'the faithful' at Worcester because they did not even 'swear an oath' over the cowardice and pusillanimity of the Sharpe's rifle men who had surrendered on the way to Kansas, and returned 'to the heart of the commonwealth' minus their guns and their backbones. He endeavored to show that cowardice was a New England peculiarity. He said these men should stay at home, and let the women and girls go out, and 'make the rough places smooth' for them, by putting to fight the 'border ruffians' and the U. S. troops, and then protected by women behind, and women in flank, all armed with dish-cloths and brooms, the men in the centre with their rifles that they might be taken through in safety." Said he, "Six half horse, half-alligator men from Kentucky or Missouri will put to fight all the loud talking, spread-eagle free soilers and abolitionists of New England." (Sensation—some applause in the galleries.)

Maquoketa Excelsior.

OFFICIAL PAPER OF THE STATE.

MAQUOKETA:

TUESDAY, JULY 15, 1856.

The Times.

Impending civil war in Kansas—threatened war with England—the rule of violence established at the national capitol—the most brilliant of living orators brutally beaten in the Senate chamber—an administration composed of an imbecile chief and a secretary who can plume himself chiefly upon his dispatches—fillibusterism rampant, officially recognized, holding mass meetings, openly raising money and enlisting men—the party which has all the political talent and most of the political principle left to us, still far from power—the most virtuous, orderly and decorous of nations represented by ruffians and blackguards—the people indignant, embittered, exasperated and helpless—despots everywhere exulting—the liberal party puzzled and dismayed, beginning to think that, after all, Democracy may be a mistake—parties so curiously disarranged that the people may be prevented from saying in unmistakable language what they think, and what they want—all parties dallying with the harlot Availability, still repeating the fatal maxim, "Measures, not Men," when all the evil has come from putting a puppet where a MAN was wanted. Such are some of the aspects of the times.

Whose fault is it? Yours, sir, who think it the genteel thing "to take no part in politics," and neither by voice nor vote come to the help of the Right! And yours, sir, who got it blind for the party, consenting to be one of a Drove! —Life Illustrated.

Dubuque Daily Tribune.

Tuesday, July 15, 1856.

Letter from Kansas.

We have been shown a private letter from Kansas, written by J. H. Nesbitt, late of this county, and an old line Democrat, which confirms every syllable which has been published concerning the outrages perpetrated there against freedom, under the direction or connivance of the Democratic administration at Washington. Mr. Nesbitt, after giving an account of the long list of outrages inflicted upon the Free State people, which we have already published, adds:

"It is easy to discover, by every observer of Kansas affairs, even in the action going on in Congress, that it is the paramount object

THE COURIER.

CHARLESTON.

MONDAY MORNING, JULY 14, 1856.

A Forced Accord.

Inspired history tells us that on an occasion of memorable and solemn import, Pilate and Herod became friends, after a long feud, in deference to their common hatred of one who was accused as disturbing their privileges and claims. We do not desire to do any injustice to the names of Pilate or Herod,

to plant Slavery in Kansas, contrary to all justice, and in direct violation of the principles of the Kansas Nebraska Bill, where it is set forth that the people are granted all power to govern themselves. I am afraid the people of the Free States do not understand the true state of the question. It is whether Freedom or Slavery, shall prevail in these United States. Every citizen has a deep interest in the result of this controversy. From present appearances here, there is a general guerilla warfare coming on, and Frank Pierce and the administration are conniving at the movements of the Pro-Slavery party, etc."

Every Democrat from the Free States, writes as does Mr. Nesbitt. Their eyes are opened to the character of Pro-Slavery Democracy, by what they see and suffer, and their letters home are doing a good work. Democrats—old, true, starting Democrats—are daily forsaking the Buchananers, and ranking themselves in the glorious army of Freemen and Fremont.—*Philadelphiaian.*

Extraordinary Political Event.

Read what the Louisville Journal says of the new Kansas bill:

"One of the most remarkable political events of the age, is the passage of the new Kansas bill by the U. S. Senate. It is a direct repeal of the main substance of the Kansas and Nebraska Bill of 1854. It is not only a recognition, but a practical assertion of the right of Congress to legislate for the Territory, and even to repeal its legislation.—Moreover, it is an express practical recognition of the native American Principle. It annuls the chief provisions of the boasted bill of '54; it sets at open defiance and wipes out an important resolution of the Cincinnati Democratic National Convention; and it flies directly and fiercely in the face of the loud preachings of the entire Democracy, for the last two years.

Fellow countrymen! Look at this thing! The Democratic party of the nation, staked itself, upon the Kansas and Nebraska bill.—That bill was originally made a party measure, by the Democracy in Congress, and when it became a law, the law was made a party measure, by the Democracy everywhere. The whole Democracy made the law, a Democratic test. Not to support the law in all its provisions, was treason to the party. The Cincinnati Convention, declared the unconstitutionality of the interference of Congress in Territorial Legislation, and the party has endorsed the declaration. And yet now our Democratic Senate does sway with the Nebraska law, legislates for the Territory, and enacts that none but native and naturalized citizens shall vote in the Territory. What the Democratic party one week ago boasted of as its great distinctive measure, its test measure, is annihilated by its own hand. Here is a party catastrophe without the shadow of parallel in party history. The Democratic party is suddenly transformed into a huge crab, making back tracks as never mortal crab did before. The spectacle is a monstrous one.

Douglas, Pierce, Buchanan & Co., as every body knows, attempted to make a hobby of "Popular Sovereignty." They thought the bait would take with the people; they have tried it; and find that its workings in Kansas, would probably, deprive them, of the vote of every true lover of Liberty, and of law and order, in the North; and all at once, there is a change in their tactics—"WHOM THE GODS WOULD DESTROY, THEY FIRST MAKE MAD." This is an old and thread-bare motto—but we venture to say, that it was never so truly verified, as in the action of the Bogus Democracy, led on by Douglas, Pierce and Buchanan.

They first, repealed the Missouri Compromise, and passed the infamous Kansas and Nebraska Bill: and by so doing, outraged the feelings of a large portion of the Northern Freemen. They then met at Cincinnati, and adopted a Platform, which determined that neither Congress, nor the Territorial Legisla-

ture, could pass any laws, upon the subject of Slavery—therefore, a slave-holder, could take his slaves into Kansas, Nebraska, Minnesota, or any other Territory, in the Union; and work them, breed them, or sell them—as he pleased. This is the Cincinnati Platform. This platform, was precisely what the South desired. But, that portion of the honest and true Jeffersonian democracy, who were constrained to cling to the fortunes of these bogus leaders, because they claimed to be, the representatives of the old Democratic party, had gone as far as they could go.

They had already submitted to much, which they knew was un-democratic; and were willing to do so; rather than leave the party that claimed the name of Democracy.—But this pill was too bitter—the thing, was too plain—Slavery; pure, uncontaminated Slavery; was plainly and openly endorsed by the party leaders; and the honest and conscientious men of the party, were required to follow in their wake.

Is it wonderful, that these men; determined that hereafter, they would think and act, for themselves?

Jefferson, the apostle of Democracy, (whose name and whose teachings were once revered by the Democratic party—had proclaimed himself, and the principles of the Democracy, to be opposed to Slavery in the abstract.—True, he had consented to respect it, in the States, where it existed—but he had proclaimed his fixed determination to oppose, earnestly, decidedly, and unfiringly, its extension into Free Territory. He, said; "Let this right arm, be severed from my body, sooner than consent, to the extension of Slavery into one foot of Territory, now Free." Again—when speaking of the crime, of the nation, in its protection of the traffic in human flesh, he said—"When I remember, that God is just, I tremble for my country."

Jeffersonian democrats—by hundreds and by thousands, in view of these things, were constrained, with loathing and disgust; sternly to set their faces, against these bogus principles.

The question presented to them, was this—Will you stand by Douglas, Pierce and Buchanan, the Cincinnati (so called) Democratic Platform, and Slavery; or will you vote with those Democrats and Whigs, who (under the party name of Republicans,) are determined; forgetting all past party differences, to act in concert, to preserve our free institutions, and save our beloved country, from the withering, hellish, influences of the foul and brutal system, of human Slavery?

Reader, what is your position? Are you a Whig? Did you ever learn from the time-honored leaders of your party; that Whiggery, meant Slavery? Are you a Democrat? Did Jefferson or Jackson, or any of the Democratic fathers ever teach; that the ballot-box, was to be polluted—that the rights of Freemen, were to be trampled on—that American citizens were to be arrested and imprisoned for treason, their property pillaged, their dwellings burned, and their lives violated, to insure the extension of Slavery, into the free Territories of Republican America?

These, are questions; which, if you are honest men, you will not shrink from—Questions, for your answer to which; and for your future political action; your Posterity, your Country, and your God; will hold you responsible. Remember then, that the question, and the only question: now before the

people; before you, is—Will you vote for FREEMONT and FREEDOM; or will you vote for, BUCHANAN and SLAVERY?

Fountain City Herald.

FOND DU LAC, WISCONSIN.

FOND DU LAC, TUESDAY JULY 15, 1856.

More From Kansas.

We give to-day, much additional news from Kansas. We confess it is of the most startling nature, and cannot fail to fill every freeman's mind with the bitterest indignation against the present diabolical Administration. We have really arrived at a fearful crisis in the history of our Government when, in order to aid the plans of slavery propagandists, the arms of the nation must be called into requisition, and even go so far as be ordered by President Pierce to interfere to prevent a peaceable celebration of the anniversary of our Nation's Birth Day. We say it is all to protect and aid the schemes of the slavery propagandists.—Is it not so? Was not this whole Kansas iniquity concocted at Washington? Were not the plans there laid by Douglas, Stringfellow, Atchison and Pierce, to make Kansas a Slave State? And are not these wholesale murders, robberies, piracies and plunders by the Border Ruffians, so many regular predetermined resorts, to be used, if found necessary, to accomplish this purpose? Certainly they are, and they are enough to make every Freeman's blood boil with indignation—an indignation which can find no vent in words—which can only be appeased by a free application of the sword and the halter. Verily, these fiendish acts of the hell-hounds of the present traitor Administration, are sufficient to make the swords of our Revolutionary fathers spring from their scabbards and the bones of these departed heroes turn with indignation in their resting places. What will yet be the result of this Kansas matter, time alone must determine. But while the horrid outrages, murders, piracies and robberies are going on in Kansas, let every freeman remember it is "squatter sovereignty" practically illustrated. It is but part of the original plan of the concoctors of the scheme of repealing the Missouri Compromise; and finally, it is a part—and the chief part of the platform of the present Pro-Slavery party, which has placed JAMES BUCHANAN at its mast head, who stoutly avows—"I have been placed upon a platform of which I most cordially approve," and one which he declares he will, if elected, square his conduct to, and carry out.

American Citizens, whether native or foreign born, ponder this question; consider it well, and then be prepared to act when the time comes for action.

WILLIAMS.—The people in the neighborhood of Waupun, Dodge Co, held a large meeting on the 4th, and were addressed by S. M. BOOTH on the issues of the day, and in response to an appeal for Kansas, raised over a thousand dollars.—The heart of the people beats warmly for Freedom everywhere.—*Springfield.*

Illinois State Register
The Senate Kansas Bill.

We have heretofore given a synopsis of the bill for the settlement of the difficulties in Kansas which has passed the senate. We give today, to the exclusion of other matter, the entire bill.

No candid man can doubt, by a perusal of this bill, that its object is to settle, at once, the difficulties which have arisen through the machinations of abolition agitators. This is not only the object of the bill, but its passage will be productive of such results. The people of the territory are left by it to settle the question. It is with them, by the provisions of this bill, to decide the character of the institutions by which they will be governed. Duly guarded and restricted, the bill provides that the people—the bona fide residents of the territory, shall decide the character of their own local institutions. What democrat, professing to be an American republican, can gainsay this right of the people—this privilege of man to govern himself?

Niggerism insists that the leaving of this question to the decision of the people is to make Kansas a slave state. That to make it a free state the abolition clique, hired and paid by the Boston Abolition Aid Society, must have their dictum obeyed. That the people of Kansas must take constitution and law as laid down at Topeka. That from their dictum there is no appeal. They are the people and all others are interlopers! In this free suffrage—popular sovereignty—state's rights as understood by the freemen of Illinois? If the people, under the lead of Lane and Mark Delahay, are competent to frame their own laws, are not the people—the whole people, of Kansas—capable, as directed by the bill we have quoted, capable of doing the same thing? To deny this is to assume that the minority, not the majority, shall govern. As between the two bills—that of the senate and the Topeka bill of the house—the question is simply here: The friends of the latter claim that the people of Kansas, under the call of a mere party, a faction, have adopted their fundamental law; another party, which all know to be largely in the majority, deny this, and only ask that a fair vote may be had to test the popular sense as to which party is right and which party is wrong. None openly deny the right of the majority to rule, and the senate bill only proposes to test which party shall carry, so far as the adoption of a new constitution is concerned.

It is not a question of a slave and free state. Whether so or not, the people of the territory have the right to decide the question. But it is a question whether a minority, backed by congress, shall rule the majority of the people of the territory. In this shape black republicanism—whose groundwork is Massachusetts federalism—presents the question.

They assume that justice cannot, nor will not, be rendered their side by the adoption of the senate bill; that the election will be conducted unfairly; that the Topeka interest will not have fair play—in a word, that they, the majority are not equal to subduing the minority!—and that justice will not be done the former! By what process, then, do they hope, claiming to be the majority, to gain the ascendancy which they claim they are entitled to? A minority so corrupt as they allege their opponents to be, will never submit to the irregular mode of adjustment they suggest. The troubles they affect to deplore, therefore, instead of being allayed, will be increased, and the imposition of a constitution and laws upon the territory, the framing of which a large portion of the people declined participating in, cannot result otherwise than in anarchy and bloodshed. The leaders of abolitionism know this. They know that the Topeka constitution never will be submitted to, and the eruption growing out of resistance to its enforcement will only barter a produce which the leaders

of their faction are working for—a civil war and a dissolution of the confederacy.

The bill we publish provides for an amicable, constitutional mode of adjustment of the dispute. With all the guards and restrictions which surround the election laws of the states—with provisions more stringent than any of them, it proposes to decide, by popular voice, among the only people interested, the shape of their own institutions. Black republicanism will not risk this, but claims the work of its own minions as low, and nothing else will satisfy its demands.

The democratic sense, the virtue and intelligence of the American people, cannot but decide against the machinations of the demagogues who are pushing their party schemes to the fearful lengths which abolitionism, in its present struggle for political power, is reaching after. The position of the democracy is defined clearly in the bill which we to-day publish. It is, indeed, the gist of the whole question which they make with their abolition enemies. Let every honest man read and ponder upon it, and decide whether the democratic or negro-worshipping remedy is the best for the eradication of the evils which furnish demagogues of the latter faction the chief and only ground-work of their partisan capital

DAILY TRIBUNE
LOCAL DEPARTMENT.
WILLIAM W. PECK, EDITOR.
Tuesday Morning, July 15, 1856.

ILLINOIS WOMEN'S KANSAS AID SOCIETY.— Notice is hereby given to the City Canvasers of Chicago for the Illinois Women's Kansas Aid Society, that they are earnestly solicited to make their returns and give their report to the Treasurer on Friday, the 18th inst., at 3 o'clock P.M., at her residence on South Clark street, four doors south of Taylor street.
By order of the Executive Committee,
MRS. P. W. PECKHAM,
Secretary and Treasurer.

DAILY TRIBUNE.
DETROIT :
TUESDAY EVENING, JULY 15, 1856.
PRINCIPLES—NOT MEN.

The Great Deception Exposed.

The more we examine the Toomb's Bill for the Pacification of Kansas, the more we are astounded at the atrocity of its cruelty, and the smooth adroitness of its deception. The 18th section of that bill is most paraded by its advocates as showing the impartiality of the measure. This section we are told abrogates the laws of the Kansas Legislature. Now the laws of Kansas as published under supervision of Congress and numbered Executive Document 23, forms a volume of between 800 and 900 pages, and section 18 of the Toombs bill which we are told abrogates these laws of the legislature elected by citizens of Missouri, and which specifies the tenor of each law it invalidates, contains just 54 lines. But we will grant it invalidates some of the laws passed by the bogus legislature. Now what laws are they? Laws prohibiting freedom of speech and of the press, the right of petition, the right of exemption from unwarrantable searches and seizures, the right to bear arms, the right to trial by jury, habeas corpus, exemption from excessive baills and unusual punishments and test oaths. Let it be remembered that these are all constitutional guaranties, and need no tinkering of such small fry as Toombs and Douglas to say they shall have effect in every section of our confederacy. When before in the history of the country has it been necessary to re-enact these guaranties? and yet it is a fact that the bogus legislature of Kansas by its scandalous laws has vio-

lated that in Kansas the constitution of the Union shall not be paramount law. This is a precious confession of Messrs. Toombs & Co., that the legislature which they recognize has set at naught the Federal Constitution. But our readers must not think that this pacification bill has invalidated any other laws than those which were already inoperative for their violation of the constitution. It has not done so, and as a commentary on what it has done we will refer to the following facts.— Notwithstanding the Constitution guarantees the right to bear arms, Col. Sumner is now, under orders of the President disarming the settlers throughout the territory, and notwithstanding the constitution guaranties freedom of the press, George W. Brown is now in prison awaiting trial for exercising this fundamental right. But we shall refer to some of the laws of the legislature which the Toomb's bill does not pretend to invalidate.

I. The laws of the bogus legislature, page 377, in relation to trial by jury read that "all courts before whom jurors are required may order the Marshal or Sheriff, or other officer to summon a sufficient number of jurors." Thus the whole matter is left to the discretion of the officers—such men as Jones and Haynau—and they "summon" just such a jury as is wanted for the occasion.— Of course the rights of no free State men are safe by jury trial.

II. The people of the territory are subjected to the harassment and control, of a set of pro-slavery officials, fastened upon them by this fraudulent legislature for an illegal and unusual term, some of them open for six years. This will keep the slavery party long enough in power, if not successfully resisted, to place Kansas completely in their grasp.

III. One of the laws passed by the bogus legislature provides that convicts may be privately hired out by the day, the keeper of the prison to collect the hire and pay it into the territorial treasury. Thus a most degrading system of white slavery is introduced which is an opprobrium to the civilization of the day, and cannot be endured even by American citizens who have become the unfortunate victims of crime.

IV. The entire legislation of this bogus legislature, treats slavery as actually existing in the territory, notwithstanding the lying promise of the Nebraska bill, that it was intended neither to legislate slavery into the territory or out of it; but to "leave the people perfectly free to form and regulate their own domestic institutions in their own way." And so we read laws in relation to the appraisal, taxation, mortgage and flogging of slaves. The Kansas usurpers legislated in relation to this species of property, just as a legislature in South Carolina would have done, and yet as a legislative body it is recognized by Toombs' bill, and citizens of Michigan are requested to petition that it may be so finally recognized by Congress.

V. In the organization and control of the militia the bogus Legislature provide that the Governor (Shannon) shall appoint all the officers, and through his power over these officers he even controls the appointment of musicians, so that all the military power of the territory is within the complete management and direction of the pro-slavery party. But to make this power and control more effective for the peculiar purposes of the ruffian party, it is enacted that on the very day of the territorial election, one half the people of Kansas are to be under training orders of their superior officers, compelled to go wherever these officers appointed by the Governor, (Shannon) shall command. This legislation can be found in the published volume of Kansas laws, section 12, page 421. The design of this too transparent for comment, and what assurance have we that this militia will not be at the polls even after the census is taken under the "five Commissioners?"

But we cannot pursue this subject further at present. We have accomplished our object and have shown that the Toombs-Douglas bill invalidated no law that was not already invalid on account of its violation of the constitution, and that it still leaves in force some of the most odious, dangerous and disgraceful laws of the Kansas code, and these laws will be in force and enforced if Douglas' bill passes.

"O, what a Goodly Outside Falsehood Hath!"

Of all the schemes devised by the Slavery Extensionists, for the furtherance of their nefarious projects, none is so completely steeped in hypocrisy as the bill for the enslavement of Kansas invented by TOOMBS and DOUGLAS, and which having passed the Senate, is now in the House. The Buchanan papers call it the Kansas Pacification Bill. It is a sugar coated pill, and if swallowed by enough Free State men in the House, to secure its enactment, will purge Kansas of the last vestige of Free Labor and blacken its soil with Slavery.

To show that the bill is grossly hypocritical, it is necessary only to point out the fact, that in its specious pretense of fairness, it recites, in substance, our bill of rights, declaring that no law shall be binding in Kansas which abridges the freedom of the Press, or the freedom of Speech; and yet, at the very moment of the passage of that bill, and for months before, the whole civil Federal force of Kansas, backed up by the military of the United States, were employed in arresting Free State men for treason, and that they disobeyed the laws of Kansas which makes it a crime even to assert that Slavery does not exist in that Territory. Men are under guard of U. S. troops this very day, in Kansas, awaiting their trial for their lives, under the force of those laws which this deceitful act pretends to condemn. Free presses have been destroyed under orders of the United States Court in Kansas, as nuisances, and its editors are now in prison for doing what this TOOMBS and DOUGLAS bill say they have a right to do.

Again, this bill proclaims that private property shall not be taken for public use without full compensation, and yet, day after day, the forces enrolled by SHANNON under the sanction of the President, are robbing men, women and children, in Kansas, of their very food and clothing; even stealing the jewelry from the persons of the women of that Territory.

But look at the practical application of this bill. By it the President appoints five Commissioners, before whom, those who were actual residents of Kansas on the 4th of July inst. shall appear and register their names, and thus be entitled to vote in the autumn for delegates to a Convention to form a State Constitution. What a mockery of justice to place such appointing power in the hand of FRANK PIERCE, at whose door lies all the damning responsibility for the outrages in Kansas, and who at this very moment sustains by all the civil and military power at his command the laws made by a legislature elected under the most glaring frauds which ever disgraced the elective franchise. Look at PIERCE's civil officers now in Kansas under his appointment, and then answer, can any honest man vote to commit further power over that misruled Territory into his hands? The Commissioners are also to have the power of appointing judges of the elections for delegates to the State Convention. From what has been, it can be readily seen what will be under such judges as Commissioners of PIERCE's appointing would select.

The crowning outrage, however, of this bill of abominations, taken in connection with existing facts, is the fixing of the time at which persons must be residents of the Territory to secure a right of registry and a right to vote—to wit: the fourth day of July inst. That the understanding between the Border Ruffians now in Kansas, and the trausers of this lying bill, was

moved by the proceedings of the day. One man was shot on his way home by a Ruffian from Leecompton.

The prisoners are still in charge of U. S. soldiers, near this place.

I hasten to get this off by the hands of a friend, and will in a day or two give some further account of Kansas.

VIATOR.

For the Tribune.

Levi Bishop at the City Hall.

Said Mr. Bishop: "I wish I had one of these black-coated rascals before me now, [alluding to clergymen,] I would take the hide off him."

Some clergymen have behaved very badly, it would seem, in this city of late. So dignified and honorable a man as Levi Bishop would not call them "black-coated rascals" unless they had been guilty of some grave offence. As Mr. Bishop is an able lawyer, and has the well-being of society at heart, it is to be presumed that he will not let these "black-coated rascals" escape punishment.

I see by the papers that one J. C. Underwood, of Virginia, has been guilty of a similar crime while in Philadelphia a short time since. The consequence was that he dared not return to his home in Virginia. Had he done so the probability is that the chivalry of the "ancient dominion" would have hung him to the first tree as a warning to all such offenders. Sumner talked about wrong, oppression and crime, in Washington, and the public well know the terrible punishment that awaited him.

It seems strange that men should dare to continue to commit such offences against the peace of wrong-doers, when they may be quite certain that "their hides will be taken off," or they will be caned over the head, or hung, or shot. The kind of punishment, of hiding, or hanging or shooting, to be determined by the locality.—Men should learn wisdom, and keep their mouths shut. If they will talk what they think and expose crime and oppression they must expect to meet the consequences. It will not do to talk about oppressive and wicked laws—and wicked rulers. In doing so you awaken the angry passions of men who sustain these rulers and these laws, and they will not bear it. It is using strong language in exposing iniquity to which men object. It touches their honor. "Some men regard their honor more than their life." "Wickedness in high places" must not be rebuked. It stirs up bad passions. It makes wicked men exceedingly violent. Mr. Editor, cannot a stop be put to this business? If things go on as they are now, it will be almost as bad, as it was at the commencement of the revolutionary war. When such men as Thomas Jefferson, Benj. Franklin, John Adams and Patrick Henry talked, wrote, and printed about oppression and wicked laws, and the rights of men.—These agitators did a great deal of mischief and made the British officers violent and oppressive and cruel. If they had kept still and let matters take their own course there would have been no battles at Lexington, Bunker Hill, Trenton or Saratoga. What an amount of suffering would have been prevented. How many precious lives would have been saved. It is just so in Kansas now. If the Free States had sent no settlers there and had let the slave-holders take quiet possession of that beautiful country there would have been no trouble. There would have been no burning of houses, sacking of towns, robberies, murders, imprisonments, and other barbarities with which that territory has been cursed. Is it not strange that men will contend about so small a matter as Freedom, free speech, and a free press. What fools these men are!

It is just so with the lowest as well as with the highest class of society. What a disturbance it causes if a slave on one of the Southern plantations says anything about Freedom or his rights as a man. He had better be silent or the lash will bring him to his senses. Now, Mr. Editor, one would suppose, with all these facts before them, that "these black-coated rascals" might have known that their "hides" were in danger. Whether the Hon. Levi Bishop intends taking their "hides" off with the same weapons that they use on the plantations at the South to "hide" the slaves is uncertain.

May we not hope that after this these "black-coated rascals" will hold their tongues lest a worse thing may come upon them.

LAW AND ORDER.

LATEST FROM KANSAS.

Particulars of the eruption of the Topeka Legislature—A Michigan man in Kansas.

Correspondence of the Detroit Daily Tribune.

LECOMPTON, K. T., July 5, 1856.

EDITORS DETROIT TRIBUNE: Presuming that your readers may wish to hear from the Topeka Legislature in further detail than the telegraph conveyed, I hasten to give you the matter as it was, knowing as I do that many manufacture news down the River from mere hearsay. On the evening of the 3d inst., many of the members of the Topeka Legislature were at Topeka and held a kind of council together with friends present, and resolved that, if Col. Sumner should issue the expected proclamation forbidding the meeting of the Legislature, they would not meet. In the meantime, rumor had agitated the Missouri border with the report that Col. Lane would be there with a large force to resist any and all opposition. An effort was made to march 400 Missourians of the baser sort to Topeka, but Col. Sumner, who was on the 1st and 2d at Leavenworth, intercepted them and forbid any organized band marching into the Territory, and more assured them of his purpose to restrain them, and also any force at Topeka.

Early in the morning of the 4th, Col. Sumner entered Topeka with about 170 men, and from the West the main force from Fort Riley came in, numbering about 160 men. So also the numbers arriving from all parts of the Territory was great. Some armed, some unarmed; and by good judges it was estimated that 1,500 to 2,000 were present. Col. Sumner placed his cannon on a height above the town and directed two towards Constitution Hall, and four to sweep the principal streets. His guns were loaded, matches ready, and gunners on hand. The hour for meeting was 11 o'clock, but by 9 the Hall was crowded, and by half past 10 the members concluded to commence. Just about this time the Topeka Guards were parading in a kind of 4th of July way in front of the Hall, and were just about to be presented with a banner from the ladies as Col. Sumner's men rode up and dispersed them, and formed in front of the House.—Inside a member moved a call of the House when Marshal Donaldson arose and announced three proclamations—one each from Gov. Shannon, Secretary Woodson, and Col. Sumner, which he commenced to read in a confused tone, and soon finding himself unable to read them, he handed them to a gentleman; said to be Judge Elmore, who read them. The substance of was an order for the body to disperse or rather to not organize. But the calling of the House was commenced and completed, only 17 members answering to the call, though many others were present, and they say that they considered the resolution of the evening of the 3d as forbidding them to answer, while some say that they feared an arrest. Now Col. Sumner appeared and was received with cheerful smiles and given a seat where the Speaker should sit, and some one moved that Col. Sumner be made Speaker pro tem, which the Colonel seemed to take as a pleasant joke and laughed with the crowd, but immediately arose and stated that he had a painful duty to perform, but that his orders were imperative: and that they [the Legislature] must disperse. He was then asked if they could organize and adjourn, to which he replied, no. He was then asked if they should consider the dispersal as forcible if they now quit.

He replied that they might consider it as at the point of the bayonet, as his force were ready to execute it forcibly if need be. They then gave three cheers for Col. Sumner, three cheers for Robinson, three cheers for the Union, three cheers for liberty, and three groans for Pierce and Donaldson and dispersed. Col. Sumner mounted his horse to ride away when some man spoke to him and he dismounted with a smile and proceeded to the Senate chamber and dispersed the Senate in a like manner.

After this all parties joined in a boisterous celebration of the 4th, Col. Sumner having proffered the use of his cannon and gunners to make noise for them and the day passed off with much good cheer. A few men from Leecompton and some 50 from Missouri were the only ones who seemed an-

complete, is proved by the history of Kansas affairs just before the 4th. The unusual activity of the Ruffians in driving Free State men over the borders, and in keeping out new comers, is now perfectly explained. It was to meet the requirements of this bill. The Ruffians acted in concert with the framers of this bill, and were to banish Free State men, and drive back Northern immigrants, so that on the 4th of July, the majority of actual settlers would be Pro-Slavery men. The bill has been delayed on its passage, so that the wires of the whole thing are exposed. Every one now can see why the Chicago colony and others were driven back, just at that time, with so much zeal, and why such energy has been used for a few weeks back, in driving out Free State settlers. But another feature in this cunningly devised bill, is, that this Constitution framed for Kansas, by a Convention elected under these five Commissioners, is *not to be submitted to the people for ratification*. It is to be binding without any such ratification. Here is another specimen of the regard had by DOUGLAS and CASS for squatter sovereignty. This is Democracy when passed through the crucible of Slavery.

And yet another feature of this bill, which will not strike the eye of the casual observer, is laid bare by Lieut. Gov. ROBERTS, of Kansas, who as a Democrat, has given his objections to the bill through the columns of the *N. Y. Post*. By the bill, the ratio of representation and the appointment of delegates is to be determined by the number of voters—not by the number of inhabitants in the Territory. Thus, of course, every ragamuffin from Georgia under the lead of Buford, has the same representative strength with a good citizen having a family. Of course, the men with families are generally Free State men, while the mere adventurers and hired ruffians are single men.

Such are a few of the prominent features of this bill to fasten Slavery on Kansas, even against the will of her people, by the pretended friends of popular sovereignty. Such is Democratic Pacification.

The Chivalry and Fourth of July.

South Carolina is full of patriotism on the Fourth of July as it is of niggers. The Chivalry meet at the County towns, have out their scare-crow military, listen to the Union-saving prayers of their godly men, swallow the turgid oratory of their Quatlebums, eat poor dinners, and suck down the largest kind of toasts in still harder liquor. The proceedings are then paraded in the *Charleston Mercury*, and self-satisfied South Carolina goes scuffling along slowly as a decrepid old darkee until another grand celebration. Without these periodical vents, the Chivalry would burst themselves as well as the Union. As it is, both are safe—their threats and flatulency awing and alarming nobody but “human chattles,” used to the lash of the “peculiar institution.”

The *Mercury* of July 11th contains the proceedings on the “4th of July at Grahamville,” with notice of prayer, reading of Declaration, oration, regular and volunteer toasts, &c. The 4th regular toast pronounces the Constitution an apple of discord, as follows:

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES: The apple of discord between virtue and vice, reason and fanaticism.

The Free Men of the North have always regarded the Constitution as the very “apple of the eye” of the Union. The South alone makes it an “apple of discord.”

The 6th Toast is eminently South Carolina. Wonder if the company did not feel a tightness about the neck while drinking it:

THE UNION OF THE STATES: Nominal in form, but dissolved in spirit. May the next overt act of aggression snap the remaining bond, and thus place the South upon that political equal-

ity which Northern injustice and Northern principles have denied us in the halls of legislation.

Such a disunion sentiment would be hissed down at every Northern celebration from Maine to California. The gutta percha coward is thus honored in the 7th regular:

Mr. BROOKS: May the glorious example here set us in the chasement of Northern insolence, arouse us to a due sense of the indignities which have from time to time been offered to the South, and stimulate us to avenge them as speedily, as promptly, and as effectually.

The Chivalry also honor Mr. Broo-s in three volunteers, quite as ruffian in sentiment.

Massachusetts and Abolitionism are awfully cut up in the regulars, and the 10th is for the benefit of Northern doughfaces. It will be seen that even South Carolina does not despair of the Union quite yet.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY: The platform adopted by the Cincinnati Convention, inspires a hope that the rights of the South may yet be maintained, and a dissolution of the Union postponed for a time.

The valiant “Capt. Thomas Dawson” thus shows his chivalry and decency:

May God, in his wisdom, see fit to remove the white skin of the honorable Senator from Massachusetts—Sumner—and substitute a black one, together with a “kinky head,” that he may be taught to appreciate his color.

And “B. F. Boyd Esq.,” thus agonizes over Kansas:

KANSAS: Already stained with the blood of Southern martyrs in the cause of justice and our most sacred rights. May her streams become rivers of blood, and her forests charnel houses, before her soil shall be contaminated and her atmosphere polluted by the free soil partisans of the North.

Such is the Union, Constitution, Patriotism, Chivalry, and Decency in a State in whose principal city the first Free School was established the 4th of July, 1856!

Eating his Own Words.

It is bad enough for a political enemy to taunt DOUGLAS and his squatter sovereignty allies, with being obliged to swallow their own words, but when such a charge comes from a devoted friend, admirer and coadjutor, it is doubly cutting. The *Charleston Mercury* says:

The Kansas-Nebraska bill is not only a practical failure, but Senator Douglas is himself forced to contest it, and even to introduce a bill into the Senate which proposes, in the face of its principles, “Congressional intervention.” It virtually admits that the people of Kansas cannot take care of themselves; cannot decide peaceably the question of slavery, and that nothing but “intervention by Congress”—the very evil which Mr. Douglas has constantly denounced, and which the Kansas-Nebraska bill aimed to suppress—can save that Territory from anarchy. Mr. Douglas, the great champion of popular sovereignty, is now the advocate of Congressional intervention.

The African Democracy swallowed squatter sovereignty at Cincinnati, but have thrown it up at Washington. They will, no doubt, swallow it again and throw it up again, as party purposes may dictate; but, we fancy, with as ill success as attended the sick Indian in his attempts to keep down his glass of whisky. Three times he swallowed it, and as often threw it up, but not wishing to lose the precious dose he caught it each time in his glass, until weary and discouraged he sat down his glass and took a nap. He awoke just in time to see his whisky go down the throat of a sly old rum sucker who slipped in during the Indian's nap. “Ugh,” exclaimed the sick Indian, “you no make him stay down, I try him tree times.” It is needless to say “that last remark,” as Ollapod said about the swauges, also gave the toper a disgust to the dose and his stomach revolted, and rejected it too.

Tuesday Evening, July 15, 1856.

relieving the Wives and Orphans—Where does the Money go?

For several weeks past the Republican leaders have been busily engaged in peddling addresses through the country, appealing to clergymen and kind hearted people for money to be applied for the benefit of the “widows and orphans of Dr. Root, Mr. Mitchell and others,” whom they represent as having been “murdered in cold blood in Kansas.” Large sums of money have been collected on the strength of these representations, but it now turns out that “Dr. Root, Mr. Mitchell and others” have not been murdered at all! and the very interesting question arises, where does the money go? does not go to Kansas, we have the mos

The Republican.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

TUESDAY MORNING, JULY 15, 1856.

Slavery in the Territories.

There is danger lest in the noise and confusion of the Kansas contest the principle upon which we started be lost sight of. In our indignation that the people of that territory have not been allowed to act freely under their organic law, we must not forget the great underlying question whether our federal government shall oppose any obstacle to the unlimited expansion of slavery.

There is indeed ample occasion for those who hold the doctrine of the Nebraska-Kansas bill to be offended with the men who planned its execution; for it has been clearly shown that, so far at least as concerns Kansas, it was meant but for a delusion and a cheat. Its people were to be left free to choose freedom or slavery, provided only they chose slavery. But we, while denouncing the crime of those who wrest from the settler a suffrage specially conferred by the law under which he became such, yet take broader ground, and deny utterly that the matter of freedom or slavery in the public territory should be submitted to this decision.

The constitution does not require its natural justice does not demand it. The power of legislation for the territories is given to Congress by a most explicit grant. That power has been uniformly exerted. The great majority of the wisest men have recognized the propriety of its exertion. Scarcely any have denied its right until quite recently, and those who have are now employing it.

But it is said that the use of this authority for the purpose of prohibiting slavery conflicts with other provisions of the constitution. Will some one show this? How? Where? What provision gives men a claim to hold slaves upon United States lands? But the states have equal rights under the constitution, and therefore the citizens of each state may enter a territory on terms of equality with those of any other. Let it be so. This is just what we want. We insist that they SHALL GO on terms of equality and no other. This is the very intent of the slavery prohibition. Whereas the southerner desires to go, taking with him a superior nature—a sovereignty above nature. Of this sovereignty he refuses to be divested. How then can he speak of equal rights?

But if the power to hold slaves is stated not as the result of an inherent personal right, but of state institutions, and if the institutions of each state are held by the federal constitution to be on an equal footing, then, if the Missouri man may take his laws establishing slavery, why not the Massachusetts man his laws abolishing it? It must not be thought that both can be in force together. If slaves are held, they must be held by law; and that the law of the territory, binding on one as much as another. Every man is liable to feel its effects, and must aid in its enforcement. So that to set up Missouri law is to put down Massachusetts law, and the assumed equal right is gone. Yet upon this doctrine rests the whole

constitutional argument against the prohibitory principle.

Further; as this principle does not conflict with the constitution, so neither does it with natural right. But are we not in favor of popular sovereignty? Yes. The design of the prohibition is to secure it. Do we not believe that local concerns should be left to the care of the local population? Yes. Why then not leave the matter of slavery to them? Because it is not a local concern. Because the people whose interest is affected by it is the people of the Union; and the government of the Union as the representative of this people is most fitly intrusted with the care of its interests.

The men who first enter a territory have no right to establish institutions there, the effect of which shall be to destroy or greatly to impair its value. How far slavery does this we have some occasion to know.

We say, then, let the federal authority be promptly put forth to bar its entrance. But it will be objected again: Does not such an act imply a distinction between the institutions of the South and the North, favorable to one and unfavorable to the other? Yes. Does it not then conflict with equal constitutional right? We have shown that no such equal right can exist. That the law of a territory, whether framed by its own people or by Congress, must either allow or disallow of slavery, and can not look upon it with indifference. We have shown further that this distinction, necessary to be made, should properly be made by Congress, and made in favor of freedom. Is there something invidious about this? Just as there always is in distinguishing between right and wrong, and nothing more. If our general government may not do this in its appropriate sphere of action, to what end have we a government? It all lies in a small compass. We believe the existence of slavery in the national domain to be a matter of national concernment. We believe that the national good requires that it should be prohibited; therefore we think that the national government should do it.

Holding such doctrines, we could not support the Senate bill for the settlement of the Kansas troubles, even if it were a fair one, as it is not. We should be committed to the abandonment of a safe and wise policy that we have always urged.

plan is to take some judgment on them, and sell their farms to some ruffian who has the money ready to offer. For this purpose the Blue Lodge of Missouri have raised a fund of several hundred thousand dollars with which to buy up those improved claims.

One of the New York settlers at Ossawatimie writes to the agent in New York:

"We are in great need of funds for general distribution. Our people have been watching and standing on the defensive so long, that many who are dependent on their daily labor for subsistence, are suffering. As for myself, peaceable man as I am, I have been obliged to flee from night to night for my life, as the freebooters have threatened to hang me when they catch me. I dare not go from my home as it would certainly cost me my life. My family will leave for the East in the morning, there to remain until the war is over."

A lady at Lawrence writes to a friend in Ohio that she had been allowed to visit the free state prisoners at Lecompton. They were trying to bear their confinement like philosophers, but it was made exceedingly irksome to them. They were seldom allowed to see friends, and their letters and papers were withheld from them. She saw sheriff Jones also and represents him as wasting away and looking feeble. She says:

"If he had lain still and not been in such a hurry for his revenge upon Lawrence, he might have got along, but the exercise and excitement of that day brought about a serious inflammation of his wound, and there is a fair prospect of his wasting away under it. I think from his appearance he feels that his life is drawing to a close, and when I see any one in such a case it stirs up so much of the human in my heart that if it was the old scotch himself I should pity him."

It is a fact to be noted and remembered, that the ruffian papers in Kansas and Missouri which make it their business to stimulate the pro-slavery men to violence and murder, catch eagerly at the vile slanders against the emigrant aid company and the northern emigrants fabricated by the ruffian presses that disgrace some portions of New England, and find in these free state authorities full justification for their abominable atrocities. No small portion of the guilt of the terrible crimes enacted on the soil of Kansas, will recoil upon the venal presses here at home, which for party purposes have been willing to defame and abuse the most worthy class of emigrants that ever went from New England to plant homes in the West.

The wheat harvested in Kansas is described as excellent, but the quantity is not large, and the corn is luxuriant and abundant in some districts, and will yield a fair amount if the people are allowed to harvest it. But the government and its ruffians began their spring campaign against the people just when they were beginning to plant, and not half the crop has been raised that would have been if they had been left to cultivate the land in peace. There will be much suffering in the ensuing year unless the contributions from the East are sufficient to meet the deficiency.

Gen Lane and Party in Kansas.

A letter in the St. Louis Republican, dated in Kansas, the 8th, states that Gen Lane had entered the territory with several hundred men by way of Iowa, and had been heard to declare that he would take Kansas or die. (Border ruffian version). There has been a serious difficulty among the Kickapoo Indians, caused by free use of liquor, and several of them were killed.

The Atlas.

TUESDAY MORNING, JULY 15, 1856.

DEMOCRATIC DESPERATION.

If evidence were wanting of the desperate condition of the party, or of the forlorn and despondent feeling of its leaders, enough and more than enough may be found each day in the columns of the custom house organ in this city. The desperation of a bad cause betrays itself in a resort to the most desperate expedients. The despondency of its advocates is seen in loss of temper, in reckless inconsistency, in wild indecencies, and in wholesale abuse of the persecuted pioneers of freedom in Kansas, regardless of truth or honorable conduct. In its issue of Friday last, the Post published, with an approving editorial endorsement, the precious outpourings of some unprincipled political blackguard—possibly the present law partner of ex-Governor Baker of New Hampshire—in a letter dated from the new town of Clinton, in Iowa, disgraceful to the writer, and still more so to the conductors of a press who deliberately publish and en-

dorse them. A single extract from this *fatiguo* of partisan falsehood, grandiloquent nonsense, and bitter pro-slavery malignity, will suffice for our present purpose:—

"You have doubtless heard ere this how those brave recruits to 'Lane's army of freedom' were disarmed at a town in Missouri. Gallant 'seventy-three!' Some K. N. or Republican bard should render your achievements immortal, after the manner of the noble 'Six Hundred.' Not an arm was raised, not a shot was fired, not a drop of blood was spilt; but with pallid cheeks and trembling hands those weapons dedicated to the battles of 'freedom in Kansas' were yielded up to the ruthless 'border ruffians' with a gentle sigh of disappointment. I wonder what kind of a reception the citizens of Chicago will get up to welcome home these bloodless heroes."

Our readers are familiar with the facts which this writer thus perverts to serve the basest partisan purposes, and the atrocious brigandage, high-way robberies, and outrages, over which he thus exults. A party of some seventy-five American citizens, principally mechanics, and all honest, law-abiding and respectable men, attempted to go to Kansas, as permanent and peaceable settlers. Their right to do this no one can dispute. Their honest, honorable, and lawful purposes no one has or can impeach. They went in obedience to their own views of duty, and in compliance with our laws. There is no evidence whatever of any unlawful intention. They went intending to become citizens of Kansas, as they had a right to do; they went with the purpose of favoring free institutions there, as was both their right and their duty also. They were met, on the great highway of Missouri, by an army of robbers and land pirates, who, in violation of the laws of Missouri itself, and in the plainest violation of all law and all right, robbed them of their property, deprived them of their liberty, and by superior strength, with violence and force, drove them back. These are the simple facts of this great crime, over which the correspondent of the Boston Post exults, with fiendish triumph, and which that journal, while on the next page appealing to "good citizens" "to stand by the polity that has carried this country onward and upward," and daring to talk about "the revolutionary and anarchical course of the Republican party," is "glad" to receive and publish! A small band of free State emigrants, whose only crime is that they prefer freedom to slavery in their new homes in the wilderness, are overpowered by brutal force, outnumbering them twelve to one, armed with cannon, and having every advantage of superior position—and the pitiful libeller, whose mean and shameful insinuations the Post is "glad" to endorse, is unhappy because "not a shot was fired, nor a drop of blood spilt." He talks with exultation of "the pallid cheeks and trembling hands" of his outraged and plundered fellow citizens, and wonders what will be their reception at Chicago! He has not one word of sympathy to express for poor and humble Chicago mechanics, thus robbed and pillaged, conquered only by twelve times their numbers and overpowered by superior artillery! It is enough for him that they prefer freedom to slavery. He has no word of censure or rebuke or the banded highwaymen, who, if the laws of their own State were enforced upon them, would have sentence of death pronounced upon them for their crimes upon the highway. On the contrary, all his sympathies are with the robbers who blockade the Missouri River, who threaten instant death to resisting travellers, and after pillaging and outraging them, drive them back from their lawful and rightful purposes!

And the Post, which has not yet bestowed one word of censure upon these outrages on the Missouri river, is "glad to hear from" this cowardly and anonymous slanderer, who would not dare repeat this insult in the presence of a single one of the men he thus cruelly libels—and hopes to hear from him again! All the while it fills its columns with unmeaning and stereotype exhortations and appeals to love of law and order, but it never has any rebuke or censure for the real offenders against law and order. When Charles Sumner was struck down by a cowardly and murderous assassin, and his blood spilt upon the floor of the Senate Chamber, the Post spoke of it only as "ill-advised," because it might aid

Kansas Notes—Murders Still Frequent—The People not Protected—Poverty and Suffering of the Robbed Settlers.

A gentleman who left Leavenworth, Kansas, on the 4th, informs the Chicago Tribune that murders are still very frequent in the territory; that an officer under Sumner told him that the dragoons had picked up and buried a great number within a few weeks. The bodies of thirty-two murdered men were found on the roads, several of whom were partially devoured by the wolves. It is some satisfaction to learn, however, that they were not all free state men who had thus fallen; but that many plundering ruffians had been made to bite the dust for their crimes. The ruffians driven out at one point come back into the territory in small gangs and attack scattered settlements and rob and murder with impunity. Col Sumner has no force adequate to the protection of the people, and if they undertake their own protection, the mob courts, where ruffianism rules in its worst form, indict and imprison them for treason, so that practically the protection of the troops is of little value. If the people were allowed to do it they would protect themselves and sweep their brutal oppressors from the territory.

The ruffians have another scheme for driving out the free state men in which they doubtless have the co-operation of their allies the U. S. land agents:—

The office of the register of lands in Kansas will, probably, be opened on the 1st of August to give settlers a chance of proving up their claims in ninety days, and paying for them at the rate of \$1.25 per acre, before the opening of the land office. The matter has been kept exceedingly quiet, for the purpose of taking the settlers unawares, and to give the members of the Blue Lodge in Missouri an opportunity to buy up the claims of free state men, and send them adrift over a part of the territory. Many of the settlers hold valuable claims, but are destitute of money, and the

the Republican cause, not as wrong itself. When armed bandits interpose to prevent free settlers from the enjoyment of their rights, the Post exults through its correspondence, over the partial success of their crimes against law and against right, and in the same issue has the effrontery to call upon all "good citizens" to "rebuke rebellion." There is no crime too monstrous for this slave of party to conjure up, without a shadow of proof or pretence, against the poor persecuted free settlers of Kansas, there are no intentions too villainous or too improbable, for it to charge them with, in advance of any act or deed, and no lie too monstrous for it to publish and to repeat, even after its falsehood has been exposed, while it has only silent acquiescence or open approbation for all the crimes and outrages the ruffian advocates of slavery extension may perpetrate. If the citizens of Kansas meet together, with arms in their hands, it is not enough that they commit no wrong—it is not enough that they offer no resistance to the United States authorities, even when the latter are enforcing a high-handed usurpation of authority, unauthorized either by precedent or by the constitution; this print is swift to charge upon them a resistance they have never contemplated, and which, certainly, they have never committed. Slow to condemn the most treasonable outrages on the part of the Missourians, it is more than swift in its unjust charges, unfounded insinuations and sweeping calumnies against even the humblest friend of true republicanism and sound democracy. An out and out champion of lawless usurpations by pretended patriots in Rhode Island, it has no sympathy now with popular rights, when the people of Kansas seek by peaceful means and with all the forms of law, to frame for themselves a State government, in the same manner as the people of California, Iowa, and Michigan had done before them. Only a little while ago stoutly insisting that all the laws of the bogus legislature were valid and that they must be submitted to, it now at the word of command from its masters at Washington, wheels about and finds, in their abrogation by the Senatorial conspirators a sufficient reason why Toombs and Douglas's bill to enslave Kansas should be submitted to, and swallowed "horns, tail, hoofs and all."

All these indications attest one unavoidable inference. The signs in the political horizon are not propitious to the interests of the Republic. The hands of the oppressors are fastened upon the necks of the oppressed, and the people of Kansas are being driven to the wall, while it commends their senses, also appeals to them, and accuses their worst passions. They will save, while the avenging forces of an outraged P.O.P. are gathering for their overthrow, and proper steps to resist, they can only revile and vilify the national and anti-sectional opponents of wrong and misrule, who unite to restore once more to the Republic the better days of Washington and Jefferson.

For a Letter from Manhattan, N.Y. published in the Atlas of this date see p 247 of this Vol.

Evening Telegraph.

July 15, 1856

Middlesex County Kansas Movement.

At a meeting of the Kansas Committee for Middlesex County, held in Boston on Tuesday the 8th inst., John Nesmith of Lowell was chosen Chairman, and F. B. Sanborn of Concord, Secretary. James Hunnewell of Charlestown was appointed Treasurer, and it was voted that an address to the people be prepared, and measures taken to secure an efficient organization in all the towns. The following is the address put in circulation by the Committee:

TO THE PEOPLE OF MIDDLESEX.

At a meeting of Committees and Delegates from several towns in our county, held at Charlestown, on Saturday, the 5th inst., the undersigned were chosen a County Committee for the purpose of effecting a more thorough organization of the friends of Kansas for receiving and appropriating funds for the aid of Free State settlers, and to take any other action which the occasion may require.

It is by virtue of this trust that we make this appeal to you in behalf of our outraged brethren in that unhappy Territory.

In the present state of their affairs, which grows worse every day, it is plain that there is something for us to do, and that we must act immediately. Every hour's delay costs us more than we can afford to lose. Some of the objects for which we must labor seem to us to be the following:

- 1st. We must raise money for the relief and support of the Free State men, already in Kansas, who have lost their property, and their means of subsistence by the recent troubles there. They are fighting our battles—shall we not shield them from starvation?
- 2d. We must send in more emigrants to help those already there, and be prepared to support those whom we send till the country is pacified.
- 3d. We must open a safe and expeditious route through Iowa and Nebraska where settlers may travel unmolested.
- 4th. We must give employment, if possible, to the laboring men of the Territory, who are now out of occupation, and are consequently disheartened and returning.

To do all this requires money, and we must all to subscribe generously—for never has a more important occasion for generous contributions been presented to us. You have already raised a considerable sum since the first of June—from six to ten thousand dollars as we estimate it—but unless much more can be raised Middlesex will do little towards relieving Kansas. Ours is the largest county in the State, and, next to Suffolk, the most wealthy, why can we not raise \$50,000 or more. Several towns have already contributed more than their proportion of this sum. We hear of but one in which the subscription has been completed—the town of Concord. Here the sum of \$1364 has been subscribed, although the proportion of the State Tax assigned to the town is but \$963, while the tax for the whole county is \$63,940. Should all Middlesex raise money like Concord we should have \$90,000. To do this, or anything approaching it, town organization is necessary. We trust that in all the towns to which this paper goes, the friends of Kansas have already called a meeting or started a subscription. If not they should begin instantly.

In order that all who wish to subscribe may do so, whatever may be the purpose to which they wish to devote their money, we have divided the subscriptions into four classes, and prepared papers where each person may subscribe under any of the four following heads, as he may choose:

- 1st. To furnish relief to suffering Free State settlers, by supplying them with food, clothing, &c.
- 2d. To send actual settlers and see that they are properly supported.
- 3d. To provide employment for the laboring men of Lawrence by rebuilding the Free State Hotel.
- 4th. For such other purposes as the Committee may think best.

The first of these objects must commend itself to every one, for how can we allow men and women from our own State, perhaps our old friends and neighbors, to suffer when we can relieve them? But we regard the sending of emigrants as quite as important, and there are men now ready to go in many parts of the State, if their expenses can be paid. We know of between fifty and a hundred who could be started almost immediately had we a fund of \$5000 for them. Shall we not have it? Every moment is precious.

The subscriptions under the third head are to aid in rebuilding the Hotel which was destroyed at Lawrence, and whose loss is all the more felt because there are so few good hotels in Kansas. The Emigrant Aid Company offer to issue scrip for these subscriptions—payable when Congress shall have made an appropriation for indemnity for the destruction of the hotel. Thus those who subscribe to this fund have a fair prospect of receiving their money again. No subscription of less than \$20 (the price of a share in the stock of the Co.) can be received for this purpose.

The Committee pledge themselves to expend the

money according to the wish of the givers, in one of these four ways, and they will endeavor to guard against all possible misapplication of whatever funds are placed in their hands. They have chosen for their Treasurer a well known and responsible business man, and trust that their own names will guarantee the proper expenditure of the funds.

It is thought desirable by the Committee that a Middlesex Colony should be founded in Kansas and the name of our county given to a Free State town there. If, therefore, those who wish to emigrate to Kansas will communicate with us, either directly or through their town committee, we shall be glad to enrol them among the Middlesex colonists.

The Committee will put themselves in communication with the State Committee and other Committees throughout the North, and they solicit communications from all the town organizations. They purpose sending an agent West to inform them of the best method of action.

To conclude—although there is every necessity for earnest and prompt action—we do not feel that there is any good reason to be discouraged. The attempted passage of Douglas's bill, and the turning back of Northern emigrants, ought to make us active and watchful, not disheartened. We are confident that a strong effort on the part of the North, made at this moment, will save Kansas. Without it all may be lost. Men of Middlesex, will you not make the effort?

JOHN NESMITH, Lowell, Chairman,
 BENJAMIN HINCKLEY, Charlestown.
 JESSE A. LOCKE, Watertown,
 ADDISON FLINT, North Reading,
 C. C. ESTY, Framingham,
 C. HAMMOND, Groton,
 F. B. SANBORN, Concord, Secretary.
 JAMES HUNNEWELL, Charlestown, Treasurer,
 Office 25 Commercial wharf.
 July 12, 1856.

At an adjourned Kansas aid meeting in Pembroke, Monday evening, the total amount of collections was reported as \$114.80, of this sum, 6.80 was collected in school district No. 8, the postmaster giving \$5.00 of that small amount. This shows that Mr. Pierce's office-holders are not all inhuman.

Portland Advertiser,

Tuesday Morning July 15, 1856.

Report of the Kansas Congressional Committee.

We commence to-day the publication of such parts of the report of the Kansas Congressional Committee as our limits will permit us to publish, (regretting that we are unable to publish it in full) and which ought to be read by every voter in the State. We see that Mr. Oliver, the member of the committee who was proved to have been present and participating in some of the disgraceful scenes prior to the first fraudulent election, if he did not actually vote, has made a minority report which, if we may judge from the telegraphic report of it, is intended as an equivocal denial of some of the material facts stated in the report of the majority. Fortunately, the report of Messrs. HOWARD and SHERMAN is overwhelming fortified by the testimony of witnesses preserved in writing, and this testimony accompanies the report. This testimony proves far more of outrage and usurpation than was previously alleged.

The series of wrongs inflicted upon Kansas, by Missourians, with the avowed object of extending slavery into that territory against the wishes of its inhabitants, form the darkest page of American history—and the darkest feature in the whole picture is, that the influence of the general government, instead of having been extended to protect the citizens, has been extended so as to encourage and shield those who have perpetrated these outrages.

Read this report, then, and pass it round to your neighbors—every voter should read it. It's "damning array" of facts, all established by an abundance of testimony accompanying it, show conclusively that the elections in Kansas have been fraudulently controlled by Missourians—that robbery, arson and murder have repeatedly been committed—that sanguinary and infamous laws

have been enacted to force slavery upon freemen, and free presses burned and destroyed. And, yet, Maine had one Representative in Congress who refused to put an end to these scenes and rid Kansas of Missouri vassalage by admitting her into the Union with a Free Constitution!

Much credit is due to Messrs. Sherman and Howard for the fidelity with which they have discharged their duties, in which they have shown, not only good sense and good temper, but good courage. Less fearless men would have been intimidated when beleaguered by "Border Ruffians," with Revolvers in their belts and Bowie-Knives in their boots. But they pursued the "even tenor of their way," and with truly wonderful success, gathered from witnesses, often reluctant, and frequently intimidated, volumes of Testimony, direct and corroborative, furnishing "proof strong as holy writ," that the Government of Kansas is a Usurpation in which the people of Kansas had no voice; and that the Federal Territorial Officers are the instruments and abettors of that Usurpation.



NEW YORK, TUESDAY, JULY 15, 1856.

TOO MUCH SWAGGERING.—A letter to one of the editors of the Journal of Commerce from a Northern clergyman traveling in Missouri, says, "I saw the 'Chicago Boys' soon after their relief from their armor at Lexington. If they had boasted less, the Lexington people would have let them alone. Indeed, if Kansas fails to come in as a free State, the Abolitionists have to thank their own bad spirit and misguided measures for the result. This is the opinion of the numerous Free State men now in Missouri, who have decided preferences for freedom."

From the Washington Star.

KANSAS INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE.

Mr. Oliver's Report (in morality), from the Kansas Investigating Committee, argues that the resolution under which the said Committee was raised made it their duty simply to collect evidence and report it to the House. Mr. Oliver states he had no expectation of the Committee doing aught but reporting the evidence. The statement, in the nature of a report, submitted by the majority, is arraigns as altogether ex-parte, one-sided, and partisan in its character. Many of the statements in it, he asserts, are without a single fact from the testimony taken to rest upon. For the correctness of this assertion he appeals to the testimony on file. He states that the evidence clearly shows that Gen. Whitfield was duly elected a delegate to Congress in November, 1854, and while the testimony is conflicting and directly contradictory on some points relating to the election of March, 1855, for members of the Legislature; yet, from the whole, it clearly appears that the Anti-Slavery party were in a minority in fourteen out of the eighteen election districts. The aggregate vote cast for their candidates throughout the Territory, as they appear on the poll-books, was short of 800, while by the census taken in February before, there were 2,905 legal voters in the Territory. The entire Anti-Slavery vote, therefore, was not a third of the legal voters of the Territory, without making any allowance for the immigration of *bona fide* settlers after the census and before the election. He further states that there is no evidence of any force or violence having been used to prevent any man from voting who wished to vote in the entire Territory; that there is no evidence of a single assault and battery about voting in the entire Territory on that day; that there is no evidence assailing in the slightest degree the correctness of Governor Reeder's judgment in awarding certificates of election to the members of the Legislature, as he did; that the Legislature was a proper law-making body, and its laws, therefore, are valid as far as consistent with the Constitution of the United States and the organic act; and that Gen. Whitfield being duly elected in pursuance of law thus passed, is entitled to his seat. Mr. Oliver reviews at great length the existing troubles in Kansas, and shows from the evidence that they are properly chargeable to the revolutionary movements of those who got up the Topeka Convention, and who have pledged themselves to resist the laws at all hazards.

THE EVENING POST.

TUESDAY EVENING, JULY 15.

WASHINGTON.

[Correspondence of the Evening Post.]

Herbert's Case—Ecclesiastical Troubles on the Slavery Question—A Bold Preacher—Woodruff's Reply to Brooks.

WASHINGTON, July 13, 1856.

Two important cases, one in the church and the other in the courts of law, were awaiting a decision to-day in the capital city, but both failed of coming to a final verdict. The one was the case of Herbert, the waiter-killer; the other of Conway, the Unitarian clergyman, on trial before his congregation for preaching anti-slavery heresies in a slaveholding community. In the case of Herbert, the Jury were unable to agree last night, and this morning at 9 o'clock were as far from agreement as before, standing, as rumor says, eleven for acquittal, one for conviction. They will be summoned to return a verdict once more at 9 o'clock to-morrow, when it is not unlikely the waiter-killer may be acquitted and released from custody.

If he be released, the verdict will be condemned by public opinion. It will be considered an affirmation of the southern doctrine that a gentleman may insult and kill a poor Irish waiter with impunity. The fact cannot escape remembrance that Herbert first in a fit of ill-humor did insult the waiter, and that he then killed the man he had thus provoked. Under these circumstances people will insist that, whether he did the act in self-defence or not, he ought to expect nothing short of a verdict for manslaughter.

Mr. Conway's case was different. He has preached in this city for the last two years in the Unitarian church, the members of which invited him on the distinct understanding that he was a zealous and outspoken anti-slavery man. But last winter, in the midst of the speakership excitement, he first horrified his parish by the exhibition of his opinions. They had a meeting on the matter, but determined that it was not best to turn him out. Two weeks ago, however, he blew another blast on Kansas, with variations on other anti-slavery themes, that appalled his congregation like the trumpets of Jericho. The executive committee of the church could stand it no longer, and called a meeting after the services of to-day, "to consider the recent course of our pastor."

Being a little anxious to know what would be done, I attended the religious services which this morning preceded the threatened demonstration of the executive committee. Mr. Conway chose for his text Isaiah 30th, 10th, which, if my remembrance serves me, reads like this: "Say unto the seers, see not; and unto the prophets, prophecies not right things, but speak unto us smooth things." Upon this text he preached a discourse marked by great plainness of speech, and much eloquence and originality of illustration, vindicating the course he had pursued in reference to the question of slavery. He showed, in the first place, by quotations from sermons preached to the congregation before he was invited to become their pastor, that his principles were fully known to them in advance, and that he had not gained their confidence by any concealment of them. Next he argued that he had only performed his duty in disobeying the injunction to preach only "smooth things" to his flock, maintaining that anti-slavery was a vital and inseparable constituent of the Unitarian creed, and that the preaching of it was sanctioned by the example of its leading expounders, Channing, Dewey, Bellows and others. He said that it was the office of Christianity to assail sin, however strongly entrenched behind the forms of law, or incorporated into the institutions of the country. Those who desired to have the pulpit "say smooth things," would convert the church into an antiquarian society, which would go into ecstasies of distress over the oppressions of Egyptian Pharaoh, or into ecstasies of admiration of Daniel, who preferred the lion's den to obedience to an unrighteous edict of civil authority, but would say nothing about our modern Pharaohs and Daniels, until they became as obsolete as the oppressors and heroes of Biblical story. For his part, he could not agree with them. When he saw an institution like slavery, so injurious to its immediate victims, and causing such outrages as are now witnessed in a distant territory—when he saw one of his own parishioners stricken down in the Senate for asserting—a right so essential to the Unitarian faith—the right of free speech, he

could not hold his peace. Mr. Conway also considered at length the objections against his course, such as that it could do no good, and produced discord in the church and lessened its popularity, adding, that if the congregation would strike out other characteristic doctrines, besides anti-slavery, such, for example, as the unity of God, from their creed, they would still more augment their numbers and popularity; but he certainly, in that case, would have nothing to do with such a church. He denied that he had ever preached partisan politics in the pulpit, but thought his opponents rather inconsistent in bringing the charge against him, since they had once passed a vote of thanks to the Rev. W. P. Lunt for an anti-higher law sermon, of which they had also procured the publication.

When the services were over, a meeting of the congregation was held, in which the conduct of the minister was discussed with some feeling on both sides. The Executive Committee read a report censuring Mr. Conway, and virtually, though not in explicit terms, requesting a vote for his dismissal, for persisting in preaching politics. But there was clearly a decisive majority the other way, who maintained that the committee was a mere business committee, and had, in its recommendation, transcended its powers. It was also declared that it would be ruinous to the prosperity of the society and to its good name to impose restrictions upon the freedom of the pulpit.

At last the suggestion was made by a venerable conservative member, that the whole subject be postponed till the annual business meeting in November, which was silently acquiesced in. Whereupon it was voted that the church take a recess till October. This postponement till after the Presidential election was a very shrewd move, as it leaves Mr. Conway's dismissal or retention contingent on the election of Fremont or Buchanan. The leading opponents of Mr. Conway are permanently connected with the government, and, it may be supposed, it was thought that a Republican triumph might so liberalize their opinions that they could then endure more patiently his anti-slavery appeals. Both parties, the pro and the anti-Conway, however, are satisfied with this sagacious measure of pacification, and both claim to have gained their object.

Mr. Conway himself, whose anti-slavery boldness has rendered him so conspicuous, is a Virginian by birth and education, and a nephew of Justice Daniels of the Supreme Court. He was formerly a Methodist, but is now one of the most promising of the young clergymen in the Unitarian denomination. His position in the church of the federal city gives this flare-up a notoriety and significance which it would not otherwise obtain.

The debate on the Brooks assault in the House is rather losing its interest. The arguments are exhausted, and the discussion, as the Yankees say, "runs empty." Yesterday Etheridge, of Tennessee, elucidated admirably the position that the House have jurisdiction over and the right to punish its disorderly members, though he was opposed to exercising that right. He also prophesied two things, both of which are likely to occur, namely, that this occurrence would insure the re-election of Sumner,

SEMI-WEEKLY TRIBUNE.

TUESDAY, JULY 15, 1856.

INTERESTING FROM KANSAS.

PROGRESS OF SUBJUGATION.

EFFECTS OF THE CIVIL WAR.

From Our Special Correspondent.

OSAWATTAMIE, K. T., June 28, 1856.

The southern portion of Kansas Territory, from the Wakarusa to the Neosho, is certainly the most beautiful in the world. The prairies are not very large. On the way from Lawrence to the south, the traveler has rarely to travel more than three miles between the streams. The prairies are neither so broken, nor do we find as much rock on the surface. Springs and clear fountains are more common. I do not think there are many prettier streams to be found in the West than the *Marie de Cygnet* (Mercedsin). It is the upper part of the Osage River, and bears the latter name below Osawattamie, where the Potawatamie unites with the Mercedsin.

But beautiful although the outer aspects of the country, they did not conceal the evidences of the civil feud raging in Kansas. Removed from the more stirring points of action, there is not so much to startle, but the route I pursued toward the South portion of the Territory lay within forty or fifty

miles of the Missouri frontier, and the foot-prints of the Border Ruffians were observable here. I saw many deserted houses, and fields where the young corn was flagging its yet narrow leaves in the sunshine, while the owners of these establishments were fleeing from evils they deemed greater than loss of property, or poverty. One fact I noticed, however, no inconsiderable portion of those absentees were Pro-Slavery men.

In the neighborhood of Osawattamie lives Capt. Brown, and after the war had fairly broken out this Spring, that gentleman went into it after a fashion not peculiarly suited to the views of the Border Ruffians and their confederates in the Territory. Those who had held a monopoly of infamous persecution, and who had delighted to harass the Free-State settlers, killing, burning, plundering, and driving off, learned to their astonishment that this was a game at which more than one can play, and, terrified by the fearless energy of their opponent, quailed before it. Some of the more delicately scrupulous and refined of the Free-State settlers shrank from some of the acts of Brown, and when the account of his course reached them through Pro-Slavery channels, distorted by fear and bitter party prejudice, some of them did not hesitate to denounce these Free-State men who thus stepped into the vortex of civil war in which others had plunged them, and anxious to eschew all imputation of such real or fancied guilt, freely condemned in others that which timidity, or a hope that there would be "peace—peace when there was no peace," had prevented themselves from doing. It is more than likely that some of the acts of these guerilla bands have been such as a peace-loving man would not admire, and perhaps the warfare may have been waged with a bitterness which every honorable man must deplore. But as I stood on the ashes of the houses of the Free-State men—as I thought of them skulking along the streams and ravines, enduring the hardships of the most severe camping life, in order to escape the dragoons who, at the heels of infamous Missouri Sheriffs and Deputy-Sheriffs, were trooping after them—as I contemplated their blighted prospects and impoverished homes, and remembered the Border-Ruffian source of all these calamities—as I reflected that the relatives of many of these men were in ignominious prisons, chained like felons, indicted for treason, and only for daring to will it that the beautiful country over which I was traveling should never be cursed with the pollution of slavery—then I comprehended the spirit and motives by which they might be impelled; and in reflecting that civil war was always the most bitter and implacable, wished for the happy days when there would be no "Guelphs and Ghibbelines."

Osawattamie is a very pretty town, and stands between the Marie de Cygnet and the Potawatamie Creek, just above their junction. Here there are several stores and places of business. A very good saw-mill, the best I have seen in the Territory, has just commenced running, although it is not completed. Its engines and boilers give it a large amount of power, and although there is only one circular saw in operation, the intention is to run another saw, a pair of stones, and other machinery. Osawattamie is well laid out, and although the citizens told me that all improvement was at present arrested, and business and every thing else was suffering, all of which I could see, still it bore the marks of what would be prosperity under happier circumstances.

I heard many grievous complaints, and listened to statement after statement of the losses by the recent sacking of the place by the Westport and Independence Ruffians. I first thought of publishing a list of these losses, but at this lapse of time from the transaction, I felt that the space it would occupy would be too great for a report from such a fertile field for outrages in Kansas. I found men who had been robbed of their all, and who, while scarcely able to remain, were yet unable to leave. Some of the more delicate minded were timid, and evidently felt like being quiet non-resistant under the fallacious hope that they, as individuals, might happily escape the observation of their enemies, a hope that their experience has already proved to be false, and which, till every man is aroused to stand by the rights he would wish defended, will prove to be false, and a dangerous illusion. The fiat has gone forth, the Free-State men are to be driven from the Territory by the minions of the Slave Power, and its corrupt tools, who covet their places, and the dispelling of such vain and false hopes as leave them exposed and comparatively defenseless, will be their best and only security.

Immediately on the high prairie, to the back of Osawattamie, the white tents of the United States troops are visible in fair array. These had been camped close to Osawattamie until the morning of the day when the town was attacked and plundered; that morning they left, and marched off on some other duty, and although many messengers implored them to go to the point of attack, they

never got to Osawattamie until four days after the sacking of the place. Even then there was a camp composed of some of the men who had engaged in the outrage on Bull Creek, only eight miles distant, but no attempt to follow them was made, nor did the dragoons ever recover a particle of the property taken, or arrest a single one of the perpetrators, although some one or two Pro-Slavery residents of the country adjacent had engaged with the Missourians in the affair. There is never an arrest made in Kansas, but of Free-State men, no matter how heinous the crimes of their enemies.

Capt. Pate, the correspondent of *The Missouri Republican*, besides sending specially-colored moralizings about the troubles in Kansas, has a fair show in making them. He resides near Westport, Mo., but comes up every now and then in warlike or plundering excursions, helping to make his other vocations more profitable by taking a hand, aiding and abetting, stealing from the "D—d Abolitionists." Capt. P. was at Osawattamie during the sack, and he and his men did much to reëstablish the reputation tarnished on the field of Palmyra. They carried with them many interesting relics of Osawattamie. It was this company who burned the houses of the Browns—these pieces of incendiarism having been committed while traveling with the dragoons, the latter only being a short way off. The dragoons also received from them the Free-State prisoners that Pate captured while they were helpless on their claims. Although these men were taken without the shadow of legal process, the dragoons chained and guarded them in their camp—keeping them thus for weeks until the bogus authorities had time to trump up a charge and indictments against them.

Of the sixteen horses taken from Osawattamie, two have been recovered. These belonged to the mail-agent between Westport and Osawattamie. Their being in Osawattamie at the time, suffered from being in bad company. Through the kind instrumentality of Col. Boone, now Postmaster in Westport (the successor of Sheriff Jones), one of the horses was recovered; it was found, I believe, with the Hon. Milton Magee, of Westport, and was persuaded back by the influence of the Postmaster. The other was yet in possession of Capt. Reed, of Independence. Capt. Reed was chief in command of the Osawattamie robbers. He is now a candidate for Congress, one of the grandees of Independence, "a Southern Rights man to the core." *Sic transit gloria.*

It was in Osawattamie that I first heard of the atrocious murder of Mr. Gay, the Shawnee Indian Agent. I got the particulars minutely from one who was acquainted with the murdered man, and who has just got to Osawattamie from the scene of the transaction. Mr. Gay was recently appointed by the Administration at Washington. He was from Michigan. He had been a National Democrat of the Douglas discipleship, but an honest one, and had come to Kansas prepared to disapprove of the steps taken by the Free-State men to defend themselves from the attacks of Slavery, but tried to reconcile this with a desire to see Kansas a Free State. I think the scales of the "Squatter Sovereignty" delusion must have fallen from his eyes ere they were brutally closed in the long sleep of political martyrdom for Freedom. Buford's company had a camp in the Shawnee Reserve. This camp was composed of Southerners and volunteers from around Westport. Being in the lower part of the Reserve, and having no Free-State men to plunder save an occasional unlucky traveler, they commenced operations on the Indians, killing their hogs, and making themselves at home in a variety of ways. This was going on while the troops were camped some twenty miles up the Reserve, for the purpose of driving them out. Mr. Gay, as was his duty, having been complained to by the Indians, went to Sumner, and requested that the Shawnee property be defended. It was then that Sumner drove out this camp, and they, when they first saw the soldiers, hoisted their flag, and prepared for action, but seeing the artillery, and the strength of the dragoons, hauled down their flag and left. This was undoubtedly the cause of Gay's death.

My informant, while going from Westport to Kansas City, last Saturday, met Mr. Gay and his son going toward Westport, and on conversation learned that they were going toward the Shawnee Reserve; alas! they never reached it. They had gone through Westport, and had passed on the great California road, and had just reached the State line, when they were met by three men, two of them belonging to Buford's camp, and one being a resident of Westport. They accosted Mr. Gay and his son, and offered them something to drink; the son tasted the liquor, but Mr. Gay told them he never drank. Upon that they asked him whether he was a Free-State man or a Pro-Slavery man, and he had just said he was a Free-State man, when one of the villains drew his revolver and shot Mr. Gay in the breast. The wound was desperate, and would probably have proved fatal, but the victim had strength and courage to seize

his assassin, drag him from his horse, and throw him on the ground. At this point the young man, seeing that they were unarmed and would be overpowered, cried to his father to flee, and just as that father was about to do so he received several other pistol shots—one entered the back of his head, another penetrated the temple above the eye, and one pierced his hand. He dropped dead, and the son, seeing his father's fate, turned and fled. A great many shots were fired at the young man, but only one bullet hit him, wounding him severely in the thigh. They followed him, screaming and shouting to "Kill him," but he escaped into Westport. The corpse of the murdered man was brought into Westport that evening. At the instance of some indignant citizen, a warrant was issued by a magistrate, but no officer could be found to serve it; they dared not, even if they had wished. After a day or so, the business men of the place, fearing the effect of such a brutal murder of a United States officer, offered a reward of \$600 for the apprehension of the murderers; but this was a farce. Who dare arrest any one for such a crime in Western Missouri?

Fear here that part of the plunder taken from Osawattamie is stored in the warehouses of certain merchants in Westport.

Major Buford has a camp of 200 men at the farm of Majors & Russell, a few miles from Westport. Other 200 are camped around the country, in the neighborhood of Westport and Independence, or billeted on the people. Many have left and gone back to the South, but others arrive and fill their places.

I learn that a company of 60 men straggled up the Santa Fé road, a few days ago. Three wagons carried their arms and tent equipage. They carried their side arms. Missouri is again arming. It is reported that the Governor of Missouri has ordered a company from every county for the Kansas war.

Great indignation and regret prevails in the Territory, on the receipt of the intelligence of the capture and disarming and plundering of the Free-State company at Lexington. I suppose you have the particulars before this. Another company was coming up; it is feared they fared in the same way. Lexington, Independence and Westport may pay for this yet.

ANOTHER FEATURE OF THE CONSPIRACY.

From Our Special Correspondent.

LAWRENCE, K. T., Tuesday, July 1, 1856. Lawrence has again been thrown into considerable excitement by the intelligence just received that another company of Free-State emigrants, numbering seventy-five men, have been arrested on the Missouri river by the Pro-Slavery ruffians, all their baggage and arms taken, and they placed under guard and sent back. It is just what I expected—what may be expected by these infamous Missouri River boats, and from these piratical Missouri towns. Let no small party venture up. Individuals, who are willing to submit to insult or to be plundered, may possibly get through. I would recommend even these to trust only such boats as may run direct from Alton to Leavenworth. A large party should at least number a thousand strong; should have command of the boat, or be able to take command of it; should have at least two brass bowitzers or swivel guns, and after they get to Jefferson City should take it for granted that they are in an enemy's country; keep close guard; never allow the boat to be chained up at or touch at a town where a large force is drawn up to meet them. They should be under able and fearless leaders, should be under arms, properly disposed to fight to advantage whenever they approached a Border-Ruffian town, and should commence firing at once upon any party that attempted to interfere with them. In this way, a trip up the Missouri might be made in safety, but I do not wish to be understood as recommending it. Two other precautions I had nearly forgotten. No large armed body should ever be allowed to come on board at these places, on any pretense; and lastly, whenever the boat was passing a point of danger two men with revolvers should be stationed beside the captain and the pilot, to blow out the brains of either who should show any treachery, or if the latter run the boat aground. These are serious matters, and must be seriously contemplated by all who are unwilling to be plundered or taken. This Missouri River piracy is getting to be a very serious evil. Can the Government do nothing to put a stop to it? If they don't, they may expect that those interested soon will.

I learn that the business of stopping all Free-State emigrants, be they coming in what shape they may, is general and systematic. The roads leading through Northwestern Missouri to St. Joseph, Parkville and Liberty, are carefully guarded, and emigrants from the Western States, in wagons with their families, are turned back, and in some cases abused and plundered. Missouri and the Southern armed emigrants think they can take care of, and

are coolly preparing to sweep out the Free-State settlers by wholesale murder, but they are determined that no more Free-State men shall be permitted to enter the Territory. Well, let them beware. Our numbers are few; our ranks are thinned by villainous arrests, and still more villainous murder; but they may find another "three hundred" as brave as those who fought at Thermopylae, to stand in the breach. We cannot fight all Missouri, but as sure as there is a just God in Heaven, if there is another Missouri invasion, we will try.

One old man came to me to-day, and asked me "what he should do; what redress he could have?" His son, with his wife and family, had been coming to join him in the Territory, but had been driven back while trying to cross the river at Parkville. I told him there was no remedy; none in the courts, none in the Territorial or National Executive; no security, even, but what the strength of his arm guaranteed.

The dragoons center their forces toward Topeka. The Missouri frontier is once more exposed, and at the very time that another invasion may be expected. Last night intelligence came in that the dragoons were going about trying to disarm Free-State people. I have no doubt from what I have seen that the dragoons will attempt to take the arms from all Free-State men going toward Topeka, and with the bands of banditti in the country, and the prospect of an invasion, the people cannot and will not allow themselves to be disarmed. We hear that Gen. Smith is coming. Who is General Smith? What is he coming to do? Is he to be the funker of a would be bogus Sheriff, or a special tool to execute the laws Missouri has violently imposed on us? These are questions the people of Kansas must have satisfactorily answered before they will have any confidence in any man sent here. I think any change of military commanders is a mere farce, and can have no effect in settling affairs here.

I see that Capt. Pate, in his own account of the battle of Palmyra, has been guilty of many gross misstatements. Capt. Brown did not deceive him with a flag of truce. He knowingly surrendered, and both he and his men were glad to do so. Neither was it true that he had any commission from the Governor. The statement that part of his men lived in Johnson County, Kansas, may be understood when it is known that Johnson County is in the Reserve, where no white men are allowed to live. That he has a claim in the Territory is likely, that his home is about Westport, Missouri, is certain, and that he stands a fair chance to take another claim "six feet by two," is highly probable if he brings up another band of Westport scoundrels to plunder in the Territory again. That he and his company traveled for some time in conjunction with Capt. Wood's company of dragoons, is true enough, and is a burning disgrace to that officer and the public service. It is also true that this association of troops and highwaymen made sundry arrests of Free-State men without process of law, and that the troops kept these prisoners without any legal authority for weeks, and treated them with great inhumanity. It is also true that while they thus traveled together Pate and his men burned up several houses of Free-State men, and in that of John Brown, jr., destroyed a large amount of valuable property beside the building. It is also true that his men plundered Palmyra on the evening of Saturday, and on the Sunday preceding the battle; and that Pate took charge of the plunder as it was brought to his camp. It is also true that he and his men took three unoffending Free-State men prisoners just before the battle, namely: Dr. Graham, preacher Moore, and another settler of that neighborhood. It is true that on Sunday a party of his men started over to plunder Prairie City, the prisoners heard them plot the attack before they started. It is true that these men arrived at Prairie City during divine service, and realized that the Free-State men can "watch as well as pray," for four of them were taken prisoners during their ill-starred attack on the place, and the rest galloped back with a dismal story of their adventure. It is true that Dr. Graham counted sixty men in their camp on Sunday evening, and that upward of fifty actually participated in the engagement. It is true that the exact total of the Free-State forces that left Prairie City that morning was thirty men. It is true that two of these stayed off some distance to guard the horses, and other two went after reinforcements. It is true that Capt. Brown, with nine men, went around to attack from the head or south side of the ravine, and that Capt. Shore, with fifteen men, marched over the ridge and came down over the open prairie, fearlessly making the attack. It is true that, after the first four volleys had been exchanged, Pate's men fled from the interchanged wagons behind which they had been ranged, and hid in the ravine—many of them yelling in wild fear that they "were whipped." It is true that, after two and a half hours' firing, they, thus protected, were so afraid of their precious pris-

sons, that they sent one of their prisoners out with a white flag when they wished to surrender; and it is true, that no other Free-State reinforcements arrived until after the battle was over. I subjoin these statements, which can be proved, in correction of both Capt. Pate's inaccuracies, and to give a more correct account of this truly gallant affair than I have yet been able to give. Only two Free-State men were wounded in the engagement, and they not very severely. Dr. Graham was also fired at by his merciless captors a dozen times during the engagement, when they were too cowardly to go out and meet their enemies. He received two bullets in his body, but is getting well. He escaped from them after they commenced firing.

THE "LIGHT" BRIGADE.

From Our Special Correspondent.

LAWRENCE, K. T., Evening, July 2.

A somewhat amusing incident occurred to-day. The ladies of Lawrence, it seems, have some sort of Maine law of their own. You will perhaps remember that a lying "scribe" and "hypocrite" wrote of Lawrence that "liquor was to be had at every other house." On the contrary, there has only been one grocery, and owing to the exertions of the "Light Brigade" to-day there is none now. Some two weeks ago the ladies assembled, and notified the person who kept it that he could keep it no longer. They paid him the cash for his stock, and got him to promise to discontinue the business. In violation of the terms of agreement, he brought over a fresh stock from Leavenworth a few days ago, and resumed liquor retailing over the ravine. The principal customers of this establishment have been the company of dragoons detailed to keep matters straight here, the Lieutenant being a liberal patron himself. Several others, however, about town were getting into the way of frequenting it, when the ladies yesterday held a "conference," armed themselves with hatchets, and proceeding over the ravine took possession and poured out all the liquor. A couple of dragoons were in the place, and they and the owners attempted to seize and stop some of the ladies, but on the interference of a few gentlemen they let the ladies alone. The two dragoons went direct to the camp, saying that they would be back to arrest the party. This object accomplished, the "Light Brigade" marched home. They were not a crowd of viragos, but well dressed, intelligent looking ladies, and some young and pretty ones too; a few of the more energetic did the work, and the remainder stood calmly by to keep it countenance, and aid if necessary. So much for the ladies of Lawrence.

LAWRENCE, K. T., July 2, 1856.

I returned last night from an unsuccessful trip to see the State prisoners at Lecompton. Prior to yesterday morning visitors had been admitted, and as I went up at the request of the prisoners themselves, I expected to see them. Still, I used every precaution, traveled in company with one of the ladies who had been attending the prisoners and cooking for them, took in the carriage provisions and other peaceable conservative articles; but the fiat had gone forth that morning. We were halted at a hundred yards distance from the prisoners' tent, and told we could not enter. We were informed that positive orders had been received that morning to the effect that there should be no access to the prisoners, no going to or coming from, until after the 6th of July. Then, we were told, matters would be restored to their former position, provided there was no disturbance, and the Fourth passed off quietly. Capt. Walker, who commanded the dragoons, was polite but inexorable. I asked him what authority had issued these orders, but he evaded my question by telling me the "authority was sufficient." This stringency extended to a prohibition of written communications. I had a pocket full of letters, which had come through the Post-Office to the prisoners and the two ladies now in camp. Mrs. Robinson and Mrs. Jenkins, but all of these were pronounced contraband, the officers asking the lady if there were any letters in the carpet-bag that was sent in. He was polite enough to take her assurance that there were none, but told us that no letters could go in, so the lady brought back the letters we had. My companion, Miss Emily Hunt, a resident of Gov. Robinson's household before it was destroyed, had intended to remain some time and assist the other ladies. After using some argument the officer at length consented that she could stay, but she could not be allowed to leave the camp until after the 6th, and not desiring to be a prisoner as the other two ladies thus virtually are, she returned. I got but one glimpse of some of the prisoners. I saw the Governor standing in front of the

prisoner's tent; he saw and touched his hand to his breast with a sad smile. Dietzler came out of the side of the tent. I saw him shake his head ruefully, and strike his heels on the ground energetically, as if in deprecation of hard fate.

I had been informed that some copies of THE TRIBUNE that a lady had been taking a few days ago, were stopped, picked out from the other papers, pronounced incendiary, and not allowed to go to the prisoners. I had fortified myself with a couple of dailies, and handed them to Capt. Walker with some other papers. He searched for letters but never looked at the papers to examine what they were. Capt. Walker of the dragoons, (for we too, had a Capt. Walker,) acted politely; said he wished he had nothing to do with the prisoners, but had "his duty to perform." We returned disappointed. I learned through a Pro-Slavery man who lives near Lecompton, that Secretary Woodson has said that he did not think the prisoners could be tried or convicted under their indictments, but that, as they were very dangerous men, it was deemed best to keep them close prisoners until after the October election. Of course, I do not vouch for this; but as there is nothing improbable or inconsistent in it, I give it for what it is worth.

No large armed body has marched to Lecompton yet. A large number of individuals have been going that way, and teams with flour and other provisions have been pouring into the place pretty freely. There is to be a celebration or muster of the "Territorial Militia" on the 3d (to-morrow), either at Tecumseh or Lecompton, or both places, for preparations have been making at both places. From all I can learn, I believe that the muster is to be at Lecompton to-morrow, and that there are to be celebrations at Tecumseh, Atchison, and Kickapoo, among the "Law and Order" gentry.

BLOOMINGTON, K. T., July 3, 1856—A. M.

I am now at one of the beautiful spots in the valley of the Wabersusa, and start the moment I finish this for Topeka. Nearly all of the men who are going to Topeka from this quarter have gone up. A considerable number have remained at home, at all the points, to take care of things, for it is feared that Buford's men will take advantage of the absence of the citizens at Topeka to resume their work of pillage. I have heard of no large party of the enemy marching toward Topeka yet. Great uncertainty prevails as to the movement of Buford's men and the Missourians. Whether they have succeeded in concentrating a force by stealth, or if they have resorted to some other dodge, or more intricate system of policy, I cannot say. That they intend to let us alone, I, of course, do not believe; but they may have adopted some line of policy more profound than anything that has yet characterized their movements. Perhaps they are in hopes that we will get at issue with the dragoons, and have concluded to keep as quiet as possible for a few days, in hopes that a quarrel would be precipitated by the attempt to arrest or break up the State Legislature. But it is useless to speculate without positive evidence: a few days will show.

Meanwhile, I fear that Lane and the expected emigration through Iowa will not be here. We have heard nothing reliable from that quarter. There are some three or four hundred men belonging to, or with Buford's companies, near Westport. At least they were there at last advices. Col. Sumner went up from Leavenworth yesterday with three companies of dragoons, taking the direction of Topeka. There is quite a "sprinkling" of "Law-and-Order" men at Lecompton at last advices, but no regular army. There was a considerable number of recently-arrived Southerners at Leavenworth and Delaware a few days ago. So matters stand to-day—to-morrow is the Fourth.

THE REIGN OF VIOLENCE AND BRUTALITY.

Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune.

COUNCIL CITY, K. T., Tuesday, June 24, 1856.

I feel it rather a duty than inclination to write you at the present time. If our enemies are not satisfied with blood, we are satisfied with the tales of horror as they have reached us from time to time; and the brutality of men, as we have witnessed it from the time we returned to this land of misrule. Certainly our situation cannot be understood by Eastern people, for it seems to me impossible for them to remain in quietness, letting their indignation to pass off by the tongue or at the point of the pen, when their fathers, sons, and brothers are being slaughtered on their fair plains like the wild beasts that roam over them. This hellish work has been now two months in progress, and few are the signs that are borne to us of decided aid by men and means to hurl back upon their own paths this work of destruction. Is the indignation of the North to evaporate in curses, expressed by resolutions, speeches, and newspaper editorials, and leave

THEY UPHOLD THE KANSAS LAWS.

Here follows what that arch traitor, Douglas, says of the duty of Northern Democrats in the future. In speaking of the Cincinnati Platform, he says:

"Our platform tells you resistance to the law is treason, and treason shall be rebuked. The Democracy 'uphold the law in Kansas,' while the Negro Worshipers, who do not like the law, are for shooting down the officers. This was the whole Kansas difficulty. S. ARNOLD DOUGLAS."

Will Northern Democrats be thus goaded to the support of a party which upholds such infamous laws as those passed by the Kansas Legislature.

ANOTHER VALUABLE RECRUIT.—Dr. Stoddard Judd, late President of the La Crosse and Milwaukee Railroad Company, and for many years a leading and influential Democrat in Dodge county, has repudiated the "Border Ruffian" and Buchanan party, and come out for Freedom and Fremont.—The Doctor made a capital speech at Fox Lake on the Fourth, denouncing the atrocious outrages in Kansas, and at the dinner in the afternoon, gave the following toast which was received with tumultuous cheers:

KANSAS.—Free soil, to stand upon; free men, to improve and cultivate that soil; free speech; free press; free rights and privileges; and last, though not least—Fremont!

The Retreat.

Nothing can be much more amusing than the general retreat of the administration on the Kansas question. But it is even more contemptible than amusing, and no honest man can contemplate it for a moment, without being convinced,—if he has ever had doubts on the subject, that Pierce and his advisers are the veriest set of demagogues that ever had possession of power in our government. Even Cass, pitiful in his senility, has passed by his periodic ebullition of spleen against England, and confesses that regatta sovereignty, the luminous idea by which he hoped to be remembered in the future of the republic, may lead to tyranny and the foulest despotism quite as easily as to a free form of government. The explosion of this humbug by the gases arising from its own corruption, is altogether the best fruit that the Pierce administration has bestowed upon the country.

Douglas has now completed his character as a bully, and, as a necessary consequence, a coward. If the man had any patriotism or honesty in his character—if he had been deceived and unconsciously in error, he would now do justice to Kansas, instead of attempting to deal a final mortal blow under the assumed character of friendship. The fortune of demagogism, as illustrated by Douglas and Pierce is, that having no principles, and no support except in villainy, its first victims are

oil City, June 22, 1856.—I arrived at Kansas City, (Mo.) on Saturday afternoon, the 14th, about 6 o'clock. I had to stop here until Saturday afternoon, when I took stage for Westport. At the hotel at Kansas City were Col Buford, Atchison, and the Captain of the Kickapoo Rangers. They were bragging about how many Yankees they had shot, and how many they intended to kill before they stopped. There was a mighty hard crowd loafing around there; however, I got off from there safely, and arrived at Westport on Sunday afternoon, to take the stage on Monday morning for Lawrence. When I arrived there I took a seat in the gentlemen's parlor, and when I had been there about half an hour, three fellows came in, each with a belt on, from one side of which stuck out a bowie knife, and from the other a revolver. They came up to me, and asked me where I was from; I told them I hailed from New Jersey. They then asked me if I was an abolitionist. I told them, no. They then asked me if I was in favor of making Kansas a Free State, to which I replied that I was. They told me that I must go back. I said that would not be very convenient. They said they did not care whether I liked it or not, I must not go into the Territory. I then said that, as the stage did not start until morning, I supposed that they would give me until then to make up my mind. So they left me, saying that they would call upon me in the morning. I was in hopes that they would not get about before the stage started; but they were on hand, and when I attempted to get in the stage two of them got hold of me and pulled me back, and took me into the hotel, and told me that I must leave for Kansas City in the next stage. The stage came along in about an hour, and they led me out and put me in it, cautioning the driver to see that I was sent down the river, which the driver was very careful to do.

Before they sent me down they told me that if they found me back there again I would not get off so well. So I found myself going down the river again. But I did not go far, only about ten miles, when I got the captain to put me off. There was a man with a stagg there, who agreed to take me to Leavenworth, which he did, and I arrived at that place on Tuesday night, where I experienced no difficulty in getting a stage to Lawrence, where I arrived on Thursday.

SAMUEL G. DISBROW.

Mr. Disbrow has made a claim near Council City, and when he wrote this letter was about building his cabin. He speaks of the country, the soil, the climate, and the scenery, as the finest the sun ever shone upon, and declares his determination to make it his future home. He is of the kind of men needed in Kansas.—He is known universally as a quiet, mild man, who, while very firm and determined—lacking no courage—is most courteous and civil in his demeanor. Mr. Disbrow left here for Kansas, under the auspices of no Emigrant Aid Society, but "on his own hook," and travelled alone to Westport.

[Written for the Xenia Fremont Glee Club.] FREEMONT GLEES.

Air—Jordan's a hard road to travel.

Oh! the locofock party, boys, Were sold out hook and line, The South bid 'em in right cheap, But both got stuck, When they took old Buck, And the traveling, they'll find mighty steep.

Chorus—Fling out your banners, were going in to win, Fremont and Freedom let us shout, For nigger driving locos we don't care a pin, In voting Young Jonathan is sure to be about.

Oh! these fossilized old fogies, boys, Are patching up the hulk, 'Tis the wreck of the old State ship; They've raised from the dead, The old figure head, And stuck it in command for the trip.

Oh! this leader of the fogies says, That ten cents a day, Is wages for a hard working man; 'Tis an easy thing to say, With eight dollars a day, But make us believe it if you can.

They've a hard road to travel, boys, And hilly all the way, This old spavined cob won't g'lang, And it's no use to talk, For o'er the track we'll walk, With our young Rocky Mountain mustang.

For the... CHORUS... THE END

the Free-State settlers of Kansas to be butchered, "exterminated," or, in more recent terms, "smoked out."

Would to God that an angel from heaven could be sent to you to speak of these things, for you will not believe though one arises from the dead and tells of our wrongs. How, then, can we expect to be beloved, who are nothing more than flesh and blood, though we see with our own eyes? But let us try again in common with the thousand other witnesses. What is most distinctly announced by our foes and clearly understood by us all in these parts, that the programme of the Slave Power is total extermination to the Free-State party of Kansas, to be driven out, to be frightened out, to be starved out, and to be killed out; or in the terms of the literary buffoon of The Herald, "to be smoked out—out—out they must 'and they shall go.' These are oaths they have taken in ten thousand places, calling on high heaven, the God who made them to witness that they will not cease this work until it is accomplished. This design, concocted in high places, to which our rulers seem to be accomplices, is now being carried out, until our plains are being redened with the blood of our friends, and their bones left to be picked by the wolves and the birds. One hundred men have already fallen by violence, their persons robbed, and their bodies often left by the roadside without a burial. A much larger number than those killed have been driven away, and frightened from the country. Others are preparing to leave; while others, in large numbers, would start for their former homes if they had the means; while those remaining begin to feel the other curse—the want of provisions. This last is a very serious matter, and has caused serious alarm in many districts, for they have taken measures to cut off all our supplies, as all our flour, meal and meat must come from Missouri. Their orders are to stop and rob every train, both of friends and foes, of all articles of provisions going into the Territory. To stop Free-State men, and take from them their teams, load and money, has been an every day occurrence, and if the man's life was spared it was thought by them to be dealing with great leniency.

If the officials of this Territory and Federal Government are not colluders with these our foes, and are honest in their designs, then of all men that Heaven ever elevated to places of State are they the weakest, and ought to be immediately impeached for imbecility. I can conceive of no greater crime than that man is capable of than is now resting upon the President of the United States and the Governor of this Territory. I care not whether it arises from weakness or wickedness, they are guilty of crimes the blood of all the bulls and goats of Bashan can never wash out. If my language seem severe, remember that I stand on a different point from yourselves.

Under this state of brutal violence you suppose that the Free-State cause has about died out—though struggling, it is not dead, though our enemies are packed upon us like hounds, and though about every person who took part in the discussions on this subject is in a prison or absent East but myself, it is still alive, and will show itself such on the 4th of July. We are to have a meeting of delegates at Topeka on the 2d for calm consideration; a mass meeting of the people on the 3d; a celebration and the meeting of the Legislature on the 4th. What will be the result of these meetings no one can tell. Though we are without the counsel of Robinson, Smith, Brown, Deitzler, Jenkins, and others, who are prisoners; Lane, Conway, Pomeroy, Reeder, Emory, Hunt, Roberts, Klutz, Parrott, and others, who are East; and though bereft on every side, and our cause crushed, it is not dead, and enough of us live 'till to keep it alive, which we shall do as long as God gives us breath. P. C. S.

INDEPENDENT WHIG.

LANCASTER, PA.

TUESDAY MORNING, JULY 15, 1856.

Reports from Kansas.

CHICAGO, July 11.—The Atton Courier learns that Col Lane, with his company of emigrants for Kansas, was driven back into Iowa on the 4th. The report is doubtful, as Col. Lane's company was at Osceola on the 2d, 150 miles from the Missouri river.

The Continued Outrages in Kansas.

Mr. C. Brown, of Trumbull county, Ohio, who was delegated to convey the Kansas fund raised in that county to the Free State men of Lawrence, has executed that perilous trust, and arrived safely home. He reports the most deplorable condition of things in the Territory, especially about Lawrence, and says the outrages have not been, cannot be, exaggerated.

Mr. Howard, of Michigan, one of the members of the Congressional Commission, delivered a speech a few evenings ago, in the course of which he said:

"I assert that if all the tyranny inflicted upon our forefathers, by the kings of Great Britain, were collected together and multiplied by ten, I could bring facts to prove that the poor settlers in Kansas have suffered more than the whole of them.

This is the opinion of a man who, having been in Kansas, laboriously attending a legal investigation of the troubles in Kansas, gives thus an indication of the result.

From the Trenton, N. J., Gazette.

its own leaders. This man, Douglas, who threatened to "rush out" the honest soul of the North, and reiterated insolently in the ears of our senators and representatives, "We will subdue you," covers beneath the impending wrath of these same men and their constituents, and prays for mercy. If it was a true repentance men might at least pity him; as it is, he merits the greater contempt. This is the man who, as the organ of his party, intimated that causing the noble Sumner was much too honorable treatment—he ought to have been kicked.

However, let no man deceive himself as to suppose that it intended to benefit Kansas by the concessions made to the honesty of her free-state men. It is only a snare; skillfully arranged, to be sure, but therefore the more dangerous. The men and the administration that have fallen as low as Douglas and Pierce, have no recuperative power in the direction of decency and honor.

The design of this new course of action is plainly to furnish food for their stump orators in the coming campaign. But it is too indigestible to give nourishment, and there are signs already of squeamishness. They have unconsciously forged a weapon for the Republicans, double-edged and finely tempered, which will make the defeat of their sham democracy complete. No retreating party ever won the affection of a free people. It was this that sapped the foundation of the Whig party; forsaking the great issues by which they were known, the people fled from them. It would have been more glorious to have died defending them, but it is now too late for any such attempt. All that was valuable in their principles is now to be found in the Republican party. No man that has a particle of the spirit of the great leader of that once powerful party will join the locofoco retreat.

The republican party headed by Fremont, and throbbing with the spirit of the revolution, will perish if necessary on battle-field, but its leader knows no such word as retreat.

Lynchburg Virginian.

Tuesday Morning, July 15, 1856.

An Original Buchanan Editor on the Kansas Troubles.

The Belfast (Maine) Journal, which for some months has paraded at the head of its columns the name of James Buchanan, as their first choice for President, thus speaks of the troubles in Kansas. The reader will be able to judge from this extract why the journal preferred Mr. Buchanan over all others:

"The free State people met at Topeka by their delegates, and, unadvised, formed a constitution preparatory to admission into the Union. Although elections were held under this constitution, yet, it provided that the State government should not be inaugurated until some time in the coming fall. It was apparent that a very large majority of the actual settlers in Kansas belonged to the free State party, and that without aid from Missouri, and the United States troops, the pro-slavery people would soon cease to have an organized party existence or offer further opposition to the establishment of a free State constitution. At this juncture nothing but the strong arm of the general government, or the revolver and bowie-knife of the Missourians, could have prevented the majority of the settlers of Kansas from the enjoyment of 'perfect freedom to make their own laws, and fix the character of their institutions in their own way.'

At length, abundant authority is found for the interposition of the executive. The President issues his proclamation, ostensibly aimed at the invading Missourians, but really intended to embolden them in the accomplishment of their purposes, by outlawing the free State people, and by authorizing Gov. Shannon to accept of the services of the Missourians, and also, at his discretion, to summon in the United States troops, under the Col. Sumner, to aid in the work of subjugation. Indeed, the President's proclamation, and the orders issued to Col. Sumner, in effect placed the whole military power of the State of Missouri, and of the United States in Kansas, and the militia of Missouri, and of the United States of Gov. Shannon. Col. Sumner had of Kansas at the disposal of Gov. Shannon, Col. Sumner had no discretionary power. Gov. Shannon and his pro-slavery minions might rob the free State people, pillage, and burn their houses, and insult their wives and daughters, and Col. Sumner had no authority to prevent it. The inexorable order

of the war department made his movements depend upon the demand of Shannon. This co-operation was predicated upon the apprehended contingency that the free State people would prove more than a match for the pro-slavery party in Kansas and the Missourians into the bargain.

"Such was the condition of affairs, when the Congressional Committee of investigation into the alleged election frauds in Kansas entered upon its duty. Justice to the people of Kansas, and the cause of truth, demanded that Gov. Reeder and Gen. Whitfield should accompany the committee to aid them in their investigations. Accordingly they did so, but as soon as Judge Lecompte learns that Gov. Reeder is in Kansas, he issues his subpoena for him to appear before his Court, makes out a capias against him for contempt of his authority, and causes him to be indicted by the Grand Jury for high treason. To escape the circumvention of Judge Lecompte, and the fury of the Missourians, Gov. Reeder was obliged to make his escape to the States to save his life."

CHARLESTON

Tuesday Morning, July 15, 1856.

The Border Ruffian.

The Kansas correspondent of the Abbeville Banner, gives the following graphic sketch of the "much talked of and much traduced 'Border Ruffian':

"Imagine a fine looking man, with a heavy beard and moustache, felt hat, red shirt, (no coat,) blue pants, heavy boots drawn over the pants, immense Spanish spurs, a pair of water-proof scabbards, each containing a large 'navy repeater,' a Sharp's rifle slung over one shoulder, and a large Bowie-knife stuck into the right boot or swinging to the same belt with the repeaters, charging down upon you across the prairie on a fine bay, or a large Kentucky mule. As he comes nearer, you see that he is completely prepared for a long march, rapid movements, and solitary entertainment on the prairie. He rides a deep Spanish saddle, which, without appearing cumbered, is yet rigged with the greatest variety of articles. His horse-hair larraette, with an iron picket at one end, hangs from the high pommel. A porte-manteau or pair of saddlebags contains a change of linen, an extra red shirt (in case of rain,) and two or three days' rations of bread, dried beef, ham, ground coffee and sugar. A pair of blankets, and a military cloak, with cape and sleeves, are tied on behind. A pair of pouches at the pommel, contain a flask or two of whisky (also in case of rain) and some other extras. A canteen slung over the shoulder contains water, and a neat leather box fastened to the belt is full of cartridges and caps. Besides all this, there is generally a number of leather thongs, fastened to rings in various parts of the saddle, to which hang a tin cup, a small coffee-pot, sometimes a frying-pan, a hatchet, &c., &c. Thus caparisoned he can move with ease and celerity, and like the brave knights of old, is ever ready for fight or fun, and is equally at home in camp, in a squatter's shanty, or on the lonely prairie. Most of those with whom I had an opportunity to become intimate, had crossed the plains, to Santa Fe, or Salt Lake, or California, several times, and were, in consequence, the best ox drivers, the best cooks, and the most hardy soldiers that I ever saw. Rough in their manners, but generous as sailors, and sharp as travelers, they are always welcome, and always manage to win the hearts of their fellows. The are from the border counties of Missouri, where they leave their families and come to the Territory occasionally to hold their claims, pay their taxes, vote legally, and, if necessary, fight. Most of them intend moving into the Territory as soon as it is made a slave State. Such are the men about whom the whole negro stealing pack are raising their howl. And where they are not known, doubtless much capital can be made on the assertion of their forcible intervention in the affairs of the Territory. But I am assured in what I assert, that more Free-soilers' votes than Border Ruffians, were polled here at the last election on the pro-slavery ticket. How it happened can be readily accounted for. The true position of the border Missourians, in fact, is to look on calmly, and without interference, at the operations of the ballot-box, and without confident as they are of the success of our party; but that when blows must be struck, to be ready to sustain us with their arms."

THE REPUBLICAN.

ST. LOUIS:

WEDNESDAY MORNING, JULY 16, 1856.

REV. Mr. HALEY, OF ALTON.

This gentleman has resigned his pastoral charge in Alton. Our readers know, that some two weeks ago, on Sunday, in the pulpit, he preached a political sermon on the "Aspects of the Times," and that this sermon was a good deal after the BEECHER-PARKER fashion. But it did not take so well in the free West as it would have done in the preacher-ridden and unscrupulous churches of New England: dissensions arose, and he has ended them by resigning his office. Something of the manner with which he "took on" while giving up his pastoral charge, and something of the feeling of the man, may be inferred from the closing paragraphs of his discourse, as furnished by the Alton Courier, which we copy:

"Your condemnations have been exaggerated in a despotic organ of tyranny published in your midst; and have furnished material for a wholesale libel on my ministerial character, in the St. Louis Republican. The hour has come, therefore, for deciding whether I am to preach for you or to you; whether I am to receive instruction from you, or impart it to you; whether outside, selfish demagogues control this pulpit, or whether I stand here as a free man.

"In view of these facts; feeling as I do, after weeks of prayer and meditation, the most profound and searching in my life-long experience, the tremendous responsibilities I am under, as a Minister of Jesus Christ, and an honest man, to speak out all the truth,—seeing as I do a black cloud of anarchy and treason arising on the breath of ungodly Northern demagogues,—beholding the crimes perpetrated by Northern men, for Southern votes and the plunder of National offices—observing the alarming success of those whose unholy lust and sensuousness prompt them not alone to fire the Capitol, but to choke every honest expression of righteous indignation; and the seeming pliancy of good men, who, in private, admit to me the unholiness and illegality of the recent outrages which cast poor women and little children houseless, penniless, and without bread, upon the sympathies of this community; and yet the readiness with which such men even in my own congregation, join in the fallacious cry of 'preaching politics' when I denounce such enormous wrongs, from root to branch, leading themselves, I must think unwittingly, to be the slaves of the poor subterfuges by which the guilty ones seek to muzzle the clergy, and thus to escape a just retribution of scorn; seeing all these things, I am compelled to say, that if I cannot be an honest man, and be your pastor, I will at least remain honest. If I cannot preach the whole truth, I will not preach at all.

"While I do not ask for any man's endorsement, and do not shrink from any man's condemnation, I do demand the right to utter whatever words my conscience tells me I ought to speak; and to be condemned, not for uttering them, but for their subjective error. If I have made false statements, I wish to have them corrected; if I have drawn illogical conclusions, I wish to have them exposed; but while the free air of the infinite fans my temples, and He gives me the wild fruit and herb for food, and the running stream for drink, my conscience cannot be bought for any poor stipend, or any man's smile.

"It only remains for me to resign my office. If I am wrong, may I be forgiven; if I am mistaken, may I be enlightened; but I am very certain I am right, for I can only be honest in acting as I do. There is no word for me but the word of Luther: 'Here I stand I cannot do otherwise; so help me God.'"

COL. LANE.

It appears that this individual at the head of an armed gang for the invasion of Kansas, is not getting along very smoothly in his route through Iowa. The Iowa State Democrat, in referring to his campaign, has the following bit of news:

"Eight of Jim Lane's teamsters returned to Iowa City last Monday, he refusing to pay them for their services, and they refusing to work without pay. The 'gallant' Lane was assaulted by one of them, taken down in the streets of Oskaloosa, and had his waist cut off in the most approved manner. On being released he went to his armory and equipped himself with dirks, pistols, Bowie knives, Sharp's rifles, &c., and came out for a fresh contest. He was held at bay, and did no damage. Lane has no notion of spending the money our citizens have placed in his hands, to pay such expenses with. Of course not. His experience in villainy teaches him that it is better to keep the money for his own personal wants. It is the opinion of those who have deserted him that he can never effect a passage into Kansas, and that he has no inclination to.

RUFUS KING & WM. H. WATSON, PROPRIETORS.

Under the Name and Firm of Rufus King & Co.

MILWAUKEE.

Wednesday Morning, July 16.

For the Daily Sentinel.

Kansas Meeting at Brown's Lake.

A public meeting was held at Brown's Lake, Burlington, Racine County, July 4th, 1856, to sympathize with, and aid the Freemen of Kansas in their heroic struggle to maintain those rights of American citizens, which were established and bequeathed to us by the heroes of '76.

The meeting was respectfully attended, and marched in procession to the ground, headed by the Eagle Creek Brass Band, and the National Flag, which was reversed on the occasion as a signal of distress.

The meeting was organized by electing WM. WHITELEY, Esq., of Dover, as Chairman, and impressive and eloquent addresses were made by the Rev. WM. DRUMMOND, of Dover, JOHN HOCKINGS, of Burlington, and JAMES TINKER, of Rochester.

The meeting was enlivened with occasional music by the band. At the close of the speaking, the following resolutions were separately offered, and unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That at the next Presidential election, we will support, by our influence and votes, the candidates of the Republican Party, FREMONT and DAYTON, as the Champions of those sacred rights of Humanity established by our Revolutionary Fathers, and which have been treacherously betrayed on the soil of Kansas by the Sham Democracy of Pierce, Douglas, Buchanan & Co.

Resolved, That the Committee be instructed to furnish a report of this meeting to the Racine Advocate and the Milwaukee Sentinel.

REUBEN WORTH, Ch'n of Committee.

WM. WHITELEY, Chairman.

Iowa City Republican.

J. TEESDALE, EDITOR.

WEDNESDAY..... JULY 16, 1856

Brutality in Kansas.

Do the people of this country know that American citizens, guilty of no crime but that of seeking peaceably the freedom of Kansas, are now, and have been for weeks, imprisoned in Kansas, on the charge of Treason! In what consists the Treason? A want of respect and love for the laws of a Border Ruffian legislature. Gov. Robinson, Brown and others have been guarded, like felons, for no other offence. But if this is monstrous, what must be thought of the developments below? Can it be possible that any man with an American heart, can read such disclosures without feeling the burning flush of shame mantling his cheek?—Read, and remember that this is sober truth, attested by indubitable evidence:—

LAWRENCE, KANSAS, JUNE 23, '56.

I have already told you that eight prisoners, (Free State men) who were arrested near Ossawatimie had been taken to Tecumseh for trial. The trial came off last week, and five of them were released, and are now on their way home. I have learned many interesting facts connected with the affair that should go upon the record.

Mr. Woodin

Seems to be complimented with a very large share of abuse from the "forlorn hope" of the Administration in this city. They have even gone so far as to get affidavits away from Clark county, to prove what Mr. W. is proud to own: that he spent both time and money to facilitate the opening of a route through Iowa, to Kansas, for the Free State Emigration; now that the natural channel to that fair Territory has been blockaded by "border-ruffians." This is, certainly, a great waste of labor, and betrays a sad deficiency in judgement. Yet, this is the burden of an affidavit of one Dickinson Webster jr., that appears in the Reporter of Saturday evening.— "Poor Dick," however, is about as wise as his backers here, for they make a great parade of what Mr. W. takes every occasion to proclaim before the people. If he occupied any other ground, he would be unworthy of Republican suffrages. To his honor, be it said, he was one of the first to lend a helping hand to the true-hearted men who are seeking to save from the curse of slave-labor a broad Territory solemnly consecrated to Freedom by the American fathers, nearly 40 years since.

If this Dickinson is not a man of straw, he is a miserable liar, when he intimates a belief that Mr. Woodin, in assisting in establishing depots for emigrants through the State, administered oaths.

Those who placed Mr. Woodin in nomination, are willing that his character should be scanned and his principles discussed. He bears in this community, and wherever he is known, a fair name and fame. He will represent the county with honor in the next Legislature, and command an influence that would be utterly lost to the county in that Republican body, were his competitor chosen; for there is not a shadow of doubt that the next Legislature will be Republican. We forbear allusion to the character and habits of Mr. Folsom. We are not in the habit of opening our columns to such discussions. But, it would seem as if his friends, if they have any regard for their candidate, should remain silent on that point.

Dubuque Daily Tribune.

Wednesday, July 16, 1856.

What is Treason?

For asserting the same sentiments that have been asserted by the Congress of the United States; GOVERNOR ROBINSON, who was quietly pursuing his journey, with his wife, from Kansas to Washington, was forcibly seized and detained by Border Ruffians in Missouri, without warrant or precept or color of law.— Thus detained, his wife was obliged to depart without him, and in the meantime word was sent back to Kansas, that he had been seized and detained, until an indictment could be got up against him. Judge LECOMPT, appointed by PIERCE to administer justice to the people Kansas, was not slow, through the instrumentality of a packed jury summoned by Mr. PIERCE's marshal, in procuring the required indictment, and Gov. ROBINSON was sent back a prisoner, to Kansas. There he has remained, long, weary weeks, in close duress, guarded by United States soldiers, under the orders of this Administration.

What is his crime? He is charged by Lecompte and his packed grand jury with treason, and for this the Administration detain him, by federal arms, and federal money, in custody. His treason consists in his having, with a large majority of the people of Kansas, taken an active part in forming a State Con-

stitution, been elected by a large majority of the people to be Governor, and applying to Congress for a recognition as a State, and admission into the Federal Union. These peaceful proceedings, practised heretofore in other and less pressing emergencies in other territories, are declared to be treason in Gov. Robinson and his associates, by a tool of the Administration and his packed jury, and he is imprisoned with the concurrence and knowledge of this degraded and tyrannical Administration. The constitution which they present, is an admirable instrument, enlightened, just and beneficent, and establishes Freedom in the new State. Had it contained a clause authorizing Slavery, Gov. Robinson and his friends would have escaped these long, severe, atrocious, and causeless persecutions, with which he has been vindictively followed and imprisoned—torn from his family and denied the intercourse of his friends. To wreak their vengeance more fully on this bold champion of freedom, his house has been burned by the mob, calling itself a posse, under the Border Ruffian laws of Kansas, and with the furniture, library, and all that it contained, destroyed, while he was imprisoned.

These are the fruits of the Territorial policy inaugurated by this Administration in '54, and persistently adhered to, since. This is the policy to which James Buchanan stands pledged. These are some of the means for extending and nationalizing slavery, forced upon the country by this Administration.— The whole question of slavery was settled and adjusted by the act of 1820, which Douglas, Toucey, and others repealed. Had that act remained, these outrages could have never taken place. The blood of the slain of Kansas is on these men.

But not only has Robinson been imprisoned on this infamous and illegal assumption of treason—others associated with him are also indicted and persecuted by the ruffian tools of the administration. Reeder and Lane, the two Senators elected to Congress, are also charged with this same crime of treason, and are hunted from the Territory by the miserable creatures, whom this administration has armed and equipped and taken into its pay as militia, composed of the idle, vagabond, disolute, gambling collection of the most degraded portion of South Carolina, Alabama, and some other States. These wretches, who scorn and despise labor; Shannon took into pay, and their spring and summer employment has been in harassing the industrious and laboring population—stealing their cattle, robbing them of their horses, plundering their dwellings, insulting the women, imprisoning the men, and in every way interrupting them in their avocations. Free labor they hate—free labor they mean to exterminate; and every man who advocates the rights of free labor, they denounce as abolitionists, and are determined, by the aid of Border Ruffianism and the perverted assistance of United States troops to drive from the Territory.

But, the House of Representatives, in behalf of the people of the United States, has spoken on that subject. A majority of that body recognize and accept the Topeka Constitution. What was pronounced treason in Robinson and Reeder and Lane, and their associates; by the miserable tool of the administration; a majority of the Representatives of the people, declare to be correct. Are they also, like the persecuted freemen of Kansas, to be indicted for treason? We shall have to wait events. But the people of this

country are rousing to the enormities of this administration and the weakness of its policy—a policy to which Pierce and Buchanan, and the whole nullifying influence, is pledged.

Fellow-citizens! shall such things be?— Shall the freedom of speech and of person: the rights of property, the claims of Free Labor, the opinions of the Fathers, the Constitution of the Union, and the character of our country, be protected? or shall all which free-men love and venerate; be laid as offerings; upon the *Altar of Slavery?*

Grand Rapids Eagle.

CITY OF GRAND RAPIDS: WEDNESDAY MORNING, JULY 16, 1856

The following are some of the eloquent speeches delivered in the United States Senate in behalf of DOUGLAS' Kansas Bill:

Senator BUTLER. You are a liar!

Senator DOUGLAS. Does he want us to kick him like a dog?

Senator PUGH. You are not only a Black Republican, but a black guard.

Mr. KEZZ. Give it to him, Brooks. Let 'em alone, God damn you. Let 'em alone, God damn your soul!

No rogue e'er felt the halter draw,
With good opinion of the law.

FRIEND TURNER:—I see by the *Enquirer* of this morning that the self-styled democracy (Heaven save the mark!) have taken umbrage at the sermon delivered by the Rev. DUDLEY A. TYNG at his church, in Philadelphia, on the 29th ult. The *Enquirer* of this morning says, "Clergymen should be sternly reminded, if they are oblivious or regardless of the fact, that their mission is to preach christianity, not Republicanism—Christ crucified, not FREMONT nominated." This is the old cry that the democracy have rung in the ears of the people for the last ten years, new ramped to suit the times.

The *Enquirer*, does not tell us what the Reverend gentleman has said that is so offensive to the pious sentiment of the land stealing, slave catching, Border Ruffian, Douglas-Atchison democracy. But the reasonable presumption is that the reverend gentleman has simply spoken the truth fearlessly. For what simple command is there enunciated in the Bible that does not directly attack their policy? It may be that the reverend gentleman was so indiscreet as to say "Thou shalt not steal;" or he may have said, "Thou shalt do no murder;" either of which commands would no doubt have been considered by the piously inclined Editor of the *Enquirer* a direct attack upon the pro-slavery democracy.

But a short time since, the fiery zeal of these self-constituted guardians of the church and the morals of the people, was aroused to a fever heat by the support that the Prohibitory Liquor Law of this and other States received from the pulpit, because, forsooth, it was an attack upon one of the cardinal principles of the democracy, to wit: drunkenness. It was an attack upon their strongholds, to wit: the Grogeries.

So of every other crying sin. If any clergyman has dared to lift up his voice in support of the cardinal principles of religion, or against any form of oppression or wrong that exists in the land, he has been denounced as

a fanatic, charged with prostituting his sacred office to the dissemination of political doctrines, hooted at as a ranting abolitionist and a traitor to the Union.

If any clergyman has so far forgotten the character of his mission as to suppose that the christian religion was opposed to wrong and has denounced Slavery, has opposed the extension of this curse over the free territory of the North, or animadverted upon the course of ATCHISON and STRINGFELLOW, has said aught against the destruction of human life in Kansas by the minion hirelings of these men, the hands of this democracy have been lifted up in holy horror, and were we to believe their pious ejaculations, they have, in imagination, seen our free institutions assailed with polluted hands, and this strong Government, rooted in the hearts of the American people, and grounded upon the eternal principles of truth and justice, wrested from its firm foundations and tottering to a fall.

The *Enquirer* of this morning absolutely groans in spirit at the desecration (as he calls it) of the house of God by the Rev. Mr. TYNG. This exuberance of pious zeal, however, is only in keeping with the time honored usages and established cant of the party. It is the usual resort to cover secret sins. The support by that party of the Border Ruffians in their career of spoil, of rapine and blood must be covered by some artifice. But it seems to me that the grimace of the *Enquirer* is exceedingly ill-timed. It is only a few days since that it published the prayer of a reverend gentleman of this city, for the very evident purpose of making political capital out of it, and that, too, by a distortion of the reverend gentleman's production—for we have too great respect for the character of the man to believe that he could so forget the dignity of his position, and the sacred office he was performing, as to descend to so low an artifice as punning upon the words which are italicised in the *Enquirer's* publication of that prayer, for the sake of pandering to the depraved tastes of political partisans. And yet with what unbounded commendation and beaming self-complacency does the Editor present this prayer to his readers, and suggest the propriety of its being offered "daily by every lover of his country till after election." Is consistency still a jewel? or had the Editor forgotten what he had previously written? The Editor of the *Enquirer* reminds me of a certain other legal gentleman of whom I used to read, whose bull gored the farmer's ox. JUSTICE.

Who are the Abolitionists?

Nationality has ever been held in the highest esteem by the American people. The phrase "National man" we have always regarded as honorable, and as indicating one who could lay aside all prejudices of section, and act for the good of the whole country—one who would suffer no narrow regard for geographical lines to interfere with his devotion to the Constitution and the Union. On the other hand we have always scouted the idea of "Abolition," and looked upon its adherents with supreme contempt. They were dangerous men—not to be trusted; they regarded their Quixotic ideas about Freedom—ideas utterly impracticable and therefore valueless—as of more importance, and as better calculated for effective service, than a steady adherence to her interests within constitutional bounds. They denied all right to the slaveholder to his slaves, and scrupled at no means, however violent, to accomplish their deliverance

equally in violation of that free spirit which is the very breath of life in our political system? If Congress has a right to keep a Territory from shackling the tongues, has it not an equal right to keep it from shackling the limbs? Again, Mr. DOUGLAS, on being asked by Senator TRUMBULL if he believed that the people in a Territory had the right to decide upon Slavery previous to framing a State Constitution, refused to commit himself, replying that it was a "judicial question."

The sincerity of Mr. DOUGLAS and his confederates was further tested by their votes on the following amendment proposed to his new Kansas bill. The amendment is in the genuine spirit of "Squatter Sovereignty," and is declaratory of those doctrines which they and their friends preach at the North. Here it is:

"SEC.—And be it further enacted; That it was the true intent and meaning of the act to organize the territories of Nebraska and Kansas, not to legislate Slavery into Kansas, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free through their territorial legislature to regulate the institution of slavery in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States; and that, until the territorial legislature acts upon the subject, the owner of a slave in one of the States has no right or authority to take such slave into the territory of Kansas and there hold him as a slave; but every slave taken into the territory of Kansas by his owner, for the purpose of settlement, is hereby declared to be free, unless there is some valid act of a duly constituted legislative assembly of said territory, under and by virtue of which he may be held as a slave."

This amendment was rejected by a vote of 34 to 9, CASS, DOUGLAS, and all the administration Senators voting against it.

This bill, which has lately passed the Senate, shows what little faith these men have in their own principles, and it also shows a determination at all events, by any means, and in any way—by threats, violence, or stratagem—TO ABOLISH FREEDOM. To effect their object, they violated the public faith and destroyed the peace of the country on the plea of "Squatter Sovereignty"—they divided the original Territory into two portions, so that one could be conveniently grasped by Slavery—they upheld the President who had repudiated the Constitution (the Nebraska bill) which they had given to Kansas; and had established a despotism there by means of his Border Ruffian agents. In their Cincinnati platform they threw aside their "Squatter Sovereignty" sham, which had been their support since the passage of the Nebraska bill, and adopted the Slavery extension doctrines of nullification; and now, to complete their devilish work, they bring up a bill which gives the lie to their former professions, and consigns Kansas to the tender mercies of FRANKLIN PIERCE.

Throughout their whole course, during and since the passage of the Nebraska bill, leaders of the present "Democratic" party have been consistent only in one thing—their designs upon Freedom.

If persecution, social banishment and mob violence were the reward of the "abolitionists of Slavery," what shall be the reward of the "Abolitionists of Freedom?" The object of the latter is as base and selfish as that of the former was noble and generous. The one is as low and grovelling as the other was high and exalted. They had no sympathy with the old abolitionists; let us have none with the modern. Let us with unanimous voice relieved them of the trusts of which they have

proved themselves so unworthy; for if we do not defend the rights guaranteed by the Constitution, rights which they most flagrantly violate, the Constitution itself may be destroyed through our neglect. When the outworks fall the citadel must soon surrender. X.

The Buchanan party are getting alarmed. The sympathy with Kansas is greater than they estimated. The popularity of FREEMONT is vastly beyond what they had counted upon. Consequently there is a great hauling in of Democratic horns about these days.

Senator Douglas backed out of his first bill, and offered another, in which the design to introduce Slavery into the Territory is better covered up. Senator Toombs backs out of his bill and comes down to Douglas's. The President at last puts in a feeble remonstrance against any more "disorders." Mr. Van Buren is dug up to make affidavit that he believes Mr. Buchanan, if elected, will not "carry out the policy of Pierce," although he has promised to.

Of course all this is done not to benefit Kansas, but Buchanan. Finding it doubtful whether they can openly thrust Slavery upon Kansas by force of arms, without drawing down ruin upon themselves, they consent to defer to public sentiment so far as to smuggle it in by a side door. But this change of tactics is a strong evidence of the daily rising strength of FREEMONT.

The plan now is to rush through Congress some plausibly worded bill, "to preserve order in Kansas," which shall allow the Border Ruffians now in control there to make a Slave State, and shall disfranchise the Free State men who have been driven from their homes. And to this beneficent scheme "all Postmasters are required to contribute."

Stringfellow's *Squatter Sovereign* supports the Democratic candidate for the Presidency, and says: "We have the power to overthrow the enemies of the country, and it is only necessary for us to bring our strength to bear on the allied forces of the abolitionists to crush them to the earth, past resurrection." from bondage. Such doctrines as these were justly held in abhorrence by the great mass of the people who refused to give the least countenance to their authors.

The errors of those who were popularly known as "Abolitionists," and whom we will term the "Abolitionists of Slavery," however reprehensible, were such as naturally arose from too thoughtless a devotion to Freedom. It is not strange that they provoked violent opposition from all quarters; for in their attachment to their cause, they forgot that there were other duties to be performed, and other rights to be observed. They overlooked the fact, that our Revolutionary fathers, though devoted lovers of liberty, never resorted to impracticable means to attain their ends—never sought to establish the right through the medium of the wrong. They also disregarded the protection, which the framers of the Constitution extended to the institution of Slavery, where it is defended by the shield of State sovereignty. Moreover, they did not seem to have reflected, that the immediate and violent abolition of Slavery would engender greater evils than its continuance, and that the only sensible course was to prevent its extension, and let it alone where it already existed. But they could not temper their opposition with such moderation, and therefore

they and their principles were almost universally repudiated.

If we reflect upon the conduct of these men we will perceive that, bad as it was, there was some show of reason for it: it was the extreme of that love of freedom, which springs from a belief in the doctrines of universal equality, and of the right of the people to self-government; a feeling which exists with more or less vigor in every human heart, and which prompted us to relieve the suffering, to rescue the oppressed, and to take the part of the injured. And may we not "pardon something to the generous spirit of liberty?"

But now that that species of "Abolition" is laid at rest, another has arisen on its ashes, tenfold more disgraceful in its object, and a thousand times more dangerous to our institutions. Its object is FREEDOM, and it threatens to destroy our rights. The "Abolitionists" now are "Abolitionists of Freedom;" they are the enemies of Liberty—they would abolish the rights of the people. Whatever bears on its front the glorious stamp of FREEDOM is doomed by them to speedy destruction. The "Abolitionists" of to-day, the "Abolitionists of Freedom," are the President and his adherents, and the party to which he gives his allegiance calling itself the "Democratic," whose standard-bearer is one JAMES BUCHANAN—a man who glories in a party, that glories in a President, who glories in the "Abolition of FREEDOM." Let us look at some of the efforts which they have made, and are making in that direction.

These modern "Abolitionists" began their traitorous schemes for the overthrow of Freedom, by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and the enactment of the Nebraska Bill under the guise of "Squatter Sovereignty." In order to perpetrate this deed of evil, it was necessary to abolish all political honesty, and all common regard for a decent consistency of opinions. This was accomplished under the leadership of the doughty DOUGLAS, who was in the van of this attack upon truth, liberty and conservatism. This monstrous fraud, sprung upon the country in a time of profound peace, called for by neither North nor South, founded on a false pretense, pressed through Congress by all the force that corruption could muster, was signed in defiance of solemn pledges by the President who had proved himself the tool of a reckless sectionalism, and the "Abolitionist" of all true Nationality.

It was forced upon the country on the plea of "Squatter Sovereignty," a doctrine absurd, impossible and incongruous. The squirming and equivocation of its supporters is a conclusive proof of its ridiculous character. Gen. CASS, the originator of this new-fangled contrivance (for it is a thing which was unknown to Washington, Jefferson and the Fathers of the Republic,) now repudiates his own doctrine by his words and vote. We quote from the Washington *Union's* report of the proceedings in the Senate on the 2d of July, Mr. DOUGLAS' Bill being under consideration:

"Mr. Cass said that some of the acts passed by the legislative assembly of Kansas, were disgraceful to the age in which we live. How could people pass laws in a proper manner unless they had the right of free discussion?"

The question being taken on the amendment, to repeal the Territorial laws against freedom of discussion, it was agreed to—yeas 40, nays 3—follows:

Yeas—Messrs. Allen, Bayard, Bell of New

Hampshire, Bell, of Tennessee, Benjamin, Biggs, Bigler, Bright, Broadhead, Ciss, &c.?"

If laws against freedom of discussion are disgraceful to the age in which we live, "are not laws against the freedom of labor equally

WEDNESDAY, JULY 16, 1856.
Illinois State Register

More Blood and Thunder!

The Journal has taken up, on its own hook, the manufacture and peddling of Kansas outrages. Its Tuesday's issue has an account of an alleged affray in Kansas, in which Martin White, a former citizen of Christian, was killed. We have the news from no other quarter. It is alleged that Mr. W. was killed because of expression of opinion in favor of a free state. Now we do not believe one word of this, nor shall we do so until substantiated by other authority than the trumpeters-up of raw-head and bloody-hooves stories, the editors of the Journal. It may be true, for the strifes and anarchy caused by villainous interference in the local affairs of Kansas by the Emigrant Aid Society, which has provoked corresponding excesses on the part of Missourians, has been productive of evils, of crime, unparalleled in the history of the country, but we must have other evidence of the truth of the Journal's story than the mere "say so" of the editors of that print.

It is not denied, nor should it be, that excesses, crimes and villainies of the darkest hue are committed by the unscrupulous men of both factions in Kansas, but those who deal most largely in their condemnation, who seek power and place through the fact of their existence, offer no remedy for them, but, on the contrary, reject the only proposition which can conduce to this end. These men, it is clear, do not desire a cessation of the evils of which they complain. Let the outrages, real and manufactured, be kept up—feed the excitement consequent thereon, and power to treasonable demagogues is the sure result. Thus they reason, and thus they act. They loudly declaim against these evils, and as loudly denounce the means of their eradication, and insist that such measures shall be adopted as will ensure their continuance.

These demagogues mistake the temper and intelligence of the people, if they suppose that they can profit by such hypocrisy.

Daily Republican.

QUINCY, ILLINOIS.

D. S. MORRISON—EDITOR.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, JULY 16.

SERVED HIM RIGHT.

Col. Buford, it is said, sold his negroes in the South to raise the money (\$50,000) for arming and equipping his gang of Ruffians to invade Kansas. As compensation however, each ruffian was to make a claim, settle upon and improve it, and Buford was to have half of the claim. In this way he expected to make a handsome speculation out of his negroes and ruffians. How he succeeded is thus told by the Chicago Democratic Press:

When Gov. Shannon was at St. Louis a few days since, Rev. Mr. Field, of the New York Evangelist, was there also, and stopped at the same hotel with the Governor. They fell into conversation upon Kansas affairs, and Gov. Shannon expressed his opinion of Col. Buford's company "without reserve, and in rather strong terms. They were, he said, "robbers and assassins," and altogether the most desperate.

unprincipled collection of scoundrels that were ever brought together. The only exceptions were a few well educated young men, the sons of gentlemen, and who were disposed to behave themselves somewhat like gentlemen, but their ruffian associates were too much for them. While at St. Louis, on their way to Kansas, Col. Buford was robbed of \$15,000 by some members of the company, and they continued to rob him in various ways all the way up the Missouri. Arrived in Kansas, they, with the Georgians and South Carolinians, were enlisted in the U. S. service, and having assiged in the destruction of Lawrence, and performed other similar service, Col. Buford began to be anxious that they should make claims and settle upon them according to the terms of their enlistment.—But they had no notion of going to work; robbing the settlers paid better; and not one of them fulfilled his engagement with the Colonel. About the time Col. Sumner drove them across the border into Missouri, Col. Buford found himself literally "cleaned out;" not a cent remained of the fifty thousand dollars with which he started, and he had no more negroes to sell. The gallant and patriotic gentleman was disappointed and disgusted, and a few days before Gov. Shannon arrived at St. Louis, he passed through that city on his way to Alabama, "a sadder and a wiser man."

OLIVER'S REPORT.

We publish to-day a sketch of the minority Report, upon which Oliver has been laboring for the last three weeks. He does not explain his position as a border ruffian on election day in Kansas, when he made speeches to the mob and urged them to vote. He thinks the Kansas Legislature a legal body and properly elected. Of course, he could not do otherwise, when he was present at the election aiding and abetting the border ruffians, and telling them they had a right to vote. He was one of them, and now he must put the best face he can upon the matter. Had his extraordinary conduct in Kansas been known in Congress he would not have been put on the Committee. Some other pro-slavery man who had not such strong inducements to falsify the record, would have occupied his place.

Had Oliver exercised as much honor and honesty as a member of Congress ought to possess, he would have declined being on the Committee at all, knowing that he was an interested and implicated party! A fine thing it is for an accused party to sit as a Judge, and make an official report in his own case. How the Black Democratic press would have bellowed, if Howard or Sherman had been engaged in any way in the difficulties in Kansas, but they will doubtless endorse Oliver as a marvelous proper person for a committee man.

In the Pro-Slavery Whiskey organ we observed this morning one of Brooks' "very dirty and very characteristic" articles. He is in great wrath because we alluded to the dissipated habits of S. A. Douglas. Well, if Douglas is hurrying himself to a premature grave, we cannot help that—we pity the poor drunkard always, and would save him if we could.—There are some of Douglas' particular friends about Quincy that have our commiseration for the same reason. But they

would not get in a rage because we wish them well, and desire to see them become sober and respectable citizens.

Brooks shows a great want of ingenuity in repeating that silly lie about the editor of the R-publican. If he wishes any body to believe that we get drunk, his only chance is to swear that we are a very sober man. If he pursued that course for a few days, it might cast some suspicion on our claims to sobriety.

The Border Ruffians in Kansas appear to be divided in sentiment on the Presidency. One of their papers, the Leavenworth Herald, supports Buchanan, while another, the Kickapoo Pioneer, notorious for its unscrupulous hostility to all Free State emigrants, supports Fillmore.

The Valley Whig.

KEOKUK:

WEDNESDAY MORNING, JULY 16, 1856.

SUPPORT THE LAW.—Douglass said in the Senate, the other day, that the Democratic party "support the law in Kansas." Exactly, allowing the enactments of the Border Ruffians to be "the law." Those laws say it is six months imprisonment to decoy away a white child, but two years imprisonment to practise the same arts on negro property.—Those laws say it is imprisonment for five years to express the opinion that Slavery does not lawfully exist in Kansas. Those laws declared Free State papers nuisances, and so commanded their destruction, which the officers of the law immediately accomplished, and not a Free State paper is published in Kansas to-day, for the offices have all been sacked.

These things exhibit the particular regard that the Black Democracy have for the white race over the black; their peculiar willingness to let the people of Kansas settle the question of Slavery for themselves; the sacred respect they entertain for the constitutional guaranties of Freedom of Speech and of the Press! But Douglass says the Democracy support those laws, and so of course sanction their execution.

PLEGDED TO SUPPORT KANSAS LAWS.—Mr. Douglass said only a few days ago in the Senate that the Democratic party was "pledged to support the laws in Kansas." This is a section of one of those laws, which we extract from an official copy of the Kansas code, viz:

§ 12. If any free person, BY SPEAKING OR BY WRITING, ASSERT OR MAINTAIN THAT PERSONS HAVE NOT THE RIGHT TO HOLD SLAVES IN THIS TERRITORY, or shall introduce into this Territory, any book, paper, magazine, pamphlet, or circular, containing ANY DENIAL OF THE RIGHT OF PERSONS TO HOLD SLAVES IN THIS TERRITORY, such persons shall be deemed guilty of FELONY, and punished by imprisonment at hard labor, for a term of NOT LESS THAN TWO YEARS."

Democrats some times say they are not in favor of Slavery in Kansas; oh no! they wouldn't for the world do any thing to establish Slavery there. Well, Douglass and Pierce and all the Ebo-shin authorities say that the Kansas Legislature was a lawful Legislature; that Legislature make it a crime, punishable with two years' imprison-

ment at hard labor, even to say that Slavery does not exist there. If then, as Douglass says, (and no body denies,) the Democratic party is "pledged to support" those laws, is it not plain that they are pledged to the support of Slavery there; pledged to maintain it a felony for any body to say that Slavery does not exist there?

Free State Men Endorsed.

The friends of Free Kansas have been ridiculed, denounced, abused, for the positions they have maintained with reference to affairs in that Territory. Expressions of sympathy and encouragement have been stigmatized as "shrieks for freedom," as if it were a sickly sentimentality and a hollow pretence to deplore the reign of anarchy and violence, of robbery and murder, the application of test oaths unknown to the constitution and unsanctioned by it, of outrages upon the ballot-box, of the prostitution of the courts and judicial authority to inquisitorial and tyrannical purposes, of persecution by fire and sword by maddened and infuriated conquerors. If we have quoted them the barbarous enactments of the "Bloody Code" of Kansas, they have stoutly denied them or retorted that the people (i. e. the Missouri invaders) have the right to make their own laws, and Congress nor any body else is responsible or has the right to interfere. Now the Senate of the United States, by every vote but three, (Brown, Fitzpatrick, and Mason,) in the bill just passed have provided that test oaths shall not be prescribed; that free speech and freedom of the press shall not be infringed; that a residence of three months and a registry of name, with the affirmation that the citizen is a bona-fide resident, shall be necessary qualifications of an elector, etc., etc. The regulations of the bill are an admission of every charge made; they are an assertion of the wrongfulness and enormity of the acts committed; they imply a corruption of the ballot-box, the overpowering influence of aliens in political affairs, the suppression of free speech, the destruction of free presses, the reign of anarchy and lawless violence; and retreating from their own position and the position of their friends, they say they have the right, they confess it as an imperative duty, to interfere in the affairs of the Territory, to annul the laws, to shield the people against their provisions, to drive out the oppressor and guard the people's lives and liberties. The bill is a cheat and a delusion, but the objects which we have enumerated are those which it professes, the implications which we have mentioned are necessary and unquestionable. It is a full and entire admission of nearly every complaint of the Free State men, it is a confession of the rightfulness and duty of interfering with the enactment, administration and execution of Border Ruffian laws, and the practices of a searching and malignant tyranny cloaked with the name of "law and order."

The North is awaking, and palterers and demagogues and tyrants begin to tremble.—The roused spirit of the people is bringing political miscreants to their senses. They see the mysterious hand, they read the writing on the walls, and like the limbs of Belshazzar their knees smite together. There is a point where the impudence of a Douglass, the inanities of a Cass, the ferocious denunciations of a Butler, and the haughty

demands of a Toombs, sink into puerilities senseless ravings. There comes a time when the voice and the power of the people hushes and overwhelms them, as the roaring tempest drowns alike the hum of insects and the hissing of serpents. They are mad, but they are not fools. They discern the storm, but cannot avert it. Shams and feints and expedients are of no more effect, and they will ply them in vain. Arts will not delude, lies will not deceive, repentant professions will be scoffed at. A hand that never hesitates will sweep away their refuges of lies; a power that never falters, will overcome and scatter them, as the whirlwind scatters the leaves of autumn. And Peace shall come; and Civil Liberty shall be restored; and Constitutional REPUBLICANISM shall give law to the land once more!

Hall against Free Kansas.

The *Times* justifies Hall's vote against the admission of Kansas under a Free Constitution. The objections are that the Constitution was not adopted by the people, but by a party; that in forming the constitution the people acted under no law, but in defiance of law; that the Government could not admit a State Government to be set up which would abrogate the Territorial Government which itself had erected. Very little scrutiny will these objections endure. Let us see.

The constitution was not adopted by the people, but by only a part of the people. What constitution ever was so adopted, or ever can be? It was adopted by a majority. What more can be required?

It was made and adopted by a party. Well, that party excluded no body. Any body was free to participate who chose. That party comprised a majority of the people, as the testimony just presented to the House demonstrates. That declaration will not be seriously disputed, we presume. Then what is the objection to their acts, as a majority of the people, though you do stigmatize them as "a party?" Every body of people is a party, expressing its own collective sense.

They acted under no authorizing law. Neither did California, nor Florida, nor Arkansas, nor some other States. And Clay, and Cass, and Buchanan, and Pierce, and a majority of the statesmen of the nation have uninterruptedly maintained that it was not necessary.

They acted in defiance of law. What law forbade them peacefully to assemble and form a constitution to present with the request to be admitted into the Union? None; not even "Ruffian" law.

It conflicted with the Territorial Government. So it did. But Territorial Government is professedly temporary, to last only till State Government is instituted. There must always be such conflict. There always has been. But the conflict was to be avoided by the State Government superseding the Territorial Government, as it always does, for the Territorial Government is no longer needed, and so any contest, as the result of a conflict, is unnecessary and preposterous.

No, sir; the objection was that the Constitution presented was a Free Constitution. That was the cause of the whole South arraying itself against it. Who doubts but that is the truth? The Democracy sustained them. Why did it sustain them? That was the only ground on which they desired

to be sustained. It was the only objection that could be brought against it, as we have seen. On that ground,—because it prohibited Slavery,—was the fight openly made in Congress. Those who were in favor of Slavery extension voted against it. Those who were opposed to the spread of that evil, and the existence of it under the authority and protection of the National Government, voted for it. Hall voted with the Pro-Slavery party. He accepted the position of his party and the declaration of the President's organ, the *Washington Union*, that "whatever other questions may enter into the contest, the SLAVERY question, as included in the Kansas measure, must and will take precedence; in comparison with IT, all other questions are of minor importance;"—he accepted these as the true position and authority, and he voted to keep out Kansas because she sought to come in as a FREE STATE. We appeal to the people on that issue; and to the people, with his record, we will go.

DAILY TRIBUNE.

PUBLISHED BY

WRIGHT, MEDILL & CO.,
NO. 53 CLARK STREET.

J. C. VAUGHAN, C. H. RAY, EDITORS.

CITY OF CHICAGO.

Wednesday Morning,.....July 16, 1856.

The Work of the New Kansas Bill.

The *New York Herald*, which goes with the Black Democracy for making Kansas a Slave State, and with the Republicans for defeating the proposed extension of the Pierce dynasty for another term of four years, recommends the passage of Douglas' last bill. It says:

Our last advices from Kansas show that Col. Sumner is doing up the work with the free State squatters in fine style. After establishing a cordon along the Kansas boundary to keep out the pestilent abolitionists, the border ruffians have been ably seconded by the President and Col. Sumner's artillery and dragoons in the dispersion of the Free State Legislature at Topeka. The free State party thus being completely silenced in Kansas, and every thing being ready in the House at Washington for the bill of Mr. Toombs, now is the time to strike for Kansas as a slave State. The Senate have paved the way, and in the late order for 20,000 copies of the bill of Mr. Toombs, excluding the free soil party amendments, they have taken the first step for making out a good case before the people. Every rational man knows that this bill means Kansas as a slave State. Mr. Toombs is honest enough to admit it; but Mr. Douglas, Mr. Senator Bigler, of Pennsylvania, and Mr. Pugh, of Ohio, deny it and dodge it, and whip the devil round the stump at a full gallop.—Make the bill as pure as the gospel, and as clear as the truth in favor of Kansas as a free State, and give the execution of the law to Mr. Pierce, his live commissioners, his army of dragoons and his Missouri militia, and Mr. Toombs will be satisfied. The bill means Kansas as a slave State—nothing else; but we say again, that as the South are entitled to it, let the bill pass. But why not confess its object?

The same paper of a subsequent date, returns to the subject and puts forth its most forcible reasons for making that bill the law. It closes a long article on Kansas affairs, thus:

The way to put an end to this perilous trouble is to provide at once by act of Congress for the admission of Kansas as a Slave State—why mince the matter and quibble about it, Mr. Douglas?—we repeat as a Slave State, according to the intent of the bill of Mr. Toombs. That bill of the Senate, now before the House, will do it. It places the requisite agents and power in the hands of Mr. President Pierce to secure a State Convention in Kansas, and a State Constitution for Kansas, recognising and protecting the institution of Southern slavery. What more do the South want? What more can they ask? And now is the time to strike

while the iron is hot. The bulk of the Free State squatters have been driven out of Kansas by fire, sword, and terrorism, and ere they can return the work must be done, or the South, to recover Kansas, may have to fight for it as Turks against Russians. Shall all that has been done by Mr. Douglas, Mr. Pierce, Gov. Shannon, Col. Sumner, Gen. Atchison, Dr. Stringfellow, and the border ruffians, be lost? They have cleared the track, all that is now required to hold the ground in behalf of the South, and her rightful claim to a balance of power in Congress, is to pass the bill of Mr. Toombs.

Let the Southern Democrats in the House, and the Southern Fillmore men, make this bill a *sine qua non* with the Northern supporters of Mr. Buchanan, and they can pass it. It is the question of Southern rights, under the compromises of the Constitution. Let the bill be passed, and let Kansas come in as a Slave State. The South are entitled to it, and the North can well afford to surrender it. As a philanthropic movement, we say let the bill pass; for should it result in advancing the price of niggers, according to the theory of Governor Wise, it will also result in improving their condition; for as the nigger increases in value, the master will be the more careful to keep him sound and healthy. Pass the bill.

Objections Forcibly Fut.

Lieut. Governor ROBERTS, of Kansas, in a letter to the *New York Evening Post*, which we publish on the first page of to-day's paper, objects very forcibly and earnestly to the passage of Toombs' and Douglas' bill, now before the House. We commend the letter to such of our readers as desire to see how a little show of fairness will cover up the most iniquitous purposes. By the way, this Gov. Roberts who writes this letter, left Chicago for the Cincinnati Convention a day or two before that body met, fully impressed with the belief that the Democratic party of the country would there do wronged and outraged Kansas the justice which the Administration denied her. He could not see how the great crime of the subjugation of that Territory could be endorsed by the party with which he had always acted; and he was convinced that the Free State men would be justified or that the Convention would be broken in twain. This letter which we print to-day, is a commentary upon his delusion, of which we hope he is now radically cured.

Read it.

Latest from Kansas.

AVOWED POLICY OF GEN. SMITH.—FREE STATE MEN NOT TO BE PROTECTED.—THE RUFFIANS ENROLLED AS MILITIA.—A RESORT TO JUDGE LECOMPTÉ OR TO ARMS—WHICH?

We are in receipt of a very late and important letter from Leavenworth City, wherein the policy to be pursued by Gen. PERSIFER F. SMITH, in his military government of Kansas, is stated in words taken down from his own lips. We copy so much of the letter as relates to Gen. Smith's declarations, which, though brief, will satisfy the friends of Free Kansas in the North, that his instructions from headquarters at Washington are of the character of all the rest which have preceded them. The writer says, under date—

LEAVENWORTH CITY, July 10, 1856.
Messrs. Editors:— * * * * * "Yesterday a delegation of our citizens waited upon Gen. Persifer F. Smith, at his quarters at Fort Leavenworth, to lay their grievances before him, and ask his interposition as military commander of the forces in the Territory, to protect their lives and their property from the bands of armed marauders from South Carolina, Georgia and Alabama, who are stationed over us at the different river towns, armed with United States arms, and supported by contributions furnished from Missouri. When asked for relief to disperse these armed military bands, as Free State men have been dispersed in the Territory, his reply is that he has no AUTHORITY—that THESE BANDS ARE REGULARLY ENROLLED AS MILITIA OF THE TERRITORY, [AND THAT EVERY THING THEY DO IS DONE UNDER COLOR OF LAW, and that we (the Free State men) have no redress except in the future, by resort to the civil powers that be! If the lives and property of our citizens are destroyed by these armed mobs, there is no redress for us save by application to the civil power, which, as you are well aware, has already pre-judged our cases! Truly we are in a lamentable condition. We may yet be compelled to resort to our good right arms and trusty rifles for defence!"

We know not what comment to make upon this gigantic wickedness which Gen Smith's reply reveals. It is doubtless the purpose of the Administration now, as it has always been, to reduce Kansas to Slavery; but symptoms of a rebellion of the Democracy of the North against the Iniquity, have become so general, that it was hoped that it would relax, if but for a brief period, its iron rule over the distracted and unhappy Territory. In this hope, however, there is no reliance. Whatever show of fairness may be made by Douglas and Toombs at Washington, the Bayonet and the Ruffian are still to have sway on the Border. The lives and the property of the settlers are still to be at the mercy of the predatory hordes which the policy of Atchison and the complicity of Shannon have brought upon the land. The work of terrorism is still to go on. More Free State men are to be driven off, as hundreds have been before. More towns are to be sacked. The highways are still to swarm by the freebooters by whom they have been infested. More Buchaniering is to be done upon the Missouri. More blood of innocent men is to wet the soil of Kansas. In a word, the system which Stringfellow and Atchison inaugurated and which Douglas, Pierce & Co. have defended through thick and thin, is to be worked out until its legitimate result—the establishment of Slavery in Kansas—is attained.

It is worthy of remark that the instructions upon which Mr. Pierce's subordinate in the Territory is acting, were framed in Washington, about the time that the bill of Toombs and Douglas for the pacification of Kansas was drawn up. The reply of Gen. Smith to the delegation of Free State men of Leavenworth City, is an exposition, at once conclusive and overwhelming, of the true intent and meaning of that false and hypocritical act.

which would have done him great credit, and would have reflected lasting honor upon the Democratic party, had they been adhered to, and lived up to. But they were mere death-bed quakings, and were so regarded at the time. Free Soil men, for whom they were intended; paid no attention to them. David Wilmot disregarded and tunned a deaf ear to them; the people refused to be beguiled; the ball rolled on, and Cass, Butler and their kind of Free Soil, took the under-side. They are now trying the same old dodge a second time, to save James Buchanan. Their posters are headed "Freedom for the Oppressed!" "Success to Kansas!" and the like captivating appeals, by which to curry the favor of earnest, independent men. They are now professing themselves to be, par excellence, the friends of Kansas, and men are now ransacking this very City, with petitions in their hands, asking for the passage of the Douglas Toombs bill, through the House of Representatives, from whose mouths d-d niggers and cursed abolitionists are usually as ready and familiar "a; house-hold words." They look, act and talk very smoothly now, but it is of no use. That portion of the Democratic party who think the nation has had enough of slavery, went sign those petitions, nor regard the protestations of those who instigated them. They are called for by Cass, Stuart and Peck, and Cass, Stuart and Peck men will sign them, or nobody. The friends of freedom in Kansas, and freedom generally, of Free States, Free Territory, Free Speech, Free Men and Fromont, are not the birds to be caught by such wretched chaff as their protestations for "Free Kansas," instigated by extreme and abject fear, extorted by the very agony of despair, because they see plainly that within the short space of four months, the sceptre will depart from their hand, and they will be left monuments of a policy as fatal to the country, as it was feebly defended.

Beware of Fraud—We are informed that petitions are being clandestinely circulated throughout this State, for the passage, by the House of Representatives, of Toombs' Senate bill for the admission of Kansas. Let all Republicans beware of signing any such document, under the impression that it will result in the admission of Kansas as a Free State. We would recommend the policy of immediately putting in circulation petitions to the Senate for the immediate passage of the House bill for the admission of Kansas, and also remonstrances to the House against the passage of the Senate bill.

Notwithstanding past admissions, we confidently expect that the *Free Press* will, in a few days, undertake to show from Oliver's report, that the charges of foreign interference in the affairs of Kansas are all chimeras, existing only in the troubled brains of "black Republicans" and "Abolitionists."

Petition! Petition! Petition!!!

The Buchanians in this State are circulating a petition to present to Congress for the passage of the deceptive bill of Toombs, by which Kansas instead of being pacific will be further embroiled.—The sentiment of this State is unmistakably for the admission of Kansas under the Topeka Constitution, or in other words for the immediate passage in the Senate of the bill lately passed by the House of Representatives. And we urge our friends to circulate petitions praying for its passage, and send them forthwith to our members at Washington. The following may serve as a form:

"TO THE HONORABLE THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES:

Your petitioners, citizens of—State of Michigan, deeply impressed with the necessity of immediately quieting the serious troubles in Kansas; and believing the bill recently passed by the House of Representatives, admitting Kansas with her Topeka Constitution, entirely adequate to that end, respectfully pray the members of your honorable body to give it your votes that it may become a law."

Mr. Colfax's Speech.

We commence, to-day, the publication of the speech of Hon. Schuyler Colfax, of Ind., upon the "Laws" of Kansas. Although our columns are crowded daily with important matter, this speech is of such a character that we have felt constrained to lay it before our readers.

Mr. Colfax has added much to his reputation by this able and valuable speech. In exposing as he has done, with a masterly hand the infamous character of these Kansas enactments, he has performed a good work for Freedom and Humanity, and he deserves the thanks of every true Northern man. Let none of our readers fail to peruse the speech.

A Sophistry Exposed.

A portion of the Locofoco press are endeavoring to prove that the report of the Congressional Committee, which states as one of the conclusions of its investigations, that Gov. Reeder was not elected at an election appointed in pursuance of law, by necessary implication decides against the legality of the Topeka Constitution, and the election of State officers under it. A few facts will expose the sophistry of this latest quibble. The first election for delegate in the territory was held by appointment of Gov. Reeder on the 29th day of November, 1854, and Whitfield was elected and served his term. The second election for delegate was held on the first of October, 1855—a day appointed by the bogus legislature, and at this election the invading army of Missourians surrounding the polls, determined the free State men not to vote, but they appointed the 9th of the same month as their election day when they voted for Gov. Reeder for delegate. Now, as the report is taken as authority in the one case it cannot be repudiated in the other, and one of the results of the investigations it details is, "that the territorial legislature was an illegally constituted body, and had no power to pass valid laws and their enactments are therefore null and void." Of course, then, they had no right to pass a law appointing an election day, and the report rightly declares Whitfield's election held on this day as illegal and void. Thus the reasons are disclosed why both Reeder and Whitfield are decided against by the report as not having been elected in pursuance of law. In Whitfield's case, because the legislature which appointed the day of election was illegal, and also because the election was fraudulently managed, and in Reeder's case because the day of election was determined upon by the people, when the legislature being illegal the Nebraska Bill made it the duty of the Governor to appoint the election day. In both these cases distinct provisions of the law were violated.

But these facts can by no possible course of honest reasoning, be brought to bear against the organization of a State government at Topeka, by the inhabitants of the territory. No law was violated

DAILY ADVERTISER.

July 16, DETROIT, 1856.

Cass, Butler and Free Soil.

In the year of grace, 1848, when Gen. Lewis Cass was the Democratic candidate for President of the United States, it suggested itself to his mind, or became suggested to his mind, that the Free Soil vote of Michigan, amounting to several thousands, would not be thrown for Gen. Taylor, the Whig candidate, nor perhaps for Martin Van Buren, the self avowed candidate; so it occurred to somebody, that it would be an excellent idea to get it. No sooner was it thought of, than the attempt was made. Good Free Soil speeches were made by prominent men, throughout the State, and Hon. R. McClelland made a good Free Soil speech in the House of Representatives. That speech, together with one from the Hon. A. W. Buel, the Locofoco candidate for Congress in this District, was published in the Commercial Bulletin, a Democratic paper of this City, to which we beg leave to refer our readers. Handbills and posters were struck off in this City, headed "Cass, Butler and Free Soil!" upon which the appointments of Mr. Buel, Hon. D. Stuart, Gen. Cass, and other distinguished speakers were displayed, promising that upon such and such days, at such and such hours and places, addresses would be delivered, for Cass, Butler and Free Soil, and the Wilnot Proviso. Hon. Robert McClelland, being a native of Pennsylvania, was despatched on behalf of Gen. Cass, to visit Hon. David Wilnot, the father of the Proviso, and secure his co-operation for the new tack taken by the General, in beating up the adverse stream of unpopularity, both personal and political. Strong resolutions were drawn at the State, and other Conventions of the party, committing and pledging, not only Gen. Cass, but all the party leaders, to measures of inflexible opposition to the further extension of slave territory. One very distinct and positive set of resolutions, declarative of opposition to further slave territory, was drawn up by Wilbur F. Storey, then of Jackson county, and they profess sentiments, and declare opinions,

DAILY TRIBUNE.

DETROIT:

WEDNESDAY EVENING, JULY 16, 1856.

PRINCIPLES—NOT MEN.

Oliver's Minority Report.

We have not had an opportunity to examine this Report in full, but from the synopsis which has been made of it by Washington letter writers, we judge that it must be one of the most extraordinary documents ever presented to Congress.—Without facts to support his conclusions, and with the most indecent unfairness, this Oliver, bound as he is, by his solemn oath, to impartiality, pettifogs the case of the Border Ruffians like a cheap lawyer. He seems to have accepted a place in the commission and to have gone to Kansas with the foregone determination to make up just such a report on that side of the question as he has now submitted.

What man in his senses—who but Oliver, believes that Missourians have not unlawfully interfered with the ballot box in Kansas? He don't believe it himself; and yet he says so in this report. Such brazen-faced and gross impudence will only hurt the cause which he seeks to aid. He would have done better to have lied somewhere within the bounds of reason and probability. It is now infinitely more probable that Oliver himself voted in Kansas, than that he has told a word of truth in this report.

...under movement. It is an inherent right of the people of a territory under our form of government, at the proper time, that is where population is sufficient and their wants seem to require it, to organize a State government and apply for admission to the Union. Just what Kansas has done, Michigan did in 1836, and California in 1850, and in both cases Congress sanctioned their action. The report neither specifies or implies censure of the action of the members of the Topeka constitution most especially not in deciding upon the case of Gov. Reeder, which we have shown to rest upon a specific violation of a law. In the case of Michigan, which is exactly analogous to the case of Kansas—most strikingly analogous—Felix Grundy, Thomas H. Benton, James Buchanan, Silas Wright and even Franklin Pierce, all prominent Democrats, voted to sanction just such action on the part of this State as the locofoco press now condemn on the part of Kansas, so that if the Kansas report even by implication as alleged, decides against the Topeka State government movement, we have the very highest Democratic authority to quote as opposed to its error; but it does not decide against that movement either in so many words, or by implication, and all attempts to prove it does, are disgraceful deceptions.

Rev. A. St. Clair of this State, lately returned from Kansas, at the solicitation of George W. Brown the imprisoned editor of the Kansas Herald of Freedom, is presenting throughout the North the claims of that able free State paper which was destroyed by a mob, for re-establishment. Mrs. Brown accompanies Mr. St. Clair.—He is at present at Buffalo, N. Y., where the generous citizens have already subscribed \$353 56 towards the re-establishment of the Herald of Freedom. Among the subscribers we notice a visitor from Michigan, \$5.

Buchanan Pledged to the Pierce Border Ruffian Policy towards Kansas.

Lieut. MORRILL, late of the U. S. Army, and for several years stationed in Kansas and on the Western Frontier, was in our office a few days since and confirms the following statement of Mr. Bliss. Lieut. M. has, on several occasions, heard Judge LeCompte make similar assertions, and give the most positive assurances, from his correspondence with intimate political friends of Mr. BUCHANAN, that "Mr. Buchanan would stand by him and the Kansas Legislature, and pursue the same policy that Pierce had."

Mr. J. F. Bliss, who has just returned from Kansas, made the following statement to us, which, at our request, he reduced to writing and testified to under oath.—Galesburg (Ill.) Democrat. See page

NATIONAL KANSAS COMMITTEE.—All communications designed for the National Kansas Committee should be addressed to the undersigned at Chicago. H. B. HURD. Sec'y National Kansas Committee. N. B.—All newspapers friendly to the cause will please copy.

The Daily Democrat.

ROCHESTER, N. Y. WEDNESDAY MORNING, JULY 16, 1856.

The Cost of Slavery—Southern Rights.

The undue influence of Slavery in the Federal government, is frequently alluded to in political discussions, but the extent to which it has been exercised is scarcely realized. The monopoly of the chief offices of the government is a matter of small consequence, in itself considered. It is only because the influence thus conferred has been prostituted for the benefit of Slavery, that complaint is made. It is enough to startle the North to look at the vast expenditure of money with a view to extend Slavery. The money paid for territory out of which to form new Slave States, is almost incredible.

But the figures we give below are accurate:

Territory of Louisiana, (purchased of France in 1803)	\$15,000,000
Interest paid	8,327,353
Florida (purchased of Spain)	5,000,000
Interest paid	1,430,000
Texas (for boundary)	10,000,000
Texas (for indemnity)	10,000,000
Texas (for creditors, last Congress)	7,750,000
Indian expenses of all kinds, (say)	5,000,000
To purchase navy, pay troops, &c.	5,000,000
All other expenditures	3,000,000
Expenses of the Mexican War	217,375,575
Soldiers' expenses, and bounty lands, &c. (say)	15,000,000
Expenses of the Florida War, (say)	100,000,000
Soldiers' pensions, bounty lands, &c. (say)	7,000,000
To remove Indians, suppress hostilities, &c., (say)	5,000,000
Paid, by treaty, for New Mexico	15,000,000
Paid to extinguish Indian titles, (say)	100,000,000
Paid to Georgia	3,032,000
	\$822,764,928

It was at the instance of the slaveholding section of the Union, and for its immediate benefit, that all these purchases of foreign territory have been made. The Mexican war, the expense of which we have given as stated by the Secretary of the Treasury in his report in 1851, was, as Mr. Clay stated in 1850, "made essentially by the South, growing out of the annexation of Texas." It was most emphatically the South, and the demand of the Southern oligarchy, that led to the acquisition of Louisiana, Florida, Texas and New Mexico; and as it regards all national issues—all questions of political ascendancy—all these acquisitions of Territory have been made, and have operated, for the direct and immediate benefit of the slaveholding States.

Thus, while the North has paid three quarters of the revenues of the Government, the South has expended the money to pay for new Slave Territory; and now, forsooth we hear every day, in Congress and elsewhere, a vast deal said about "Southern Rights," as though we had been laggard in according to the South its just constitutional privileges. From the territory our money has paid for, five new slave States have been admitted, from which come the following number of Slaveholding representatives, to vote against the North, and with the aid of doughfaces to perpetrate new aggressions:

States	Square Miles	Senators	Representatives
1. Louisiana,	41,346	2	4
2. Missouri,	65,037	2	7
3. Arkansas,	52,191	2	2
4. Florida,	53,268	2	2
5. Texas,	323,399	2	1
6. Slave States,	643,369	10	16

Thus at a cost of over eight hundred millions of dollars, we have obtained the Territories for five new Slave States, by which the Slaveholding section have gained politically ten United States Senators and sixteen members of the House of Representatives!

Like all appetites, unnaturally stimulated, Slavery has literally been growing by what it fed on. And the more territory subverted to its sway, the more greedy has it grown, until it now demands the "right" to go everywhere and anywhere in the territories, and even to stalk through the Free States unmolested. After costing so much, and after the concession of more "rights" than it can claim under the Constitution—"rights," too, which are denied to Freedom—the question is to be met whether it shall go beyond its present bounds. Those who would keep it where it is now, will vote for JOHN C. FREMONT; while those who are indifferent or absolutely pro-slavery, will vote for FILLMORE or BUCHANAN.

The opportunity now offered, if not improved, will give Slavery the preponderance before another ten years, and reduce the North to a tyranny as galling as that from which our fathers rebelled.

The Courant.

HARTFORD: WEDNESDAY MORNING, JULY 16, 1856.

THE SPEECH of Hon. Lafayette S. Foster, Senator from Connecticut, has been published in a pamphlet form, and is universally well spoken of as a clear and powerful exposition of the wrongs of Kansas. Our Senator commences with the history of the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act; how uncalled for it was; how unexpectedly its most revolting feature was impressed upon it. "All the evils," he says, "and more than all the evils, anticipated from this law, have quickly followed in the train of its enactment." He then very glowingly describes the horrors of war that have been perpetrated in Kansas in the sacred name of law, and believes that instead of being exaggerated, that the worse has not been told us.

Mr. Foster then alludes to that sneer of the N. Y. Express, embodied in the expression so much used by that paper, of "Shrieks for freedom":

The cries which come forth from Kansas are sometimes stigmatized as "shrieks for Freedom." It seems to me a most significant omen, when shrieks for Freedom afford a subject of sneer in the free Republic of the United States of America. How long, Mr. President, is it that shrieks for Freedom have been discordant to American ears? When Patrick Henry shrieked for Freedom in the House of Delegates of Virginia, and when Samuel Adams answered back from Faneuil Hall, in Massachusetts, there were indeed sneers at these shrieks for Freedom. The British House of Peers. It was there remarked that the Americans might sit talking about their natural rights, their divine rights, and such stuff, but the Ministry would send over a few regiments of grenadiers to aid them in their consultation. These shrieks for Freedom Mr. President, are not to be disregarded. Those who utter them cannot with safety be trampled under foot, either in an Empire or in a Republic. They will be heard, and it is wiser to hear and heed them than to sneer at them.

He then goes into an extended vindication of the Emigrant Aid Society, and especially of the Connecticut colony, in organizing and arming themselves, and shows conclusively that they have done nothing contrary to law or sound morality. The cause of the opposition to this emigration, he shows, results from slavery, and then he goes a step farther back and alleges that the ultimate cause of all these difficulties was the repeal of the Missouri Compromise.

Mr. F. then examines with much clearness the various bills before the Senate and urges upon that body the admission of Kansas as a free state. The subjects of "popular sovereignty" and its perfect indeterminateness in the Nebraska Bill and in the construction given to it in practise, are treated with a lawyer's acumen. The greater portion of the speech is occupied in this fruitless search of endeavoring to ascertain what "popular sovereignty" really means, and how far and to what subjects, its powers extend. He reaches the conclusion, however, in his own mind, that Congress has power to legislate in the Territories.

Mr. Foster is very clear and very powerful in exhibiting the superiority of free labor over slave labor, so much so that Mr. Benjamin of Louisiana said that such superiority was not owing to freedom and slavery, but to the difference between the two races of men. Mr. Foster replies to him by reading some of the black laws of Kansas and then triumphantly adds:

"I ask if there is any man who, for the sake of holding in bondage a few thousand wretched Africans, so inferior, as the gentleman for Louisiana tells us, even as laborer, to the white race, is willing to give up freedom of speech, freedom of conscience? If all these sacrifices must be made for the sake of holding these poor, degraded human beings in bondage on that soil, do not patriotism, good policy, and statesmanship—to say nothing of any moral considerations call upon us loudly to war against the institution of Slavery in this Territory, and in all the Territories of the United States? Why should we not fight against its extension as we would fight fire?"

In continuing the description of the state of things in Kansas, our Senator brings forward the testimony of Mr. Barlow of Waterbury and Mr. Crastimony of New London, reads them in full, and says, "all this is but a part of the price which free white men are called upon to pay, in order that a few black men may be held as slaves in Kansas."

WE COMMEND the following remarks of the N. Y. Evening Post to the consideration of our readers:

WHAT RIGHT HAD THE PRESIDENT TO DISPERSE THE LEGISLATURE ASSEMBLED AT TOPEKA?—All the powers not delegated to the United States by the constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved by it to the states respectively, or to the people. The President must therefore find his authority in the constitution. No doubt he is commander-in-chief of the army and navy, but the command does not involve the power to use it for whatever purposes his pleasure may dictate. The purposes for which this command may be employed must be found in the constitution, no less than the command itself. No doubt, also, it is his duty to see that the laws of the United States are faithfully executed. But no law of the United States commanded that assembly to be dispersed. Congress cannot pass a law infringing the right of people peaceably to assemble. The right of the people peaceably to assemble and discuss anything they please, resolve anything they please, or enact anything they please, is a law higher than the Constitution. All that the Constitution does, is to provide that Congress shall pass no law infringing it.—The members of that legislature peaceably assembled to discuss something which they thought fit to be discussed; to resolve something which they thought ought to be resolved, or to enact something which they thought it their duty to enact. Of course, they were just where they had a right to go, and were doing just what they had a right to do.—Now it is very possible that their discussions might be very unwise, their resolves very unsound, and their enactments very inoperative. But it is not one of the President's rights or duties to disperse peaceable assemblies because he anticipates or discovers that their proceedings may be or have been inoperative, unsound or unwise. If for these pretexts, or any pretext, he can decide one peaceable assembly improper, he can another, he can all; and if by military force he can disperse one, he can another, and all. And the right of the people peaceably to assemble for any purpose, and all purposes, depends only, upon executive pleasure.

The Evening Press.

HARTFORD:
WEDNESDAY, JULY 16.

An Act to Enable the Border Ruffians to make Kansas a Slave State.

This is the appropriate title of the law recently introduced by DOUGLAS, which, after some amendments, passed the Senate. We have no idea that it will pass the House, though the Administration should resort to all the power and patronage at its disposal to debauch the members, as in 1854, when it commenced its intrigues to expel freedom from Kansas and give it over to slavery.

The plausible pretense urged in 1854, which cheated and deceived many, that in repealing the Missouri Compromise there was no intention of extending slavery into Kansas, that it could not by any possibility exist there, but that it was merely to set aside the absurd system of Jefferson, and establish the principle of territorial or squatter sovereignty, are all abandoned by this act. It commences with giving into the hands of five persons, to be appointed by the President, full and absolute power over the right of suffrage in Kansas. These five commissioners are not to be elected or designated by the people themselves, although vested with full and final power over their dearest rights. What sovereignty is there in such proceedings? Would not the exercise of such a power by the federal government in regard to the right of voting in this State, or in any other State, be in derogation of all sovereignty, and be subversive of the principles of liberty in any State that submitted to it? Yet PIERCE, TOUCER and DOUGLAS put the sovereignty of the States and Territories on the same footing.

Neither the Territorial system of Mr. Jefferson, which this Administration has overthrown, nor his democracy, which has been cast aside for the sham substitute indorsed at Cincinnati, recognized the construction of such a board with such powers. But it is an especial favorite with some of our sham

democrats of the present day, who would rob the people of their inherent rights and put them in the hands of a board appointed by PIERCE, the enemy of popular rights, the oppressor and persecutor of freedom in Kansas.

The act to enslave Kansas closes with a section that amends some of the odious and offensive laws of the Border Ruffian legislature. This is the gilding of the pill. Those laws, and the whole proceedings of that usurping legislature ought at once to be swept aside. The men who enacted these laws were never elected by the people of Kansas, and they have no more moral force or validity, than were the British parliament to enact laws for the government of this country. Those who would justify or sustain those laws are enemies of popular rights, are warring against the principles which led to the revolution and Declaration of Independence, and occupy precisely the same position as the Tories in 1776. The parliament had enacted laws for taxing the colonies, while the colonies were not represented, and had no voice in the enacting. Our fathers would submit to no such oppression, but the Tories, like the sham democrats of our day, said it was their duty to submit to the imposition. The Missourians have enacted a code of outrageous laws for Kansas, and for six months past the Administration has been exerting itself by all the power at its disposal, to enforce these arbitrary and infamous laws on that territory. The President, in his special message, declared his intention to enforce them by all the means with which the Executive was invested, and the Hartford Times and New Haven Register ranged themselves on the side of the oppressors, against the persecuted free men of Kansas. But after six months of devastation, pillage, house burning, robbing and murder, the Senate at length prepare and have passed a bill abrogating a part of these disgraceful enactments. If they can repeal a part, they can the whole, and thus take the hands of the Ruffians from the throat of their victim. It is undoubtedly their duty to do so. But how do they make this advance toward justice to the oppressed people of this territory? Why, they couple it with a proposition intended to bind more firmly the chains of slavery upon Kansas. The liberty of speech and the press, the right of the people to bear arms, secured to them by the constitution, but which the border ruffians have denied them, shall be restored, and the test oaths shall be abolished, provided other infamous laws are validated, the usurping legislation is recognized, and they will consent to let PIERCE appoint a Board of Commissioners to say who shall and who shall not vote and authorize the commissioners to apportion the delegates that may be elected, and take other measures to establish slavery in Kansas.

This "Act to enable the Border Ruffians to make Kansas a Slave State" is called by its advocates a "pacification bill." Having expelled a large portion of the free laboring men from the territory, and called in a horde of lazy, gambling vagabonds from South Carolina and Alabama, who despise labor, this "pacification" or patch-ification bill provides that all who were in the territory on the 4th of July may vote, and graciously permits the expelled free laborers also to vote, if they return before the 1st of October, as if these poor men who have neither slaves nor means, and who in many instances have been robbed of their all, could make these long and expensive journeys at pleasure. In addition to this, a system of inland piracy has been instituted on the Mississippi river, and large multitudes of free State emigrants on their way to Kansas, robbed and compelled to turn back, while every facility has been afforded to the advocates of slavery, to send into the Territory men who do not mean to settle there, who do not labor, who despise it, and hate all who do labor. This is a part of the scheme to enable Border Ruffians to make Kansas a slave State, and there is evident concert of action between the Pirates and the Missourians, and their friends in Washington.

This patch-ification bill to enslave Kansas illustrates the democracy and regard for popular rights

243
in many particulars. It not only puts extraordinary and arbitrary powers, controlling the destiny of Kansas into the hands of a board of Commissioners not elected by themselves; but authorizes the delegates elected under the decisions of that board to frame a constitution which shall be obligatory upon the people without being submitted to their approval or rejection. No constitution has ever been formed or recognized by any State, which has not first been approved by a majority of the people themselves. But in order to enslave Kansas, prevent the expression of opinion, and rob the people of their rights, the Senate have intrigued through a disgracefully oppressive enactment, putting the sovereignty and rights of the inhabitants into the keeping of a Board of Commissioners foreign to the territory, and denying to the people their inherent right of accepting or rejecting the organic law which may be formed for their government, under the direction of this Board and their delegates. This mockery on popular rights, on the liberties of the people, this tyrannical measure to extend and establish slavery and extinguish free labor, is urged and advocated by the Buchanier papers as democratic, and as a farther imposition, we are assured by their organs it will, if adopted, "certainly make Kansas free this fall." Robbing them of their invaluable and constitutional rights through the instrumentality of central intrigues at Washington will "certainly make them free." This is the sham democracy of the Hartford Times. That paper has the impudence or the ignorance to farther say the "bill guarantees the full vote of actual settlers." It would be difficult for the editors to define what they mean by these words, which are thrown in as blarney to help on the fraud. The bill contains some provisions to punish fraudulent voting, which are correct and proper, and should be enacted with a general law for every territory. But they are coupled with tyrannical and arbitrary decrees, denying to the people invaluable, inherent, and sovereign rights, instead of guaranteeing and protecting those rights.

The 18th section enumerates certain rights secured to the whole people by the constitution of the United States, but which the Border Ruffian legislature attempted to annul in Kansas, and Congress declares virtually that the provisions of the constitution cannot be defeated or destroyed by the bogus laws. But ROBINSON is a prisoner under these laws, others are also confined, while others are expelled under them, and still others have been slain.—The President has declared officially that he would support and enforce those laws with all the power and treasure with which he is invested, and the Buchaniers have undertaken to sustain him in this tyranny.

Fortunately the country is rising in its might to free itself of this sham democracy, these audacious attempts to destroy freedom, and extend and nationalize slavery. We do not believe the House of Representatives will pass this Senate bill, so anti-democratic in its character and principles, and the people themselves of the whole country will rightly estimate the true character of those who advocate it.

A company of twenty emigrants left Blackwell, S. C., last Friday for Kansas, under Gen. L. M. Ayer. They design settling in the Territory.

The Republican.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.
WEDNESDAY MORNING, JULY 16, 1856.

The Taking off of Mr Brooks.

The determination of the slavery party to make the cause of gutta serena, in the assault of Mr Brooks upon Senator Sumner, their own—to adopt his crime and defend it and its perpetrator—of course secured more than one-third of the House against his expulsion. The handsome majority of twenty-six was so keen a rebuke, however, that Mr Brooks could not repress the feeling, that he expressed, that the vote transmitted him to posterity as a man unworthy of a seat on that floor; and he accordingly resigned his seat, having previously, in anticipation of

such a result, sent his resignation to the governor of South Carolina. His constituents will undoubtedly re-elect him at once, or reserve him for an early election to the U. S. Senate, for his deed is popular at the South. It is reported even that Mr Butler will resign his own seat in the Senate in order that his "gallant relative" may speedily find himself endorsed and advanced by his chivalric state. If this prove true, Mr Brooks will doubtless confront his victim on the latter's return to the Senate chamber from his long and weary suffering.

The retiring speech of Mr Brooks was in bad temper and bad taste—the very reverse of the act itself; and the House must have felt, after listening to it, somewhat ashamed that they did not sustain, rather than over-rule, Mr Giddings's objection to his speaking at all, since he was out of order, and had declined to speak when he properly might before the taking of the vote. But his speech at the time chosen was a dramatic performance for which himself and his friends had prepared, and the House apparently thought it cruel to deprive them of its pleasures and benefits. A crowd of ladies and gentlemen filled one of the galleries—hired or volunteer claquers for the South Carolinian—and often interrupted the speech with their improper applause, and on his retiring at the close pressed around him with congratulations, the ladies it is said embracing and showering him with kisses as a true knight of old!

Mr Brooks defended his brutality thus:

Whoever insulted South Carolina insulted him, and he stood ready at all times, humbly and modestly as her son, to perform his duty. He should have forfeited his self-respect, and the good opinion of his countrymen, if he had permitted the offense to pass unpunished. It was a personal affair, and in taking revenge into his own hands he meant no disrespect to the Senate or the House, nor did he mean disrespect to Massachusetts. He was aware of his personal responsibility. He incurred it, and was prepared to meet it. He knew he was amenable to the laws which offered the same protection to every citizen, whether a member of Congress or in the private walks of life. He did not believe he could be punished by a court of law and by the majority of the House at the same time. If he had committed a breach of privilege, he was answerable to the Senate, which had no right to present him to the House for punishment. The question not only involved him and his friends, but the whole House. If the consequences were confined to himself he would be prepared to meet them here or elsewhere. Others must not suffer for him. He had felt more for his friends, Messrs Edmundson and Keitt, than himself. They are blameless. Each has proved a friend who "sticketh closer than a brother."

He asked consideration for himself, inasmuch as he had not caused disunion, for, he said, with certainly extraordinary exaggeration of his own and his state's consequence, "a blow from me at this time would be followed by revolution." He kindly consented that "the constitution should not be wounded through him," and that the Union might stand at least a little longer. Mr Brooks openly avowed—what we were aware he had lately confessed in private to a Massachusetts member of Congress—his intention and preparation to shoot Mr Sumner at once had he offered any resistance to his brutal caning:

"I went to the Senate deliberately. I hesitated whether I should use a horse-whip or a cow-hide, but knowing that the strength of the senator from Massachusetts was superior to mine, I thought he might wrest it from me. If he had, I might have done what I should have regretted for the remainder of my life."

This cowardly confession doubly damns the deed and the man, and we can believe made the profound sensation in the House which is described. One voice could not repress the exclamation—"He would have killed him," to which Mr Brooks made no denial.

He then proceeded to reply to some of the more pointed of the speeches against him, of some of whose authors he indulged in low abuse. Mr Pennington of New Jersey he described as "the legal member," "the thumb-paper member," "the Falstaffian member of the committee of investigation," &c., in the midst of which the speaker called him to order. He characterized Mr Comins of Massachusetts as his quondam friend who talks fight and carries weapons but dare not use them. He alluded in more respectful terms to Mr Knapp of Massachusetts and replied to him. Upon Mr Woodruff of Ct., he was very severe, ridiculing him for refusing to recognize the duel, and said to him:—

"Go, little wretch; there is room enough in this world for you and me. In his judgment, the cock that crows and will not fight is deeper even by hens and pullets."

Alluding to the remark of James Watson Webb which had been quoted, that the act of assault de-

served death on the spot, Mr. Brooks said: those who endorsed that sentiment wished to play the game of chivalry, let them, with their whole republican crew, come and take the life which they say is forfeited. If his opponents were satisfied with the present state of the case, he was. He returned his thanks to his friends, especially to good northern democrats and gentlemen who had the manliness to stand by him—not forgetting John Scott Harrison of Ohio, (a Fillmore know nothing.) Some gentlemen, he believed, had voted against him contrary to their wishes, but were operated upon by outside pressure, and he spoke in commendation of those who gave their votes without indulging in vilification.

With this ebullition, the gallant nephew of his uncle retired from the hall; and we congratulate the country that, to this partial extent even, the House has been able to vindicate its self-respect, protect free speech and condemn the law of the bludgeon and of the slave power.

Senator Butler (S. C.) and Mason (Va.) sat near Brooks during the delivery of his speech and were quite merry over it. Mr Hoffman of Maryland was the only southerner who voted for expulsion.

The Daily Transcript.

Z. K. FANGBORN, Editor.

WORCESTER, MASS.,
WEDNESDAY MORNING, JULY 16, 1856.

Politics in Kansas.

We have already given accounts in our new columns, of the rejoicings in Kansas by the Free State men, over the nomination of Fremont. In his nomination for the Presidency they see a ray of hope for themselves, a bright prospect that they are to be rescued from the clutches of Border Ruffians, and that their virgin soil once consecrated to freedom, is to be free indeed. Do we wonder that they receive the nomination of Fremont, with shouts of joy, when we learn that it is to them the word of deliverance? Fremont secured freedom to California, and they know he will do the same thing for Kansas.

While the Free State men are rejoicing over the prospect of deliverance by the election of Fremont, the Border Ruffians who have oppressed them, murdered their brethren and pillaged their towns, are sending forth their hellish shouts for Buchanan and Breckenridge. The *Squatter Sovereignty*, published at Atchison, Kansas, swings out the flag of Buchanan and Breckenridge, and tells us a bare faced lie in its statements that:

"Buchanan's nomination has been received in every quarter of the Union with that enthusiastic delight which betokens the entire satisfaction it affords, and evidences that all hearts and all hopes are fixed on him, and that his election will be a happy escape from the evils of turbulent faction; and be the triumph of tried national principle."

The same issue which contains the above advocacy of Buchanan, has the following statements, in regard to the cowardly attack upon the Chicago detachment of Free State emigrants:

"MORE ARMS CAPTURED!—The Flower of the Abolition Army taken.—A Bloodless Victory.—The steamer Star of the West, having on board 78 Chicago Abolitionists, said to be a picked Company from the army of 800 then congregated there, was overhauled at Lexington, Missouri, and the Company disarmed. A large number of rifles and pistols were taken at Lexington, and a guard sent up on the boat to prevent them from landing in the Territory.

After leaving Lexington, it was ascertained that they had not given up all their weapons, but still held possession of a great number of pistols and bowie knives, which were probably secreted while the search for arms was going on at Lexington. At Leavenworth City, Capt. Clarkson, with twenty-five men, went on board of the boat, and demanded the surrender of all the arms in the possession of the Abolitionists. Like whipped dogs they sneaked up to Clarkson, and laid down their weapons to him. We learn that about two bushels of revolvers, pistols and bowie knives were captured at Leavenworth."

If these Border Ruffians should happen to elect Buchanan, who will not be ready to sing "Hail Columbia! happy land!"

BOSTON DAILY TIMES

WEDNESDAY, JULY 16, 1856.

Is there a Real Legislature in Kansas?

Under this title a writer in the *Chenango Union* takes advantage of local controversy, and some of its incidents and consequences, to point a legal moral in regard to the Kansas question:—

The Hon. Ira Harris, of Albany, one of the Judges of our Supreme Court, has recently had a case before him in the matter of some official act of that city, wherein the question arose whether Eli Perry, the K. N. candidate, was in fact Mayor of Albany?

After an elaborate opinion, he gave the following as one of the points of his argument: 1st, "That the first board erred in rejecting the vote of two election districts, but as they had jurisdiction in the matter, their certificate put Perry in possession of the office, and of course he is Mayor de facto, however illegal the board may have acted."

This is the judicial opinion; after due deliberation, of one who stands deservedly high with the Fusionists of the State—one who belongs to their party, and is the "strictest of the sect," and, without wishing to say anything of the case before him, we should like to apply the principle of Law above expressed to the case of the Kansas Legislature, which the "Republicans" are making such a howl over in their "shrieks for freedom."

By the express terms of the Kansas act, the Governor of the Territory was to appoint the day for the first election—designate the inspectors—receive their returns—hear any complaints made by any elector, or fraud or informality—adjudicate the same—and declare who was elected, and give certificates to the members.

There were twenty members of the lower House, a majority of whom were to constitute a quorum to do business. In twenty-one of the districts no complaints were made in the time specified in the Governor's proclamation, and even to this day they have not been legally objected to. In the other seven there were complaints, and Gov. Reeder rejected their returns, and sent them back for a new election. When the second returns came in, no objection or alleged informality was presented; and they, like the others, received the official seal of the Governor, that they were elected to the Legislature.

Now, whether this champion of the Fusionists was right or wrong in his official acts, it becomes not us in the light of the above decision to inquire, for he alone "had jurisdiction in the matter;" and it is not in the power of the President nor any other authority to overturn the authority of Gov. Reeder, "however illegally he may have acted."

By the proclamation of Gov. Reeder ordering an election, he required ten electors to certify to and one resident to make oath of an alleged informality, in order to bring "the matter" before him as having under the law "jurisdiction;" and as no such certificate of oath appeared in three-fourths of the districts at the first, and none in regard to the remainder at the second, he was perfectly justifiable, and indeed required by the law and his own proclamation, to grant his official certificate to all.

The election was the 30th of March, the Governor by proclamation called the Legislature together by the first of July; and during all this time his "sober second thought" did not convince him that Kansas was without a Legislature. They were duly organized, and he sent them a message and recognized them as a coordinate branch of the government of Kansas, vested with the legislative power of the Territory under the law of Congress, by which he held his authority. He signed and vetoed bills passed by them, and fully recognized them as a Legislature.

It was not until they had been in session for some weeks—three months after the election—and after they had resolved to change their place of meeting, did this redoubtable Governor discover that they were not the Legislature of Kansas—that they were elected by the Border Ruffians—that armed Missourians had vitiated the election of all of them; and even then he forgot to give this as a reason for repudiating them, but put it as a plea on the ground that they had removed from the place where he had convened them.

Now, all this may be very satisfactory to Governor Reeder, who aspires to the fate of a martyr, and it may be so to those who have elected him first a delegate, and then a Sen-

The Fact about Popular Sovereignty.

The Argus says:—

"The whole principle of the Kansas bill is embraced in the following extract from it: "It being the true intent and meaning of this act NOT to legislate slavery into any Territory or State, nor to exclude it therefrom, BUT TO LEAVE THE PEOPLE THEREOF PERFECTLY FREE to form and regulate their domestic institutions in THEIR OWN WAY, subject only to the Constitution of the United States."

"True intents" are well enough in their way—though it is sometimes said they form paving-stones to an awful terminus. Without, however, desiring to apply the allusion to the workings of this bill in Kansas, it is proper to say that the question is now one of facts, and not intents; whether this "whole principle of the Kansas bill," as the Argus calls it, has been carried into effect in the Territory, or has been utterly disregarded and trampled upon.

That the latter has been the case, no man in his senses can deny. The facts show that the people of Kansas have not been left "perfectly free" to form their own domestic institutions in their own way. On the contrary, they demonstrate that Missourians have interfered to prevent the people from voting even for their own Legislature—that these Border Ruffians chose the Legislature, controlled its proceedings, and established institutions hateful to the people of Kansas! Those are facts which cannot be disputed—and it is, therefore, worse than nonsense to rely upon the present efficacy of the "principle" of the Kansas bill, when that principle has not had for one moment a living existence in the Territory.

It is proved to be worse than nonsense by the very friends of the Kansas bill, who now urge the passage of the Toombs bill on the ground that the above "principle" has failed. This last bill repeals several laws of the Kansas legislature (so called)—thus showing either that those laws were passed by an incompetent authority (and so the people of Kansas were not left "perfectly free"), or else that Congress still retains power to annul the people's laws (and so that the people of Kansas were not left "perfectly free"). Whichever supposition you adopt, you stamp failure on this boasted "principle."

Again, the Toombs bill leaves certain laws of the Border Ruffian legislature in full force; thus sanctioning a body of armed interlopers who poured into Kansas, and, at the polls and in the hall of legislation, successfully scouted the notion that the people were "perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way." In that way the Toombs bill disowns the "true intent" of the Kansas bill—while it inconsistently repeals other laws of the same legislature.

Still further, the Toombs bill enacts a new elective law for Kansas (all the time maintaining that the Territory has a legislature of its own!)—thus denying to the people the most obvious rights of self government!

Thus the popular sovereignty of the Kansas bill has been trodden under foot by the Border Ruffians of Missouri, and is now formally disowned (where the denial makes for the benefit of slavery) by the Toombs-Douglas bill. And yet the Argus has the cool impudence to parade before the voters of Maine the verbal "intent" of this "principle," as a reason for supporting those who have overthrown it! It must get up a little earlier in the day to make this game work.

Late Admissions.

"As to the free-state men having been driven out, there is ample provision made so that they can return and become voters if they please; but if they don't mean to return, why do they claim that their constitution shall be forced on other people? Freedom of speech and of the press is guaranteed by the bill, obnoxious laws are declared void, and the polls are surrounded by safeguards."—[Argus.

The above occurs in an article commending the Toombs bill—and our readers will see that even the Argus, which has so much to say about the exaggerated accounts of affairs in Kansas, makes the following distinct admissions:

- 1. The free state men have been driven out of Kansas in such numbers that a show of fairness requires provision to be made for their return.
2. Freedom of speech and of the press has need of especial guarantees in Kansas.
3. Laws too obnoxious to stand have been passed in the Territory.
4. It is necessary that the polls of American citizens in Kansas should be surrounded with new safeguards.

These, in themselves, form a condemning list of outrages, and involve the violation of nearly every right which is dear to freemen. And this remember, is the Argus list! Is that paper aware that it is countenancing agitation by confessing the existence of such crimes in Kansas?

Whig and Courier.

Wheeler & Lynde, Proprietors.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 16, 1856.

In an address delivered before the Moore Co. Agricultural Society in North Carolina, and published in the Raleigh Cultivator for July, 1856, the following paragraph is found, showing the kind of live stock which the Southern planter finds the most profit in raising:

"And, as a matter of interest, we of the South have an advantage in what is termed our peculiar institution, I allude to that of domestic slavery, for capital invested in that kind of property increases faster than in any other way."

Such admissions show for what use the South want slavery fastened on Kansas—to give a market for the surplus live stock of the planter

The True State of Affairs relative to Kansas.

Our citizens have heard the truthful and touching statements of facts in regard to affairs in Kansas, from the lips of Gen. Pomroy and Noah Barker. An attempt has been made to give altogether a different impression by one of our citizens who says that he has been in Kansas, and who for political effect denies that there is any trouble from Border Ruffians, to those who are disposed to be peaceable. It is unnecessary for us to say more at present, relative to this political scheming than to call the attention of our readers to the following letter and resolutions of a party of young men who started recently for Kansas, to make on the broad and beautiful prairies there, free homes for themselves and their offspring. We publish the names of the parties, some of them our own citizens, and all of them worthy of the fullest confidence.

The following letter has been received by Mr. Charles O. Record of this city:

FARMER RABOON: Perhaps you will think strange on the receipt of this, but I want to inform you how matters stand out here. There were 40 men and two women started from here for Leavenworth, as an Emigrant company with Dr. Cutter of Warren, Mass., for our director. We had our farming utensils along with us, and we also had our arms to defend ourselves against the banditti that infest the territory. But we found robbers on the Missouri River. When we reached Boonville, we met some of the Boats. We met the Star of the West with the disarmed party from Chicago, and we found we could not get up the river without trouble, so we went to the Clerk of the boat and told him we would pack our rifles

at in Congress; and now wish to elect a President on the flimsy fabric based on this transaction; but Judge Hazen, and all sensible, intelligent men who build their political principles on the Constitution of our Union, and are governed by the principles of common sense and legal deductions, will concur in the belief that there is a legislature in Kansas, and that there acts—however impotent or oppressive—can only be remedied by the still but potent voice of the ballot box at a subsequent election.

This is the legitimate weapon of freemen under our system of government; and he who will resort to any other is a traitor to its principles, and illy deserves the blessings it confers.

It is the duty of the Governor of a State or Territory to see that the laws thereof are duly executed; and it is equally the duty of the General Government, when legally called upon, to protect their inhabitants from "foreign invasion or domestic violence," and if it fails in its duty in this particular, it will fail to carry out an express provision of the Constitution, and would be justly censurable by all good men.

This present Administration will most assuredly do; and on the requisition of the Governor of Kansas, aid has been rendered its authorities. Order will soon be restored, and treason will hide its head, or meet its just deserts.

In conclusion, permit me to hope that some of your fusion contemporaries will cease their denunciation of men and the acts of individuals, and come soberly down to the light reflected by the above decision, and justify their champion in his former and present course, and in validate the legal authority of the Legislature of Kansas.

Evening Telegraph.

BOSTON, WEDNESDAY, JULY 16.

[From the Providence Transcript, July 16.]

KANSAS—Col. Topliffe of this city mortally wounded. From a letter just received in this city from Blanton's Bridge, Kansas, under date of July 1, we learn that Col. Topliffe, formerly of this city, and once an officer of the Mechanics Rifle Company, was mortally wounded on the night of the 30th ult., while defending himself against a guerrilla party of Georgians, who ordered him to dismount and give up his pistols and horse, which he refused to do. After he was shot, one of the party pulled him from his horse, and others rushing upon him, stamped on him, and did not leave him until they saw that he was senseless, as they supposed. Soon after they had gone, he arose, and the blood-thirsty scoundrels, seeing he had arisen, turned and fired again, and one ball took effect in his right shoulder, which it is supposed will prove fatal. The letter states that Col. T. is now in a deranged state of mind and very restless. He has a wife residing in this city, and his death will be deplored by a wide circle of friends. Capt. Joseph Otis by whom the letter was written, says he was one of nature's noblemen, and that such men are scarce in the Territory.

The Providence Tribune says the news of this outrage has created a great sensation in Providence, and adds, "he went away from Rhode Island a Democrat," i. e., a member of the Pierce party. The Tribune says also:

"Gen. Topliffe has been associated with Gen. Pierce, more or less, at intervals, for a considerable time. He was with him in Mexico and at that memorable moment when the General fainted, he came to his relief and threw his blanket upon his back—doing whatever else he could for his restoration and comfort."

Daily Citizen and News.

Lowell, Wednesday, July 16, 1856.

The Kansas Route.—Quitted recently three respectable young men started from Bond County, Ill., for Kansas, in a wagon, with the intention of becoming settlers. They had proceeded on their way until they got within twelve miles of Independence, Mo., where they stopped by a spring to eat their dinner and feed their mules. While thus engaged a company of fifteen or twenty Missourians, well armed, came up, and learning that they were from Illinois, declared that they were abolitionists, and swore that if they did not turn and go home they would kill every one of them on the spot. The Missourians actually assaulted the Illinoisians and would not permit them to finish their repast, but compelled them to start immediately for the place whence they came.

and deliver them to him and send them back to St. Louis again—but when we got to Waverly, there was an armed band of Missourians came on board and took them from the Clerk and gave a receipt to deliver them up on our return. Our Director then went and engaged our passage back to St. Louis again, for we could not land without fighting the whole of Missouri, for at every landing we made we found an army of Ruffians armed with U. S. Rifles, muskets and cannon, determined to blow the boat out of the water if we attempted to land. They came on board armed with muskets, pistols and knives, and robbed us of our side arms, and swore they would shoot the first man that resisted. They then put a guard of armed Bloats on board to guard us down the river. But we are all determined to go to Kansas Territory. We start this afternoon for Iowa City by Davenport, on board the steamer Grace Starling, and if the folks North will just help us, we will make a road through the country.

I send you a list of our Resolves, which you will please to have published.

Yours in haste,
SAM'L M. STEVENS.

RESOLVES.

Whereas, We the undersigned, citizens of the United States, and natives of the States of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Ohio, Wisconsin and Illinois, left our old residences for the purpose of improving our future condition by securing permanent homes in the territory of Kansas, and whereas we have not only been robbed of our goods, and of our arms for defence, by citizens of Missouri, but have been forcibly prevented from entering the territory of Kansas, armed or unarmed, by the same Missouri and Southern bands, Therefore—

Resolved, That the forcible resistance to the transit of persons and property, through Missouri is, in fact, a dissolution of the Union.

Resolved, That unless the impediment to the peaceable passage of free State men, free State women and free State goods of every description, in the State of Missouri, and territory of Kansas in the form of large organized bands of men armed with cannon, rifles, U. S. muskets, pistols and Bowie knives, are removed, the threat of S. A. Douglas "We will subdue you" is accomplished—We are subdued—The North is subjugated by the slave power.

- Calvin Cutter, Warren Massachusetts.
- S M Stevens, Bangor Maine.
- H C Abbott, Montpelier Vermont.
- C H Calkins, Haynesville Maine.
- Jesse Holbrook, jr., Bangor Maine.
- Wm L Wigham, Georgia Vermont.
- Benj. Gates, Templeton Mass.
- Chas. P Field, Springfield Maine.
- Luther Townsend, Conway Mass.
- Henry W Peters, Hindsburg Vermont.
- Geo. W Wright, N Brookfield Mass.
- Gilbert F Bigelow, Petersham Mass.
- Jas T Phillips, Brimfield Massachusetts.
- D H Hurd, Chicago Illinois.
- Wm F Harris, Worcester Massachusetts.
- Moses W Brown, Ware Mass.
- Chas S Oliver, Worcester Massachusetts.
- Chas F Shepherd, Sturbridge Mass.
- Jared C Bartlett, Bangor Maine.
- J F Sanborn, Haverhill N. H.
- Geo Warden, Ware Massachusetts.
- Newton Blinn, New Britan Connecticut.
- A Cambers, Worcester Massachusetts.
- C L Preston, " "
- Geo W Bolster, Uxbridge " "
- Chas W Hughes, Haynesville Maine.
- I B Ham, Hodgdon " "
- Geo H Strickland, Warren Massachusetts.
- W H Leaman, Halloell Maine.
- Wm Sherman, Ware Massachusetts.

T Kelley, Oakdale
Geo W Olds, Sturbridge "
Lewis Haskell, Dover Maine.
Wm Seaton, Waterville Massachusetts.
E P Howland, Millbury "
Alexander Voochies, Hovison Wisconsin.
The following resolutions were also passed by this company.

Resolved, That we admire the fortitude exhibited by Mrs. Cutter during the perils that surrounded herself as well as us, and that she has our thanks for her kind treatment when we were sick, as well as for courteous and encouraging attentions when we were well.

Resolved, That we are under great obligations to Dr. Cutter for the manner in which he has managed the affairs of the party; many, if not all of us, owe our lives, or our liberty to his clear judgment and prompt action. We recognize in him, a man whose sagacity, calmness, and courage do not desert him in moments of the greatest peril.

We heartily recommend him to every friend of Freedom, for we believe him to be able staunch and true.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 16, 1856

Kansas Aid Convention at Charlotte.

A Convention of the citizens of Addison and Chittenden Counties met at Charlotte, in the Methodist Church, on Wednesday, July 9th, at 10 o'clock, A. M., to consider a proposition, coming in the first instance from citizens of Hinesburgh, that the two counties should unite to raise a company of emigrants for Kansas. The Convention was organized by the Choice of the following officers:

Chairman,
HON. WILLIAM H. FRENCH, of Williston.

Secretary,
WILLIAM F. BASCOM, of Middlebury.

On motion, a Committee of eight, on resolutions and organization, was appointed, after which the Convention adjourned till one o'clock, P. M.

In the afternoon the Convention re-assembled according to adjournment.

The Committee reported the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted by the Convention.

Resolved, That we recommend that the Counties of Chittenden and Addison organize separately Kansas Aid Associations, in subordination to the state organization, and that said Associations be formed by the appointment of a County Committee, with authority to appoint Town Committees, and that the Town Committees appoint District Committees.

Resolved, That we recommend that the Committees of the respective counties and in the several towns, call public meetings for the purpose of procuring subscriptions to aid settlers, who may be disposed to remove to Kansas.

Resolved, That we recommend that the existing organization in Chittenden County be the organization of said County; viz: that Hon. William H. French, T. E. Wales, Esq., and Henry Leomis, Esq., constitute the County Committee of said County; and that Rev S Hurlburt, W. F. Bascom, Esq., and W. G. Sprague, Esq., constitute the Committee of Addison.

Resolved, That Vermont can, and ought, to send at least five hundred men to Kansas as permanent settlers; men, who understand their rights and duties as Freemen and with resolute hearts and strong arms will sustain the interests of freedom and civilization in that distant and imperilled outpost.

The Convention was well attended in the afternoon, and was ably and eloquently addressed by the Rev. N. Webster, W. W. Brown, Rev. S Hurlburt, H. Toby, Rev. B. B. Newton and Rev. C. F. Ferris.

On motion, *Voted*, that the Secretary be requested to prepare a report of the doings of the Convention, and furnish copies for publication to the Middlebury Register, Vergennes Citizen, Burlington Free Press.

W. H. FRENCH, *Chairman*.
W. F. BASCOM, *Secretary*.
Charlotte, July 9, 1856.

The N. H. Patriot.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 16, 1856.

JUST WHAT THEY ASKED FOR.—The Kansas commission, in their report to Congress, sum up their conclusions at the close, and among other things is the following:—

"Seventh, That in the present condition of the Territory, a fair election cannot be held without a new census, a stringent and well guarded election law, the selection of impartial judges, and the presence of United States troops at every place of election."

Now the bill which has passed the Senate for the admission of Kansas, provides for all that is here said to be required. It provides for a new census—a stringent and well guarded election law—the selection of impartial judges—and the presence of United States troops at every place of voting. This is just what the black republic committee says is needed to secure "a fair election." Yet the whole black party oppose and denounce this bill. Why is this? Simply because they do not want the Kansas question settled. They want it left open so that they may make capital out of it. This is the sole reason for their course.

From the Lecompton Union, June 25.

More Attempts at Midnight Assassination.—The outlaws of Lawrence have on two different occasions attempted to assassinate Deputy Sheriff Haney, who resides in that place, choosing, as they always do, to commit their diabolical deeds under cover of night. A week ago last Saturday night they fired upon the house of Mr. Haney with Sharpe's rifles through the windows thereof, but fortunately the balls passed a little too high to strike Mr. Haney, who was asleep at the time with his wife and children in a bed near the window. Nothing daunted, however, by this failure to murder Mr. H., the assassins renewed the attack on the following night, by breaking open Mr. Haney's house, armed to the teeth, and firing at his bed. Fortunately, however, Mr. Haney and wife and children were not in the bed, but on the floor, unobserved by them, and whilst they were firing at his bed, in order to murder him and his family, he shot one of the demons, a man by the name of Hopkins, well known in Lawrence, dead in his track, upon which the others fled. The assassins had each a red blanket thrown around them, and after breaking into the house, fired at once at Mr. Haney's bed, yelling at the same time like Indians. Eleven balls were found the next day in Mr. Haney's bed clothes!

and deliver them to him and send them back to St. Louis again—but when we got to Waverly, there was an armed band of Missourians came on board and took them from the Clerk and gave a receipt to deliver them' up on our return. Our Director then went and engaged our passage back to St. Louis again, for we could not land without fighting the whole of Missouri, for at every landing we made we found an army of Ruffians armed with U. S. Rifles, muskets and cannon, determined to blow the boat out of the water if we attempted to land. They came on board armed with muskets, pistols and knives, and robbed us of our side arms, and swore they would shoot the first man that resisted. They then put a guard of armed Bloats on board to guard us down the river. But we are all determined to go to Kansas Territory. We start this afternoon for Iowa City by Davenport, on board the steamer Grace Starling, and if the folks North will just help us, we will make a road through the country.

I send you a list of our Resolves, which you will please to have published.

Yours in haste,
SAM'L M. STEVENS.

RESOLVES.

Whereas, We the undersigned, citizens of the United States, and natives of the States of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Ohio, Wisconsin and Illinois, left our old residences for the purpose of improving our future condition by securing permanent homes in the territory of Kansas, and whereas we have not only been robbed of our goods, and of our arms for defence, by citizens of Missouri, but have been forcibly prevented from entering the territory of Kansas, armed or unarmed, by the same Missouri and Southern bands, Therefore—

Resolved, That the forcible resistance to the transit of persons and property, through Missouri is, in fact, a dissolution of the Union.

Resolved, That unless the impediment to the peaceable passage of free State men, free State women and free State goods of every description, in the State of Missouri, and territory of Kansas in the form of large organized bands of men armed with cannon, rifles, U. S. muskets, pistols and Bowie knives, are removed, the threat of S. A. Douglas " We will subdue you " is accomplished—We are subdued—The North is subjugated by the slave power.

- Calvin Cutter, Warren Massachusetts.
- S M Stevens, Bangor Maine.
- H C Abbott, Montpelier Vermont.
- CH Calkins, Haynesville Maine.
- Jesse Holbrook, jr., Bangor Maine.
- Wm L. Wrigham, Georgia Vermont.
- Benj. Gates, Templeton Mass.
- Chas. P Field, Springfield Maine.
- Luther Townsend, Conway Mass.
- Henry W Peters, Hindsburg Vermont.
- Geo. W Wright, N Brookfield Mass.
- Gilbert F Bigelow, Petersham Mass.
- Jas T Philips, Brimfield Massachusetts.
- D H Hurd, Chicago Illinois.
- Wm F Harris, Worcester Massachusetts.
- Moses W Brown, Ware Mass.
- Chas S Oliver, Worcester Massachusetts.
- Chas F Shepherd, Sturbridge Mass.
- Jared C Bartlett, Bangor Maine.
- J F Sanborn, Haverhill N. H.
- Geo Warden, Ware Massachusetts.
- Newton Blinn, New Brittan Connecticut.
- A Cambers, Worcester Massachusetts.
- C L Preston, " "
- Geo W Bolster, Uxbridge " "
- Chas W Hughes, Haynesville Maine.
- I B Ham, Hodgdon " "
- Geo H Strickland, Warren Massachusetts.
- WH Leaman, Hallowell Maine.
- Wm Sherman, Ware Massachusetts.

T Kelley, Oakdale
Geo W Olds, Sturbridge "
Lewis Haskell, Dover Maine.
Wm Seaton, Waterville Massachusetts.
E P Howland, Millbury "
Alexander Voohties, Hovicon Wisconsin.
The following resolutions were also passed by this company.

Resolved, That we admire the fortitude exhibited by Mrs. Cutter during the perils that surrounded herself as well as us, and that she has our thanks for her kind treatment when we were sick, as well as for courteous and encouraging attentions when we were well.

Resolved, That we are under great obligations to Dr. Cutter for the manner in which he has managed the affairs of the party; many, if not all of us, owe our lives, or our liberty to his clear judgment and prompt action. We

MIDDLEBURY REGISTER.

MIDDLEBURY:

WEDNESDAY, JULY 16, 1856.

Kansas Aid Convention at Charlotte.

A Convention of the citizens of Addison and Chittenden Counties met at Charlotte, in the Methodist Church, on Wednesday, July 9th, at 10 o'clock, A. M., to consider a proposition, coming in the first instance from citizens of Hinesburgh, that the two counties should unite to raise a company of emigrants for Kansas. The Convention was organized by the Choice of the following officers:

Chairman,
HOB. WILLIAM H. FRENCH, of Williston.

Secretary,
WILLIAM F. BASCOM, of Middlebury.

On motion, a Committee of eight, on resolutions and organization, was appointed, after which the Convention adjourned till one o'clock, P. M.

In the afternoon the Convention re-assembled according to adjournment.

The Committee reported the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted by the Convention.

Resolved, That we recommend that the Counties of Chittenden and Addison organize separately Kansas Aid Associations, in subordination to the state organization, and that said Associations be formed by the appointment of a County Committee, with authority to appoint Town Committees, and that the Town Committees appoint District Committees.

Resolved, That we recommend that the Committees of the respective counties and in the several towns, call public meetings for the purpose of procuring subscriptions to aid settlers, who may be disposed to remove to Kansas.

Resolved, That we recommend that the existing organization in Chittenden County be the organization of said County; viz: that Hon. William H. French, T. E. Wales, Esq., and Henry Loomis, Esq., constitute the County Committee of said County; and that Rev. S. Hurlburt, W. F. Bascom, Esq., and W. G. Sprague, Esq., constitute the Committee of Addison.

Resolved, That Vermont can, and ought, to send at least five hundred men to Kansas as permanent settlers; men, who understand their rights and duties as Freemen and with resolute hearts and strong arms will sustain the interests of freedom and civilization in that distant and imperilled outpost.

The Convention was well attended in the afternoon, and was ably and eloquently addressed by the Rev. N. Webster, W. W. Brown, Rev. S. Hurlburt, H. Toby, Rev. B. B. Newton and Rev. C. F. Ferris.

On motion, *Voted*, that the Secretary be requested to prepare a report of the doings of the Convention, and furnish copies for publication to the Middlebury Register, Vergennes Citizen, Burlington Free Press.

W. H. FRENCH, Chairman.
W. F. BASCOM, Secretary.
Charlotte, July 9, 1856.

The N. H. Patriot.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 16, 1856.

JUST WHAT THEY ASKED FOR.—The Kansas commission, in their report to Congress, sum up their conclusions at the close, and among other things is the following:—

"Seventh, That in the present condition of the Territory, a fair election cannot be held without a new census, a stringent and well guarded election law, the selection of impartial judges, and the presence of United States troops at every place of election."

Now the bill which has passed the Senate for the admission of Kansas, provides for all that is here said to be required. It provides for a new census—a stringent and well guarded election law—the selection of impartial judges—and the presence of United States troops at every place of voting. This is just what the black republican committee says is needed to secure "a fair election." Yes the whole black party oppose and denounce this bill. Why is this? Simply because they do not want the Kansas question settled. They want it left open so that they may make capital out of it. This is the sole reason for their course.

From the Lecompton Union, June 25.

More Attempts at Midnight Assassination.—The outlaws of Lawrence have on two different occasions attempted to assassinate Deputy Sheriff Hanev, who resides in that place, choosing, as they always do, to commit their diabolical deeds under cover of night. A week ago last Saturday night they fired upon the house of Mr. Hanev with Sharpe's rifles through the windows thereof, but fortunately the balls passed a little too high to strike Mr. Hanev, who was asleep at the time with his wife and children in a bed near the window. Nothing daunted, however, by this failure to murder Mr. H., the assassins renewed the attack on the following night, by breaking open Mr. Hanev's house, armed to the teeth, and firing at his bed. Fortunately, however, Mr. Hanev and wife and children were not in the bed, but on the floor, unobserved by them, and whilst they were firing at his bed, in order to murder him and his family, he shot one of the demons, a man by the name of Hopkins, well known in Lawrence, dead in his track, upon which the others fled. The assassins had each a red blanket thrown around them, and after breaking into the house, fired at once at Mr. Hanev's bed, yelling at the same time like Indians. Eleven balls were found the next day in Mr. Hanev's bed clothes!

END OF THE TOPEKA SHAM.—The proposition to admit Kansas with the Topeka constitution, received but eleven votes in the Senate. A majority of the Northern senators refused to vote for it. This is sufficient to show that this miserable sham cannot receive the countenance of Congress. The people of Kansas are thus safe from having imposed upon them a constitution and a government in the formation of which but a mere fraction of them took part. The miserable partisan trick has thus received a merited rebuke which will prove its death-blow. The Albany Argus well says:—

The Topeka constitution movement has served so evil an end, that one is inclined to believe that the evil was designed from the beginning. By setting aside all legal government, it confounded the Free State cause with that of treason and insurrection. It drove from the ranks of the North all who were inclined to stand by the law and maintain order. But for it Kansas would be free beyond doubt. But for it the supremacy of the laws would, by this time, be asserted, and order reign in the Territory.

But peace and freedom in Kansas would have been death to the demagogues who live upon the agitation of the question. The Topeka movement was an ingenious contrivance to render collision inevitable, and to make peace (except after an armed conflict) impossible.

It was an impudent and, except in its mischievous aspect, an impotent trick! There was no convention emanating from her people to prepare a constitution—no vote of the people in acceptance of it. It was as dead in Kansas, the day of its birth, as it now is in the United States Senate. But the men who devised it will yet be made to account for the evil they have done through it.

SHERIFF JONES.—The Lawrence (Kansas) correspondent of the New York Times says that Sheriff Jones was really shot, and dangerously wounded. His lower limbs are partially paralyzed, and it is with difficulty that he even walks his room. He has been worse ever since he appeared in the streets of Lawrence during the recent disturbance, and his health and ability to labor, are lost for life.—Boston Journal.

It was at first asserted by the black republican papers and letter-writers that Jones was shot by one of his own friends; then that he was shot by a woman, and afterwards that he was not shot at all. And now after lying about the matter for months, they admit that he was shot and dangerously wounded, and that his health is lost for life. This case illustrates the truthfulness of the black press, and the amount of confidence to be reposed in their statements about Kansas affairs. And in connection with this, it should be borne in mind that Sheriff Jones was deliberately shot, undoubtedly with the knowledge if not by the direct procurement of the free state leaders—that it was a deliberate attempt to murder him while in the discharge of his official duty—that this was done to prevent the arrest of men for crimes which are punished in every civilized community, and not in resistance of any of the laws which these men complain of, and that this crime, thus committed, has been justified and glorified over by the papers and orators who have made such a great noise over the caning of Sumner. Bearing this in mind, let all judge of the honesty of these men.

For the N. H. Sentinel.

HE MUST BE SILENCED!
And has it come to this? Do we live in a free country, or do we not? This is fast becoming a grave question. Liberty of speech is stricken down in Kansas.—liberty of speech is bludgeoned in Washington,—and now, in our own fair village, the "democratic decree" goes forth concerning one who a short time since was our own townsman, now in Kansas, "He must be silenced!" Truly, we may well inquire "do we live in a free country?" One would think

we were dwelling in a land where the bloody inquisition stalked abroad, with its secret emissaries proclaiming in stealthy but fatal tones, of any person obnoxious to its reign or its interests, "He must be silenced!" And forthwith the sudden seizure, the secret dungeon, the terrible torture did their horrid work.

And why must Asa White be silenced? Why must a copy of the Sentinel containing his letter from Kansas, and a few lines of instructions, be sent to a Mr Armstrong in Kansas? Simply that Mr White may be marked by the Border Ruffians, as an enemy to slavery. Why must Mr White be "troubled?" Because he has written the plain straight-forward truth concerning the state of things in Kansas, in his letters to Keens. The party who uphold Slavery, say that we can get no reliable information from Kansas, —that they do not believe anything they hear from there, &c. and they wish to beguile intelligent citizens into a belief that this is the fact.—But Asa White is known in Keene. What he writes to his friends is reliable and the democratic party knows this. What he writes goes to show fully the wretched state of things which the Administration and its Border Ruffians have caused in Kansas, therefore, in sooth, "HE MUST BE SILENCED!" It will not answer for him to write any more letters from Kansas, because he writes the truth, and some honest but deceived democrats, might believe him, and leave their party. Hear it free States of America!—Hear it, O ye nations of the Earth, though it be to our disgrace as a republic! Hear it, O thou Almighty one, in whose hand are the hearts of all men, and in mercy, defend Thou the right! Save us from the further extension of the great curse, under the weight of which this nation is now laboring, and bring light and deliverance from whatever quarter thou wilt, in this terrible crisis. We know "that all our hope, O God! must come from thee!" "O let the people remember this, and in all their efforts to stay the curse of slavery, may a sense of dependence upon God, and trust in Him, be the feeling of their hearts. Let all remember these words of Holy Writ. "Except the Lord build the House they labor in vain that build; except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain." And just so true is it, that unless the Lord save this nation, destruction to our liberties is close at hand. ELSIE.

WESTVIEW, July 15, 1856.

BORDER RUFFIANS DRIVING METHODIST MINISTERS FROM MISSOURI.—The border ruffians of Missouri are as much troubled by the clergy as their allies in this quarter, but they have a bolder way of ridding themselves of the annoyance to their consciences. At Rochester, Andrew county, Mo., the slavery fanatics, including the leading Buchanan men, recently got together, voted the Methodist Church to be a nuisance, and ordered the Methodist preacher Rev. Mr Jones to quit the place at once. He refused to submit to the mob, and they took him from the house, tarred and feathered him and sent him out of the country, with the assurance that he should die if he showed himself there again. In the melee that occurred one of the clergymen's friends, named Holland, was killed by the ruffians. After disposing of the minister the mob again "came to order," and voted "that every northern methodist anti-slavery man in the country of that compromise do!" It makes slavery just as lawful as freedom. Who will say then that it does not legislate slavery into the Territory, up and leave, and in the event of their refusal, the committee to make report of the same to this for only slavery gains by the repeal. From a meeting, at which time this meeting will take

such measures as may be most expedient for their immediate expulsion from our midst." These proceedings must be specially refreshing to such northern Methodist as intend to vote the border ruffian ticket.

The Republican, in an article attempting to show that there are no such Judges as Judge Bellows, and Judge Stevens, reported as speakers at the ratification on the 4th, says, "They are about as real as the host of Kansas Judges, who were brought in last spring to enlighten us and some of whom were in the calaboose at Haatford, a few weeks after for drunkenness and disorderly conduct." The statement of the Republican about the drunkenness and confinement of the Kansas speakers, who were called Judges, is an unmitigated falsehood.

For the N. H. Sentinel.

THE KANSAS NEBRASKA BILL—ITS REAL OBJECT.

Notwithstanding the bold declaration that it is the intent of this bill "not to legislate slavery into the Territory," but to leave the institutions to be formed and regulated by the people of the Territory, "subject only to the constitution," yet does it bear within itself, in its repealing clause, ample proof that this was its intent and its whole intent. The peculiar feature which distinguishes the bill organizing the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska, from bills which had organized other Territories of our north-west possessions, and which has caused so much emotion throughout the country, is its repealing clause, which makes nullity of slavery restriction. The advocates of popular sovereignty contend that this repealing clause was not inserted in the bill for the purpose of legislating slavery into the Territory, but for the purpose of allowing greater freedom,—that the people might regulate their institutions. Let us examine.—What institutions was there that the people could not regulate under the Missouri Compromise? Did it interfere with the establishment of free schools? Of colleges? Of banking institutions? Of steamboat companies, or of any corporation whatever? Most assuredly not.—Pray tell me then why the people did not have the privilege of regulating their own institutions even when the Missouri Compromise was in full force? What institution was it then that the Compromise prohibited? Only one, and that is prohibited alike by God and Nature, by Justice and Humanity. The Compromise denied to man the right to curse a land with slavery. It denies to one class the right to decide the destiny, and the position of another. It denied to them the right to appropriate all the rights and powers of the weaker to their sole use and benefit. It denied to them the right to crush out the humanity, to obliterate the manhood of a portion of the people of the land, and to reduce them to chatties, that they might put money in their pockets thereby. This is what the Compromise prohibited, and all that it prohibited, it did not prevent the people of the Territory from voting to exclude slavery, it did not prevent their re-affirming the principle of the Compromise, in this land, and in their Constitution when as a state it became necessary to form one. It simply prevented their sanctioning slavery. It made it unlawful. Now what does the repeal of that Compromise do? It makes slavery just as lawful as freedom. Who will say then that it does not legislate slavery into the Territory, from a certainty of a foothold in the Territory, freedom

248 is reduced to an even chance with slavery, while from a positive prohibition slavery is exalted to an equality of rights with freedom. The repealing clause is the most important part of legislation embodied in the bill, but for that legislation slavery could never enter Kansas. In consequence of that legislation slavery has equal rights there with freedom, and should it ever firmly fasten itself upon the Territory, it will be in consequence of this legislation, and of this only.—Who will say then that the Kansas-Nebraska bill does not legislate slavery into Kansas, or at least that that is not its object, when its legislation strikes at the very heart of freedom, gives to it nothing, but "taketh even that which it hath," while slavery it fosters and nourishes and lifts from the condition of an outlaw, to that of equal proprietor of the soil. Everything that is gained by it is gained to slavery, everything that is lost, is lost to freedom. Is the democratic party prepared to sacrifice so much to a principle? The principle of equal rights of popular sovereignty! If so let them bear in mind that principles don't go by halves, and if they are the champions of the rights of men, they must beware lest in their zeal they strike down rights far dearer than those which they uphold. Let them remember that the right to hold a man in bondage is but a privilege given by men, while the right "to liberty and the pursuit of happiness is inherited from the great Jehovah the only dispenser of universal rights and equal justice. But what is this principle of popular sovereignty as applied to slavery! It is just this that if two men can agree that it is for their interest and profit to enslave a third, then it is perfectly right and just to do so. This is the whole of popular sovereignty, body and soul, for slavery appeals not to the conscience of man for a support, it appeals only to his lust, his avarice, his cupidity. It jingles money in his ears, the music charms him, and he hugs the enchanter by his bosom. Yet this is the principle upon which the "democracy" (!) have planted themselves, the principle that *might makes right*, and that two men may rob or steal, if there is only one to resist them. This is the popular sovereignty of the Kansas Nebraska bill, a delusion, a sham, a swindle upon the people, and they must be made to know it. It, with a little spicing of filibusterism constitutes the whole democratic platform, a platform which is destined to crumble away before the people and to bury in the wreck all who will be so foolish or stubborn as to uphold and cling to it.

J. W. M.

Walpole, N. H.

The following letter was not intended for publication, but we think we shall be excused for laying it before our readers. It exhibits the right spirit.

TOWNSEND, Vt., July 8, 1856.

MESSES WOODWARD:—

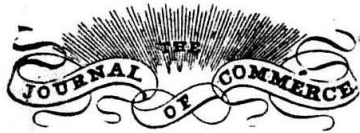
Thank you for frequent numbers of the Sentinel and believe me, it is neither indifference to your cause on the great issue of the day, nor ingratitude for your favors which has prevented my frequent acknowledgement of your courtesy, as publishers, by at least attempting to aid your labors as editors. But my pen has lain in rest, that I might lift up my voice against the crying wrong of the people of Kansas—my adopted home. If I had needed mementoes to inspire me for the duty, such an one now lies before me—a bullet taken from the shoulder of my son, A. O. Carpenter, and shot thither from the rifle of Capt. Pate, at the battle of Black

Jack, on the 21 of June. It entered near the arm pit just below the collar bone and carried pieces of his clothing to where it lodged just under the shoulder blade. It gives me great pleasure to learn that my son was sufficiently recovered from his wound to be at Lawrence (15 miles from his home) on business, on the 21st ult. I thank a kind Providence that without having "run away" he lives to fight "another day" in the hand to hand struggle against the most monstrous oppression, that the civilized world has ever seen. I thank Heaven, that I have sons ready to live or die for the rights, for which their great Grand fathers fought and sacrificed treasure. I only wish there were more of them in this trial time of humanity. My whole soul revolts from the supposition that the freeborn daughters of the North, must look on and see their sons disarmed and enslaved by complicity of a traitorous government, or the submission of craven fathers and brothers! If the men of the North can be content with *resolving* that these things shall no longer be, it is high time that the women of the north, prove themselves indeed "strong minded," and worthy to be the wives and mothers and sisters of *freemen* and by protesting, and demanding the *impeachment* of the tyrant, who has the power conferred on him to protect the people's constitutional rights, in perpetrating the grossest unconstitutional wrongs.

"The end is not yet," but it draweth nigh, and then shall we be made to acknowledge as a people that in consenting to the enslavement of the blacks, we were pleading guilty to the sin and the penalty of oppression. And with my whole heart I can cry, "lay on Mac Duff, till from the nation's heart shall gush forth the waters of a living humanity—curing all wrongs, and washing away all oppressions, that thrive under sanction of "lower law."

Yours for Freedom every where.

C. I. H. NICHOLS.



NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, JULY 16, 1856.

OBEDIENCE TO LAW.—Is it not strange that in this republican country, and in the year 1856, it should be necessary to say that obedience to law is the only basis upon which free institutions can rest? Under the reign of despots, force is always at hand to compel obedience if not voluntarily rendered. Force, in such countries, answers the ends which the principle of obedience secures, or ought to secure, in ours, viz., individual safety and public order. These are the essentials of social existence, and the grand objects of the social compact. It is better that they should be secured by force of arms, than not secured at all. Anarchy is worse than despotism.

If these positions are true, then it follows that whoever, in a republican country, attempts to undermine the force of law and the principle of obedience, is in fact laboring, however unwittingly, to abolish free institutions, and introduce a government of force,—in other words, a despotism. Think of this, ye who preach and practise disobedience, in spirit if not in letter, to some law which contravenes a favorite theory.—It may be a theory which you deem essential to the cause of freedom and the rights of man. In your own minds you make it an exceptional case, and do not dream of setting yourselves up as the enemies of social order. It is only this particular law that you are determined to put down, because you think it ill-advised, oppressive, and morally wrong. Deluded men! do you not perceive that on the same principle, some other law, which you may deem of vital importance to the public welfare, may be trampled under foot with impunity by that portion of the people

who differ from you in judgment, and perchance are as honest and intelligent as yourselves? Nay, do you not perceive that the principle upon which you act, places every law at the mercy of its enemies? And what is this but the practical annihilation of law? What is it but anarchy?

Within the last ten years our country has made rapid progress in this dangerous road. The rampant spirit of Abolitionism has been foremost in the race, and although probably embodying more infidelity than pertains to any other pretended reform, it is, for the purposes herein mentioned, remarkably conscientious. It breaks the law from a sense of duty. It exhorts others to do so from a sense of duty. It establishes a "higher law," which is ostensibly the law of God, but really, there is reason to believe, if a majority of cases, the law of their own self-will, spurning all authority, human or divine unless it coincides with the behests of their own ambition. The law of Congress for the rendition of fugitive slaves when claimed by their masters, as stipulated in the national compact, has been the standing theme for hostile declamation in this part of the country; pulpits have fulminated against it; presses have denounced it; negroes have been armed to prevent its execution; and the fugitive has even been counseled by a paper called religious, to take the life of the officer attempting his arrest, if it cannot otherwise be avoided. Of course riots have been frequent, and murder has been several times committed,—all under the profaned name of the "higher law." Gorsuch, Batchelder, and we know not how many others, have fallen victims to this fanaticism. But we need not recapitulate facts which must be within the recollection of all our readers. To the teachings and practice of men from whom better things might have been expected, we attribute much of the lawlessness and insubordination which have since been manifested in various places. We here allude not so much to riots at elections, and in other cases of sudden exasperation, as to deliberate acts of resistance to, and contempt of law.

In repeated instances, women have resolved themselves into a mob for the purpose of destroying ardent spirits. We have no sympathy for the article as a beverage which would be at all hurt by seeing it spilled upon the ground; but the end does not justify the means. Women engaged in such business are doing a thousand times more harm than good. For the sake of getting rid of what they consider a nuisance, they trample upon the rights of property and the laws of the land. They set an example of insubordination before their children and others, which will be sure to find imitators in after years; for if gentle woman may do such things (the boys will reason), what may not men do?

The insurrection in San Francisco, modestly styled by its abettors a "Vigilance Committee," is another case in point. California is a regularly organized State, with all the machinery of government, State and municipal, in full operation. Yet this self-constituted Vigilance Committee usurp all power and authority, as if no other government existed. They act the part of Judge, jury and executioner. Already they have hung two men (whether they deserved their fate is not at all the question,) and banished several others from the country. And when the Governor undertakes to re-establish the empire of the laws, this Vigilance Committee, who claim to be the better part of the community, commence fortifying the city and marshaling their forces, preparatory to an armed resistance to his authority. What the end will be, it is difficult to foresee. But as friends of order and law, we cannot but hope that the insurgents will be compelled to submit. To say that the laws are not what they ought to be, or that they are not properly enforced, is nothing to the purpose. The same is liable to be true, to a greater or less extent, in every community. But the remedy is,—not insurrection, nor revolution, but the ballot boxes. A proper "vigilance" over these, and a faithful exercise of the duties connected with them, would set every thing right, at no distant day; whereas the usurpation and violence of the Vigilance Committee dishonor their city and State, and entail a train of evils upon both, which it will take a long time wholly to remove.

One other notable instance of defiance of law we will mention, and that is to be seen in Kansas. There a Territorial government was organized under a law of Congress—the Executive officers being appointed by the President of the United States, as required by that law—and the Legislature chosen by the people. In the choice of the Legislature, there were gross frauds, beyond a doubt; yet, a large majority of the members received certificates of election from Governor Reeder whose duty it was made by said law to determine who of the candidates voted for in each case, received the highest number of "legal" votes. Moreover, the U. S.

Court having jurisdiction of the case, decided that the Legislature thus elected was a legal body; and the President of the United States (as well as Gov. Reeder) first recognized it as such. There is no pretence, so far as we know, that Gov. Shannon and the other officers of the Territory appointed by the President, are not the legal officers of the Territory. Nevertheless, a portion of the people, acting probably under advice from their friends at the East met in Convention at Topeka, and provided for the election of a Governor, Legislature, &c., by the people, just as if the President and Congress, in all their acts, and the acts performed under their authority, had been a nullity. A Governor, Legislature &c., were elected accordingly; nobody taking part in the election except that portion of the Free State men who approved of the proceedings. If ever there was a downright defiance of the supreme authority of the nation, surely this was. And it is so regarded by the national government, as well as by the Territorial authorities. Accordingly, Governor Robinson and his associate usurpers in office, have been arrested on a charge of treason, and the pretended Legislature dispersed by Col. Sumner, who otherwise had orders from the President to arrest them. (1.) The Constitution adopted by that Topeka Convention which the U. S. House of Representatives have voted by three majorities to recognise as the Constitution of the Territory; thus virtually sanctioning one of the grossest usurpations that ever was attempted. Such is the strength of sectional prejudice. The Senate, by a majority of three or four to one, have refused to concur. And so the case stands at present.

Correspondence of the Journal of Commerce.

WASHINGTON, Monday, July 14th.

A rumor has prevailed that a warrant for the arrest of Gov. Reeder has been sent to this city from the territorial court of Kansas, and that, for this reason, Gov. Reeder will not appear here. It cannot be ascertained whether such process has been sent to this city or not. It might be here in the hands of an individual. The demand would be made upon the Governor, if this were a State, but in regard to the District, the law requires that it be made to the Judiciary of the District. It would be only necessary for the Court to endorse the writ, and Gov. Reeder would be arrested and conveyed back to Leocompton, where, as he has averred, his life would be exposed to danger. The warrant may now be in this city, and probably is here. The President, as I have above stated, has nothing to do with it, and cannot interfere.

If Governor Reeder were thus arrested, he would be brought before the court upon a writ of *habeas corpus*, but it has already been decided in numerous cases, that the Court would then inquire only into the competency of the tribunal from which the writ was issued. They would of course decide that Judge Lecompte had a right to direct the issue of this process against a person indicted for treason. When Gov. Reeder was informed that the warrant was issued against him, he was engaged in the examination of witnesses upon the Committee of Investigation. He refused to be arrested, and left the Territory in order to avoid it, declaring that at Leocompton he would be assassinated. I think it highly probable, from what I have heard, that the warrant is in the hands of some of the Missourians, and will be presented to the Court, under the inter-State extradition law, as soon as Governor Reeder arrives here. Being aware of this, he has not appeared here yet.

But if he should appear, I have no doubt that more excitement will be the consequence of his arrest and transfer to Leocompton than any thing else that has occurred. Mr. Barclay gave it as a reason for changing his vote on the Topeka bill and going for that bill.

It will be observed that the Senate Kansas bill does not provide for the return of persons arrested on the charge of treason—that is, of having set up a government against the Territorial government. It abolishes the laws of the Territorial legislature so far as they conflict with freedom of speech, the press, suffrage, &c. But it does not relieve Gov. Reeder, and Gov. Robinson and others. Perhaps the Senate Kansas bill may be modified in this respect by the House.

There is little to hope, however, from that or any other peace offering which the Senate may tender to the House, for the Republicans are determined not to make peace on any terms.

Daily Pennsylvanian

WEDNESDAY MORNING, JULY 16.

POLITICAL ITEMS.

"THE SACK OF LAWRENCE."

The only building recently destroyed at "the sack of Lawrence," as the Abolition prints call it, appears to have been a fort. It had been indicted as a public nuisance by the Grand Jury, and an attempt was made by the sheriff's posse to blow it up by placing a keg of powder underneath, which set the structure on fire. The Lawrence *Herald of Freedom*, (Abolition) on the 12th of April last, published a description of this building, in which it says that it was used for the accommodation of the officers and soldiers of the Free State volunteer army.

* * * * *
 "There are thirty or forty port holes in the walls, which rise above the roof, plugged up now with stones, which can be knocked out with a blow of the butt of a rifle. * The entire cost of the hotel probably exceeds \$20,000. * * * Mr. George W. Hunt, formerly of Fitchburg, Massachusetts, had the contract for the woodwork, &c. In the language of our distressed Abolition neighbor—the *Journal*—"This was the Lawrence of 1855. Its aspect now—sacked, burnt, desolate—would be differently recounted." Very probable. It appears to be minus a fortification, erected by crazy Abolitionists, expressly to resist officers of the law in the legitimate discharge of their duties. The port holes, constructed for the use of Sharp's rifles, are among the missing.—*Boston Times*.

JUST WHAT THEY ASKED.

Amongst the conclusions which the Republican majority of the House committee arrived, after going to Kansas and taking two reims of foolscap testimony, was the following:

"Seventh, That in the present condition of the Territory, a fair election cannot be held without a new census, a stringent and well guarded election law, the election of impartial judges, and the presence of the United States troops at every place of election."

After perusing this conclusion, and marking well its specifications, the reader is respectfully referred to the Senate Kansas bill, which we have already published. That bill provides for a *new census—a stringent and well guarded election law—the selection of impartial judges—and the presence of United States troops at every place of voting*. This is just what the Republicans told us we needed to secure a "fair election." And yet, at the mention of the bill which provides these safeguards, they gnash their teeth like maddened wolves. In the name of justice, what do they want?—*Providence Post*.

The Kansas Question.

We have already expressed the great satisfaction we have experienced, that the Democrats of the Senate, aided by several patriotic Whigs, have passed a bill, the object of which is to secure the peace of Kansas, to protect the actual residents in the exercise of the right of suffrage, and to provide the way for the admission of Kansas into the Union within the terms prescribed by the Federal Constitution. The bill, which we have already laid before our readers, repeals the offensive legislation of the territory of Kansas against which the opposition have raised so much clamor; it provides for the appointment of five commissioners by the President, two of whom are to be members of the opposition party, under whose direction the provisions of the bill are to be carried out, and finally that the just expectations of the country in regard to Kansas shall be strictly and amply fulfilled.

Here, then, we have a measure of peace, an olive branch presented by the Democratic party of the Senate, assisted by the National Whigs in that body, in opposition to the revolutionary movements of the Black Republicans in the House, who propose to admit Kansas under an anarchical convention, without form and without authority. Which will the people choose? Will they accept the proposition offered by CASS, and CRITTENDEN, and CLAYTON, and BENJAMIN, and all the patriots of the Senate North and South, of both the great parties, or will they prefer the remedy offered by the revolutionists in the House, led by GIDDINGS, and WADE, and BANKS, and the other fanatical friends of FREMONT? Such is the issue now presented upon which the Democratic party gladly goes before the country.

We recur then to the question, "who shall give peace to Kansas?" Can FREMONT do so, controlled and surrounded as he is, by the GARRISONS, PHILLIPSES, SEMMERS, WADES, SEWARDS and GIDDINGS, and compelled to accept the revolu-

tionary bill of the House, which is sure to renew agitation in the Territory, and to keep it up in the country? No! the American people will take JAMES BUCHANAN and the bill of the Senate, proffered to the people in a spirit of compromise and conciliation; JAMES BUCHANAN, who in reference to this slavery question, stands upon the following impregnable foundation. Let his words be weighed by the country, and we have no doubt which of the two candidates before the American people that country will choose.

The Nebraska-Kansas Act does no more than give the force of law to this elementary principle of self government, declaring it to be "the true intent and meaning of this act not to legislate slavery into any territory or State, nor to exclude it therefrom;" but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States. This principle will surely not be controverted by any individual of any party professing devotion to popular Government. Besides, how vain and illusory would be any other principle, prove in practise in regard to the Territories! This is apparent from the fact admitted by all, that after a Territory shall have entered the Union and become a State, no Constitutional power would then exist which could prevent it from either abolishing or establishing slavery, as the case may be, according to its sovereign will and pleasure.

Most happy would it be for the country if this long agitation were at an end. During its whole progress it has produced no practical good to any human being, whilst it has been the source of great and dangerous evils. It has alienated and estranged one portion of the Union from the other, and has even seriously threatened its very existence. To my own personal knowledge, it has produced the impression among foreign nations that our great and glorious confederacy is in constant danger of dissolution. This does us serious injury, because acknowledged power and stability always command respect among nations, and are among the best securities against unjust aggression and in favor of the maintenance of honorable peace.

May we not hope that it is the mission of the Democratic party, now the only surviving conservative party of the country, ere long to overthrow all sectional parties and restore the peace, friendship and mutual confidence which prevailed in the good old time, among the different members of the confederacy. Its character is strictly national, and it therefore asserts no principle for the guidance of the Federal Government which is not adopted and sustained by its members in each and every State. For this reason, it is everywhere the same determined foe of all geographical parties, so much and so justly dreaded by the Father of his Country. From its very nature it must continue to exist so long as there is a Constitution and a Union to preserve. A conviction of these truths has induced many of the purest, the ablest and most independent of our former opponents, who have differed from us in times gone by upon old and extinct party issues, to come into our ranks and devote themselves with us to the cause of the Constitution and the Union. Under these circumstances, I most cheerfully pledge myself, should the nomination of the Convention be ratified by the people, that all the power and influence possessed by the Executive, shall be exerted, in a firm but conciliatory spirit, during the single term I shall remain in office, to restore the same harmony among the sister States which prevailed before this apple of discord, in the form of slavery agitation, had been cast into their midst. Let the members of the family abstain from intermeddling with the exclusive domestic concerns of each other, and cordially unite, on the basis of perfect equality among themselves, in promoting the great national objects of common interest to all, and the good work will be instantly accomplished.

The Daily Journal

R. M. RIDDLE, Editor & Proprietor.

PITTSBURGH:

WEDNESDAY - JULY 16, 1856.

Route to Kansas.

We learn from the Boston *Atlas*, most undoubted authority in this matter, that the Iowa route to Kansas is now complete, so far as it can be made with stage routes. From Chicago to Iowa City there is a complete railway connection, and from the latter point to Dayton, on the Missouri river, opposite Nebraska City, a new stage route has been established. This carries the line to the south-western corner of Iowa.

From Nebraska City another line of stages will be established through the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas to the town of Topeka, on the Kansas river, the Free State capital. Thus a wide berth is given to the Missouri vicinity, and the whole route passes through a region which is beyond the interference of the followers of Atchinson and Stringfellow. The company organized for the purpose of establishing the line is said to be fully responsible, to have a heavy capital, and to be in all respects reliable. As the Missouri river route is completely closed to all Northern emigrants bound to Kansas, this Iowa railway and stage line will become exceedingly useful. The result of the movement will be to cause Northern emigration to shun the Missouri borders, and settle further in the interior of Kansas. Already a large number of persons have passed through by way of this route, and at last accounts many more were quartered at Iowa City, ready to proceed.

Repos'y & Transcript.

CHAMBERSBURG.

Wednesday Morning, July 16, 1856.

PERSEVERANCE AGAINST DIFFICULTIES.—Hon. Richard Mott, of the Fifth District of Ohio, has been for some time past on Long Island shore, for the benefit of his health.—On Tuesday last a dispatch was sent to him, stating the importance of his presence in Washington to vote on the Kansas bill. The dispatch fell into the hands of his nephew, at New York, who saw that it would be impossible to get it to Mr. Mott by any ordinary channel in time to be of service. Accordingly he proceeded at once to the river side, where he chartered a steamer which he found already fired up, proceeded to his uncle's rural retreat, for which he had to hunt in the darkness of night, awoke him from his sleep, and conveyed him to New York in time to take the Wednesday evening train for Washington city. He arrived there on Thursday morning, and the vote of Richard Mott was recorded for the bill to give peace and security and the rights of free men to the citizens of Kansas. Such energy and perseverance in a good cause are worthy of commemoration.

DAILY GAZETTE.

FREMONT & DAYTON!

INDIANA STATE RATIFICATION.

Immense Gathering.

[From our Special Reporter.]

INDIANAPOLIS, Tuesday, July 15.

This day—the day of the Indiana State Ratification Meeting, was ushered in with the booming of cannon and other demonstrations.

At 10 o'clock, the streets were full of Fremont men, moving towards the State House Square, where the procession was formed.

THE BALL ROLLING.

The Indianapolis delegation rolled an immense globe, some 18 feet in diameter, through the streets. It was fixed on an axle, and drawn along by ropes, as the old hand fire engines. Its surface was adorned with a locomotive and train of cars, and with suitable inscriptions, such as "We are rolling on," "Kansas must be free."

The Indianapolis delegation led off in the procession. The number of bands of music, decorated cars, of banners and transparencies, I attempted to count—but gave up in despair. I can notice only a few of them.

THE CAR OF THE STATES.

In the Indianapolis delegation was a car drawn by six white horses and containing 32 girls dressed in white, with garlands around their heads, representing the 31 States and Kansas. The inscription on the car was "OPPOSITION TO OLD BACHELORS." Kansas was represented by a fair haired blue eyed girl, sitting in the extreme end of the car, and with her white dress draped with black crape. These nymphs presented a beautiful spectacle with their bright eyes—gossamer dresses—bare arms and bare necks. They were all shaded by a canopy, except poor, fair-haired Kansas, who was crowded so far back that the burning sun shone full upon her, blistering her neck and arms.

THE MIRROR.

NEWBERRY, S. C.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, JULY 16

Letter from Kansas.

We give the letter to-day from Mr. DeWalt. Accompanying this letter are receipts signed by each member of the Company, showing that the moneys entrusted to the care of Mr. DeWalt has been expended in the way and as directed by the Association. The expenses of each member to Kansas was \$33.19. From Newberry to Augusta they passed free. The fare from Augusta to Atlanta was \$5.50 each, thence to Chattanooga free, thence to Nashville \$2.50, (half fare) from that place to St. Louis \$10, thence to Kansas City \$10. Ratable proportion of general expenses \$5.19 each.

KANSAS, BAPTIST MISSION, NEAR }
WEST PORT, Mo., June 22nd, 1856.

DR. PETER MOON—Dear Sir: I will give you a summary statement of our expedition thus far, and write more fully some other time. We arrived at Kansas City in ten days and two hours, after leaving Newberry, stopping nearly two days at St. Louis, but delayed at no other place. We were all very well on the way, (except the child that died,) and still continue hearty.

We met with many hearty congratulations on our way, in consequence of our political mission, and had no cause for complaint on all our route, except from Augusta to Atlanta, where some of our company, thinking we should have had the same liberality shown us on that road as on the South Carolina road, made several remarks in presence of the Agent at Augusta, such as d— the Abolitionists, this is a d— Abolition road, the Georgians ought to rid themselves of the d— Abolitionists, &c.; which made the Agent hang his head and sulk, but he never spoke a word, except in reply to me, that he was not authorized to show Kansas emigrants any favors more than other persons.

We are camped at present about three miles from the Missouri line; have been here three days, and will leave as soon as we determine what section we prefer to settle in.

The regular troops are stationed all along here to watch and disarm all armed bodies entering the Territory, looking more like belligerents than emigrants.

Maj. Buford's command was ordered out a few days since, preferring to camp on Mo. Territory than give up their arms. Gen. Jones' company is camped three miles from us, just inside of the Territory, but has not been ordered or requested to give up their arms; he speaks of removing to Leavenworth City.

The Missourians are furnishing Kansas emigrants with provisions, gratis, all along the border of the State. There is great excitement all over the Territory and in the borders of the adjoining States.

I cannot form any idea from what I hear whether the Abolitionists or Southerners will have the ascendancy at the next election. The Wyandote Indians have been admitted as citizens, and will vote mostly the pro-slavery ticket; the Shawnees and other tribes have applied for citizenship, and it is said nearly all the Indian citizens will vote the pro-slavery ticket.

There is a good deal of emigration to Nebraska and Iowa, in consequence of the unsettled state of affairs here, which otherwise would come to this country. Some of the Southerners are leaving here for home, as well as Northerners, disgusted at the idle and dissipated habits of the population, though all confess the superiority of the country.

There was a free-soil man killed and his son badly wounded, night before last, about two miles from our camp, and I heard of four pro-slavery men being killed in one night in the vicinity of Lawrence, since I have been here, but cannot say whether or not it is true.

Encourage emigration to this country all you can, and recommend that their leaders have control of their means until after the election is over, so that they may not dissipate and break themselves, and thereby be compelled either to leave the country or lie around the borders of the Territory, on the charity of the Missourians.

Yours Truly,

THOS. W. DEWALT.

P. S. Charley McMorries, I understand, has left this country for Texas, some time since.

Journal & Messenger.

MACON, GEORGIA:

WEDNESDAY, JULY 16, 1856.

Kansas Meeting in Dooly

At a meeting of the citizens of Vienna, Dooly County, held on the 25th inst., at the Baptist Church, the meeting on motion of Marshal DeGraffenried, Esq., was called to order, and Peter Adams, Esq., requested to act as Chairman, and John B. Colding, appointed Secretary. The chair in a very sublime and eloquent address explained the object of the meeting, alluding to the vast acquisition of Territory by the United States Government, and the importance of preserving some of it at least to the people of the South. He then introduced Mr. Brantley, of Hawkinsville, Geo., who addressed the meeting at length, setting forth the many advantages accruing to the South, by the reception of Kansas as a State of this Union with a pro-slavery Constitution. This gentleman's effort was full of eloquence and patriotic zeal, and though he acknowledged himself a novice in the art of speaking, yet if the future will develop what his effort at this place augurs he need have no apprehensions for his success as a public speaker. After Mr. Brantley concluded his remarks, H. D. Clayton, Esq., of Barbour County, Ala., came forward and spoke in a happy manner, demonstrating to every reasonable mind the necessity and importance to the South of having Kansas as a Slave State. And he showed that without Kansas, the South would be unable to repel the continued and growing aggressions of the Northern Abolitionists, and prevent them from surrounding us by a cordon of Free States. He stated that he had been canvassing his own as well as our State, and we wish him "God speed" in so good a cause. After the conclusion of Mr. C's Address, on motion the Chair appointed a committee of five consisting of the following gentlemen, viz: John C. Mouser, Charles Everett, Dr. D. J. Bothwell, William Brown, and John B. Colding, to solicit subscriptions in aid of Kansas men and measures, and in the meantime to appoint any and call a meeting of the citizens of the county to take into consideration the raising of funds to send volunteers to Kansas, to meet the enemies of white liberty in this Republic, and the opposers of law, but the advocates of *force*, backed by Sharp's Rifles. The meeting was well attended though we had but a few hours notice of Messrs. Clayton and Brantley's intention to address us. Many of the fair sex were present and from the interest manifested by them, showed that they were made of sterner stuff than such "Tom Boy's" as Harriet Beecher Stowe, Lucy Stone, and others. On motion the meeting adjourned.

PETER ADAMS, Chairman.

JOHN B. COLDING, Sec'y.
The Savannah Georgian & Journal, and the Macon Journal, Messenger, and all other papers friendly to the cause of Kansas please copy.

The Proof Accumulates.

We can not open a Northern journal with free soil proclivities which is not fluttering with exultation, in view of the position into which the democracy has been forced by the public opinion of its own friends in the free States. A strong party does not retreat. A self-reliant party does not abandon its position before the battle has fairly begun, and exhibit all the vacillation and desperation of one already defeated.

The Democracy, like the desperate gambler when luck runs against him, has cast all upon one insane venture, to recover its strength among its former friends in the free States. The true position in which it has placed itself was exhibited in our last issue; but we have more proof to offer, to convince our readers that the worst has not been told. Hear the Tribune, that apostle of sectionalism:

Three months ago, Douglas reported that he would not consider the propriety of repealing any of the Territorial enactments, because Congress had no power over the acts of a Territory. Now he reports and votes for a repeal of some of the worst of these enactments. Then he reported that Kansas must not be admitted till she shall have 93,340 inhabitants. Now he gives that up, and goes in for her admission with such population as she may have. Then he talked of subduing all opposition to the Border-Ruffian acts. Now he votes to subdue the acts so as to disarm the opposition. We have him on the right track at last, and must keep him in motion. By the 1st of December next, he will be ready to report a bill admitting Kansas under her Topka Constitution. But no bargain! No suspension of the destinies of Kansas on what the Border Ruffians facetiously term an election! With the admission of Free Kansas as our rallying cry, we may fearlessly appeal to the people.

That is the position of the Democracy explained in a few, forcible words. The Kansas-Nebraska bill, "the Pandora box of all our ills," supported with a pertinacity worthy of the best cause amidst the strife of sections and even the danger of civil war: reaffirmed in solemn Convention as containing the only national doctrines, is abandoned in hot haste when the popular will of the Democracy of the free States is so plainly expressed that it is evident there is nothing before the party but defect, or a prompt retracing of its steps. How strangely are we reminded, by its vaunting boasts that nothing but the full, unconditional approval of this measure would satisfy any true Democrat, and the present retrograde movement it exhibits, of that King of France who

"Bravely marched up the hill,
And then—marched down again."

The Daily Picayune.

LUMSDEN, KENDALL & CO.

LUMSDEN, GEO. WILKINS KENDALL, A. M. HOLBROOK,
A. C. BULLITT AND S. F. WILSON,
EDITORS AND PROPRIETORS.

OFFICE—66 CAMP STREET.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, JULY 16.
CORRESPONDENCE OF THE PICAYUNE.

Letter from Washington.

[Special Correspondence of the Picayune.]
WASHINGTON, July 8, 1856.

In the Senate yesterday, after I closed my letter, the vote was taken upon sustaining the decision of President Bright that the constitutional vote necessary to pass a bill over the veto of the President of the United States was two-thirds of a quorum, and not two-thirds of the whole number of Senators. Only seven Senators voted against this construction. Thus an important precedent has been established by an overwhelming vote. I believe the question has never before been raised; and it is very doubtful whether anybody ever before doubted that a quorum of the Senate is deemed by the constitution to be "the Senate." As I write the House is engaged in an effort to get at the veto message there also, with a view to a vote upon concurring with the Senate's action.

Mr. Douglas, from the Committee on Territories, to-day reported back the bill from the House providing for the admission of Kansas with the Topka constitution, recommending as a substitute therefor the bill which passed the Senate last Wednesday morning. In reporting this amendment, Mr. Douglas supported it in some brief remarks. He recited the constitution, stating that a portion of the inhabitants of Kansas, assembled last year without the authority of law, and organized a convention to form a constitution and submit it to the ratification of such portion of the people of the Territory as might choose to vote for it. We had no knowledge whether that constitution was ratified by a majority or a minority of the inhabitants of the Territory; no knowledge whether those who voted for its ratification were legal voters, or non-residents; no information whether they voted once, twice, three or ten times; no knowledge whether it was a fair proceeding, or a fraudulent proceeding. On all these points we had no information that could be relied upon; and yet it was under a constitution thus adopted that the House proposed to admit Kansas as a State. But the Senate did know that the constitution which had been presented here, and which it was now proposed to legalize, was a mutilated document. That fact was ascertained not only from general reports, from newspaper statements, but it was proved by the report of the committee which the House had sent out to Kansas to investigate the facts in regard to the matter.

Mr. D. proceeded to contrast the Senate bill with that of the House, showing the fairness and justice of allowing the bona fide inhabitants of Kansas to regulate all their affairs for themselves. He recapitulated the objections which had been urged by the opponents of that measure during the long debate preceding its adoption, and showed that the modifications which had been made completely removed all reasonable grounds of opposition. The obnoxious laws had been repealed, and those who had been driven out were allowed a reasonable time to return before the proposed election should be held. It had been said that many of them would not return. If so, that was their own fault; and if they did not intend to return and become permanent settlers in the Territory, what right had they in a voice in making its laws or constitution?

Mr. Collamer, of Vermont, replied to Mr. Douglas, defending the propriety of the House bill, and arguing to show that the Senate bill, though plausible upon the face, would not cure the evils complained of, or restore justice and peace to Kansas. He believed, he said, that its execution would perpetuate the wrong which had been perpetrated against the free State men there.

Mr. Pearce, of Maryland, made an able argument in support of the Senate proposition, declaring his firm conviction, not only that it was just and proper in its inception, purpose and details, but that it would secure a perfectly faithful expression of the will of the people of Kansas, establish their rights, prevent a civil war, and restore peace and harmony on the Western border. It was the only measure of this character which could become a law, and he was anxious that it should have a trial, resting meanwhile entirely confident of its beneficent results. After some further debate, and the voting down of two or three amendments proposed by the opponents of the Senate proposition, the substitute was adopted, and the bill thus amended was sent back to the House, which body has now the entire subject of Kansas in its charge. The opinion gains ground that the Senate bill cannot pass the House, even among those who, three days ago, were of the opposite opinion.

For Kansas.—A company of twenty-six emigrants from Beaufort District (S. C.) under Capt. Ayer, passed through Augusta, Ga., on Thursday last, en route for Kansas.

Commercial Advertiser.

APALACHICOLA, FLA.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 16, 1856.

KANSAS.—We have received a number of the weekly Leavenworth Journal, dated 18th ult., which gives a favorable account of the present aspect of affairs in Kansas. It says:

"Peace reigns throughout our city.—We hear rumors daily of men being murdered, but the day following will often bring a contradictory report. We conversed with a gentleman this morning, who had just arrived from Kansas City, and from him we learn there is no fighting on the south side of the Kansas river. Our people seem to have due respect for the law, and are determined to stand by the Governor of the Territory in the discharge of his duties. His Excellency was in the city a few days since, and will execute the laws, against all who violate them, re-

...owing no person to leave or come on board but those they saw fit. The passengers from Chicago were not allowed to land at this time, but were taken down the river to Alton under guard. On Saturday, June 22d, I left St. Louis, by the steamer New Lucy, for Leavenworth City. The first two days passed without any unpleasant occurrence, but on the third day, Tuesday, the 25th of June, early in the morning, we were informed, by a boat coming down the river, of the interception of the Kansas settlers, at Lexington, as above stated. At Waverly, Capt. Conley, of the New Lucy, had presented to him by Capt. Bledsoe, formerly in the Mexican War, one of the 40 rifles taken at Lexington from the Star of the West's passengers, which was immediately raised to the flag-staff head. We proceeded on to Lexington, arriving there about noon. The plank was run out; at once, some 20 or 30 ruffians boarded the boat, with revolvers and bowie knives suspended from their waists; some had two revolvers and a bowie knife. The boat remained here about one hour. I left, in order to gain information relating to the passengers of the Star of the West. All that I had previously heard was fully confirmed. As my inquiries were numerous in relation to the rifles, a gentleman, by appearance, inquired if I would like to see them. Replying in the affirmative, he led me into the rear part of Magraw's store, and, feigning to look for the rifles, replied that he did not know where they were. By this time, I was surrounded by about 30 ruffians, and then and there was heaped on me a volley of oaths and curses, sufficient to sink the whole of the slave States. Mr. Wm. Allen, a brick masher by trade, a stout, athletic man, weighing over 200 lbs., one of five, constituting a vigilance committee, appointed by the citizens of Lexington to prevent emigration to Kansas, addressed me in the following gentlemanly and courteous language:—

'You want to see the rifles, do you?' I replied, yes. 'You do, do you? Why didn't you bring men with you to take them, you g—d d—d abolitionist? We'll hang you, g—d d—n you. Our boys would like to hang such a fellow as you.' 'We have half a dozen ropes here now, to hang you with, and we'll soon put a rope round your neck, d—n you. Boys, bring the ropes, and hang this g—d d—d abolitionist.' I replied, 'If you intend hanging me, you had better hurry up, for I would like to see you about it.' At this, he raised his hand, and shaking it, said, 'Boys, stop a moment! I'll tell you when.' At this moment, another ruffian, a tall, slim man, who is in the employ of Magraw, commenced with—'G—d d—n you! Are you the d—d rascal who writes letters to Chicago?' 'You d—d abolitionist, we'll hang you, and every one we can catch.' 'Have you written any letters to Chicago?' I replied, 'That is none of your business.'

This treatment rather started my disposition, and I began to feel quite at home, but was ashamed of the company I was in. Others joined in the same kind of threats and language, but, finding their threats of no avail, they gradually slunk away. Some of the armed ruffians took the control of the boat; passengers were interrogated with impertinent questions, whether they were pro-slavery or abolitionists; state-rooms were searched; the ladies' saloon entered; bawdy language used to ladies, and every insult imaginable offered. A number of these armed ruffians remained on board as spies up the river. During the afternoon, they left the boat. They delight in the name of 'border ruffian,' and boast that they are so called. Two others, Anderson and Sharp, are also on the Vigilance Committee; the latter is a lawyer. I saw at this place an omnibus with the name of 'Border Ruffian.' We had one border ruffian on board all the way up river—brandishing his revolver in the face and eyes of the passengers, and cursing and swearing about the 'damned abolitionists' and Yankees, and that he would kill every one he met with. Soon after we left Lexington, we dined; the armed ruffians took a seat at the table. Such obscenity and profanity that came from their mouths are beyond belief. One of the ruffians, by the name of Isaac Paul, a drunken, low-lived heathen, on leaving the boat, threw down his cap on the levee, stamped on it, yelled, cursed and swore, and behaved like a raving maniac. This man, if he can be so called, was one of those who insulted the ladies.

On Saturday last, I visited the camp where are confined Gov. Charles Robinson, Judge Geo. W. Smith, Geo. W. Brown, Geo. W. Deitzler, Gains Jenkins, and Capt. Brown. I rode up from here in the Governor's carriage. The camp is situated on a beautiful spot of rolling prairie, about one mile and a half this side of Leocompton. As no officer was at the camp, I was not permitted to see the prisoners. The Governor sent word for me to take his carriage, and go to Leocompton, (where it was expected Capt. Walker had gone,) and get a permit. I did so, and on my arrival, ascertained Capt. W. had left. I then inquired for Marshal Donaldson. He, too, was absent. After some little time, I met with Jones, the Sheriff. He shook hands very cordially; said his health was improving. His right leg is paralyzed, although he can walk on it. The leg has no feeling in it. Neither boiling water nor ice water has any effect upon his leg. To stick a pin or needle in his leg gives him no pain. The ball has not yet been extracted; it entered his back, between his shoulders, near the spine. I inquired if he knew who shot him. He replied, 'No, the d—d rascal shot me while I was sitting down, with my back turned.' I offered no further conversation relative to himself. I asked permission to visit the prisoners at the camp. He said I could do so, if I had business with them; otherwise he must refuse, as the Marshal had given orders not to permit visitors, excepting those having business; but, said he, Capt. Walker has discretionary power, and may admit you. I returned to the camp, when Capt. Walker had just arrived. I entered, and made known my wants. In answer to his inquiry, I acknowledged I had no business with them, but called as a friend. He inquired my name, and said, 'for the sake of the guard, who conducted me to the prisoners' camp. I spent with them some two hours, and I really felt that I should not object being a prisoner under such circumstances. They were as cheerful as could be expected. The only regret they expressed was, that a great work was to be accomplished, and their assistance was needed out of the camp. Until my arrival in Kansas, I never could realize the bravery, perseverance, forbearance, patience and courage of the heroes of the Revolution. The Free State people in Kansas will equal those of the Revolution, both men and women. I never saw such a set of people. Their motto is, Liberty or Death—fearless beyond belief, and all

THE FOURTH OF JULY IN CAROLINA.—The following toasts, among others, were drunk at the Healing Springs, Barnwell District, South Carolina, at the celebration of the Fourth of July:—

Kansas:

Strike while the iron's hot—
Strike with men and means;
And let the Yankees see we've got
The right to hold the reins.

The Hon. L. M. Keitt: Carolina's worthy son,
and our honored brother.

By Cornelius Hartzoj, Massachusetts: We have always beaten her in the debates of the Union. We have whipped her in Kansas, and we have cased her in the Senate Hall.

By Rutherford Oakman. The Hon. P. S. Brooks: May the cause of Southern Brooks ever flourish over the Growth of Northern Freedom.

By Thomas H. Kirkland, Franklin Pierce: He has arrayed himself against his own section and State, in defence of the Constitution and the South; and has exhibited an example of moral fortitude and devotion to principle unparalleled in the history of the country.

By William P. Walker, Gen. Atchison: Hoping that he may live to see Kansas a Slave State in the Union or out of the Union.

By Dr. S. Banister. The Hon. P. S. Brooks: He has nobly shown that not even Senators, sheltering themselves under Senatorial privileges, can insult with impunity Carolina's name or Carolina's sons.

By R. E. Odum. The Democratic Party: It is purified of freesoilism, it is true to the Constitution, and eminently deserves the confidence of South Carolina.

From the Boston Daily Bee.

INTERESTING LETTER FROM KANSAS.

Below we give a letter, written by a well known member of the Suffolk Bar, now on a visit to the territory of Kansas. It will not be out of place to state that the writer of the following letter left Boston an out-and-out radical, conservative, Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, Massachusetts, Faneuil Hall, Rufus Choate, &c. A few days before he left Boston on his western tour, he called at our office, and informed us of his intention to visit Kansas. Still he, 'I wish to convince myself of the true condition of that territory. I believe that the stories we get about the outrages in Kansas are got up merely for political effect, and for the purpose of increasing the northern

From the Boston Daily Bee. 25.

INTERESTING LETTER FROM KANSAS.

Below we give a letter, written by a well known member of the Suffolk Bar, now on a visit to the territory of Kansas. It will not be out of place to state that the writer of the following letter left Boston an out-and-out radical, conservative, Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, Massachusetts, Faneuil Hall, Rufus Choate *Whig*. A few days before he left Boston on his western tour, he called at our office, and informed us of his intention to visit Kansas. Said he, 'I wish to convince myself of the true condition of that territory. I believe that the stories we get about the outrages in Kansas are got up merely for political effect, and for the purpose of increasing the northern feeling now aroused throughout the free States.—We are making fools of ourselves,' he continued, 'here at the North, as I shall prove to you when I ascertain the facts relating to matters in Kansas.' Requesting him to write us his impressions of Kansas, &c., we bade him God speed upon his searching errand. To-day we give his impressions—facts derived from personal observations. It is what might be properly called a *St. Paul conversion*. Read what a radical hunker says of Kansas.—[ED. BEE.

LAWRENCE, K. T., July 1, 1856.

My Dear Sir:—On Wednesday morning, June 19th, I left Chicago for Kansas, via St. Louis. In the two rear-cars were from 75 to 80 temperate, hardy, and honest looking men on their way to Kansas, as settlers: with them were two females and two children. A better looking set of men could not be sent to Kansas: they would be an honor to any country. They informed me the regular Missouri packet, 'Star of the West,' would take them at Alton, and land them at Leavenworth City, she having been engaged for that purpose. A delegation of sixty from Massachusetts, and others, were expected to join them at Alton. The Star of the West on her trip up the Missouri touched at Alton, and took the Chicago delegation on board (the evening delegation not having arrived in season) that evening, and proceeded up the river. On arriving at Waverly, Mo., a few miles below Lexington, Mo., a passenger left the boat, and proceeded on horseback to Lexington and informed the inhabitants that the Kansas settlers were coming. This was Sunday afternoon. Immediately, the inhabitants of Lexington assembled, determined on their arrival to disarm every man. Mr. Magraw, a merchant of Lexington, whose warehouse is on the Levee, threw open its doors, and furnished the inhabitants with rifles to the number of thirty, which were immediately loaded and ready for an attack upon the settlers on their arrival at Lexington. A number of cannon were upon the bank of the river, loaded and ready for use, should occasion require. At 10 o'clock that night, the Star of the West arrived at Lexington, and was boarded by this horde of ruffians. Berths were searched, and all the Kansas settlers deprived of their rifles, with the exception of a few which were thrown overboard to prevent the ruffians taking them. The officers of the boat made no objection to this proceeding, but allowed his passengers, whom he was bound by law and honor to protect, to be insulted and their property stolen from them. An armed body of men was stationed on board to guard the 'damn'd abolitionists,' with a determination that they should not land in Kansas, but should return from whence they came. On arriving at Leavenworth City, K. T., the point of their destination on the Missouri river, they were prevented from landing, and another armed body added to those already on board. Atchison and Stringfellow, having heard of what had occurred at Lexington, provided this additional force. The provisions, farming tools, implements and merchandize belonging to these settlers were taken on shore, opened and examined, and placed in a stone house. The boat then proceeded up the river to St. Josephs, and those passengers who had paid their passage from Alton to Leavenworth City remained on board as prisoners under guard, and not allowed to land. On the Wednesday morning following, the Star of the West came down the river at about eight o'clock, and remained at Leavenworth City about an hour, still retaining their prisoners under the guard supplied from Lexington and Leavenworth, numbering in all not less than forty men, armed to the teeth. These ruffians, among whom were some of Buford's men, had all a pool of the boat standing at the gang-way, al-

...the ladies.
On Saturday last, I visited the camp where are confined Gov. Charles Robinson, Judge Geo. W. Smith, Geo. W. Brown, Geo. W. Deitzler, Gains Jenkins, and Capt. Brown. I rode up from here in the Governor's carriage. The camp is situated on a beautiful spot of rolling prairie, about one mile and a half this side of Leocompton. As no officer was at the camp, I was not permitted to see the prisoners. The Governor sent word for me to take his carriage and go to Leocompton, (where it was expected Capt. Walker had gone,) and get a permit. I did so, and on my arrival, ascertained Capt. W. had left. I then inquired for Marshal Donaldson. He, too, was absent. After some little time, I met with Jones, the Sheriff. He shook hands very cordially; said his health was improving. His right leg is paralyzed, although he can walk on it. The leg has no feeling in it. Neither boiling water nor ice water has any effect upon his leg. To stick a pin or needle in his leg gives him no pain. The ball has not yet been extracted; it entered his back, between his shoulders, near the spine. I inquired if he knew who shot him. He replied, 'No, the d—d rascal shot me while I was sitting down, with my back turned.' After some further conversation relative to himself, I asked permission to visit the prisoners at the camp. He said I could do so, if I had business with them; otherwise he must refuse, as the Marshal had given orders not to permit visitors, excepting those having business; but, said he, Capt. Walker has discretionary power, and may admit you. I returned to the camp, when Capt. Walker had just arrived. I entered, and made known my wants. In answer to his inquiry, I acknowledged I had no business with them, but called as a friend. He inquired my name, and sent for the sergeant of the guard, who conducted me to the prisoners' camp. I spent with them some two hours, and I really felt that I should not object being a prisoner under such circumstances. They were as cheerful as could be expected. The only regret they expressed was, that a great work was to be accomplished, and their assistance was needed out of the camp. Until my arrival in Kansas, I never could realize the bravery, perseverance, forbearance, patience and courage of the heroes of the Revolution. The Free State people in Kansas will equal those of the Revolution, both men and women. I never saw such a set of people. Their motto is, Liberty or Death—fearless beyond belief, and all for the cause of freedom. Every man, woman and child, are ready to lay down their life for freedom in Kansas. Our Eastern people have no idea of the wrongs, insults, cold-blooded murders that have been perpetrated in this territory by 'border ruffians,' 'Buford's men,' and others in the employ of pro-slavery people. No person or property is safe that passes through Missouri. The freedom of speech and the freedom of travel are prohibited. It matters not from what free State one hails—he is considered a 'd—d abolitionist' and a 'd—d Yankee,' and he must die, or go home to a free State, or take an oath to support slavery. Missourians will tell you there is no danger in travelling in Missouri, and that all the troubles over. Let me tell you it is as false as their black sulphurous hearts.

On Sunday morning last, I visited the grave of poor Barbour. Fresh, no doubt, is the murder of this man in your memory. The murder was committed by G. W. Clark, the Indian Agent, who has frequently boasted of this murder; recently, he keeps quiet. Dr. John P. Wood, a pro-slavery Judge of Probate, residing at Leocompton, and another man beside Clark, were on horseback at the time the murder was committed. It is believed that Wood fired with Clark; but Clark boasted, when he fired, of seeing the wool fly, and claims the honor of being the murderer. I have seen Clark, who is a short, stout, dark complexion man, and is considered here the worst man in the territory. The stage that arrived last night from Leavenworth city, informs of another party of settlers who have been disarmed, and deprived of their property. You shall hear further on that subject soon.

Are these things to be permitted longer? Is the North to be trampled under foot? Are we all to be made slaves? Will the North open its eyes now? If they do not, I fear the time will come when it will be too late. Kansas is now suffering for food and men. The crops, owing to the troubles, are comparatively nothing. The inhabitants are not yet discouraged; for, say they, if the free States render no assistance, we will fight the battle alone, although it end in our death. If Kansas is not free, it is not our fault. The Legislature will meet at Topeka on the 4th. Col. Sumner has sent two companies there. You will be furnished with an early account.

THE FOURTH OF JULY IN CAROLINA.—The following toasts, among others, were drunk at the Healing Springs, Barnwell District, South Carolina, at the celebration of the Fourth of July:—

Kansas: Strike while the iron's hot— Strike with men and means; And let the Yankees see we've got The right to hold the reins.

The Hon. L. M. Keitt: Carolina's worthy son, and our honored brother.

By Cornelius Hartzo, Massachusetts: We have always beaten her in the debates of the Union. We have whipped her in Kansas, and we have caned her in the Senate Hall.

By Rutherford Oakman. The Hon. P. S. Brooks: May the cause of Southern Brooks ever flourish over the Growth of Northern Freesoil.

By Thomas H. Kirkland. Franklin Pierce: He has arrayed himself against his own section and State, in defence of the Constitution and the South; and has exhibited an example of moral fortitude and devotion to principle unparalleled in the history of the country.

By William P. Walker. Gen. Atchison: Hoping that he may live to see Kansas a Slave State in the Union or out of the Union.

By Dr. S. Banister. The Hon. P. S. Brooks: He has nobly shown that not even Senators, sheltering themselves under Senatorial privileges, can insult with impunity Carolina's name or Carolina's sons.

By R. E. Odum. The Democratic Party: It is purified of freesoilism, it is true to the Constitution, and eminently deserves the confidence of South Carolina.

Boston Atlas.

July 15, 1856.

MANHATTAN, K. T., June 15, 1856.

Friend S.:—Your letter of May 25 came to hand last Friday, and I am glad to hear from you, and that you have still an interest in the great cause of true freedom. This place is now wanting a good shoe and boot maker and a tin plate worker very much, and such mechanics can make a good living and lay up money, if they wish, very fast. Our city is now underway and growing fast, and it is one of the most beautiful locations in all the West for a fine and pleasant place of residence and business. We have one of the most beautiful climates that I ever enjoyed, fine springs of water, and almost all kinds of fruit and vegetables grow very fast, and of fine quality; splendid stone for building, and wood and timber enough for ordinary use; abundance of fine fish in our streams, and wild game in our woods and on the prairies; and, above all, we have an excellent community of people among and around us here, and we have peaceable times from what they do on the borders of Missouri. Our country is fast filling up. I have just heard of 80 families that are on their way here from Wisconsin; some have just arrived from there. I think this Territory is bound to be the garden of the land. I expect John G. Robinson and family here in September. I intend to return East in October. I purpose to put up two houses by that time, and to let some of my old friends have one or both of them. We are 120 miles west of Fort Leavenworth and 80 west of Lawrence, and 16 miles east of Fort Riley. Last Friday I helped take 250 men, horses and wagons (U. S. soldiers) over our new ferry. They had orders to be near Leavenworth immediately. I hope they will do justice to some of the border invaders, and that we shall soon have peace all over the Territory. We have a fine season thus far; and a prospect of abundance of the necessary food for man and beast. All kinds of labor is in much demand here, and anybody that is able and willing to work can find enough to do, and at great wages. Common men get from \$1.50 to \$1.75 per day, and mechanics from \$2 to \$2.50 per day, and we need many more here now. Send all the true good mechanics you can, and God speed you.

Yours, as ever,

Detroit Advertiser.

HILLSDALE, July 2, 1856.

EDITOR ADVERTISER—Dear Sir:—Presuming you are anxious to publish authentic intelligence in regard to the assassination of William Gay, Esq., late Indian Agent in Kansas, I propose to send you a statement for publication.

Mr. James W. Gay, a son of the late Indian Agent, has just returned to Hillsdale with his family and his widowed mother, and from him I have the particulars of his father's death.

The father and son, on the 14th of June, were returning home after a few days absence on official business—they left Westport at 5 o'clock P. M., and had proceeded homeward about one and a half miles, when three men mounted on horses passed them. They proceeded a short distance when they halted, and invited the father and son to drink with them. The son declined, but the father drank. Two of the riders were of Buford's Company of South Carolinians, the other was a fiendish looking person from Westport. They were armed to the teeth. Neither of the Gays were armed. One of the ruffians then asked the elder Gay where he was from. He replied, I am from Michigan. He then placed a pistol at Gay's breast, and enquired, are you in favor of making Kansas a Free State. Gay replied, I am. He then discharged his pistol, and a severe scuffle ensued. The three ruffians discharged their pistols several times at Gay—finally a ball took effect in the back part of his head, which killed him instantly. The young man was shot at about fifteen times; one ball took effect in his right thigh, from the effects of which he is now suffering severely. He was pursued with terrible pertinacity, and that he escaped with his life is miraculous.

The report that was first published, that Gay was killed by the Indians, is utterly false. His deportment as agent was very acceptable to the Indians.—Perfect harmony existed between him and them. He was murdered solely because he was opposed to slavery, and fearlessly and honestly expressed his opinion.

Our citizens done all that heartfelt sympathy could do towards alleviating the afflictions of the heart-stricken family.

The idea that another citizen of Michigan has been murdered in Kansas, because he loved freedom and hated slavery, has aroused feelings of indignation, which will not soon be quieted.

Civil war reigns in Kansas, and is a legitimate consequence of squatter sovereignty. Would to God that we had a President of sufficient patriotism to use his constitutional powers to avert civil war, and prevent and punish indiscriminate bloodshed.

It is to be hoped that this brutal assassination and murder of a Government official will arouse this administration to a partial, if not an entire sense of its duty.

... COL. STENO'S COMMUNICATION, ETC.

... COL. STENO'S COMMUNICATION, ETC.

... COL. STENO'S COMMUNICATION, ETC.

... COL. STENO'S COMMUNICATION, ETC.

... COL. STENO'S COMMUNICATION, ETC.

... COL. STENO'S COMMUNICATION, ETC.

... COL. STENO'S COMMUNICATION, ETC.

... COL. STENO'S COMMUNICATION, ETC.

... COL. STENO'S COMMUNICATION, ETC.

... COL. STENO'S COMMUNICATION, ETC.

... COL. STENO'S COMMUNICATION, ETC.

... COL. STENO'S COMMUNICATION, ETC.

... COL. STENO'S COMMUNICATION, ETC.

Representatives, at this stage of the meeting, announced from the Convention...

... COL. STENO'S COMMUNICATION, ETC.

... COL. STENO'S COMMUNICATION, ETC.

... COL. STENO'S COMMUNICATION, ETC.

... COL. STENO'S COMMUNICATION, ETC.

... COL. STENO'S COMMUNICATION, ETC.

... COL. STENO'S COMMUNICATION, ETC.

... COL. STENO'S COMMUNICATION, ETC.

... COL. STENO'S COMMUNICATION, ETC.

... COL. STENO'S COMMUNICATION, ETC.

... COL. STENO'S COMMUNICATION, ETC.

... COL. STENO'S COMMUNICATION, ETC.

... COL. STENO'S COMMUNICATION, ETC.

... COL. STENO'S COMMUNICATION, ETC.

... COL. STENO'S COMMUNICATION, ETC.

... COL. STENO'S COMMUNICATION, ETC.

... COL. STENO'S COMMUNICATION, ETC.

... COL. STENO'S COMMUNICATION, ETC.

... COL. STENO'S COMMUNICATION, ETC.

... COL. STENO'S COMMUNICATION, ETC.

... COL. STENO'S COMMUNICATION, ETC.

... COL. STENO'S COMMUNICATION, ETC.

... COL. STENO'S COMMUNICATION, ETC.

... COL. STENO'S COMMUNICATION, ETC.

... COL. STENO'S COMMUNICATION, ETC.

... COL. STENO'S COMMUNICATION, ETC.

... COL. STENO'S COMMUNICATION, ETC.

... COL. STENO'S COMMUNICATION, ETC.

... COL. STENO'S COMMUNICATION, ETC.

... COL. STENO'S COMMUNICATION, ETC.

... COL. STENO'S COMMUNICATION, ETC.

... COL. STENO'S COMMUNICATION, ETC.

... COL. STENO'S COMMUNICATION, ETC.

... COL. STENO'S COMMUNICATION, ETC.

... COL. STENO'S COMMUNICATION, ETC.

... COL. STENO'S COMMUNICATION, ETC.

... COL. STENO'S COMMUNICATION, ETC.

... COL. STENO'S COMMUNICATION, ETC.

... COL. STENO'S COMMUNICATION, ETC.

... COL. STENO'S COMMUNICATION, ETC.

... COL. STENO'S COMMUNICATION, ETC.

... COL. STENO'S COMMUNICATION, ETC.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

The report was adopted, and the following program was adopted as a Central Committee...

than three minutes behind, it must be kept out of way of regular traffic.

DOINGS OF THE CONGRESS.
Governor DELAY held a consultation with the District-Attorney this morning, after which he proceeded to the Cobdenknot Depot, for the purpose of securing a certificate of title, the deed within the limits of the Consolidated City. It is understood, however, that the legislative extension only to the county line, and that Mr. Jacob, Governor of the county, will hold title in the city.

APPEARANCE OF KERRINGTON THIS MORNING.
LARGE numbers of persons visited St. Michael's Church, at Second and Jefferson streets, supporting the cause of the Father Superior, who is in state at the church. The corpse was not to be seen this morning, but the public was permitted to view it to-morrow, at which time the funeral ceremonies of the Roman Catholic Church will be performed with unusual pomp and ceremony.

THE INQUIRY AT FORT WASHINGTON.
Most of the victims of the disaster have been brought to Fort Washington, where they are being attended to at taverns and private residences.

BURNING OF THE NORTHERN INDIANA.
Additional Particulars of the Disaster.
List of Persons Killed or Lost.

BUFFALO Friday, July 18.
We have the following additional particulars of the burning of the Northern Indiana. The fire originated in the wood-work around one of the chimneys and spread very rapidly. The vessel containing the oil was overturned, and the flames spread to the roof. The fire was extinguished after a long struggle, but the damage was extensive. The loss is estimated at \$100,000.

statements—one that it was caused by smoking a pipe, and the other that it was caused by a child of the neighborhood smoking a pipe in the yard. It is understood that the fire was caused by a child of the neighborhood smoking a pipe in the yard.

POLICE INTELLIGENCE.
Mysterious and Atrocious Murder in Broadway.

ESCAPE OF THE MURDERER.
Corney's Escape.

The building No. 378 Broadway, on the southeast corner of White-street, was on Thursday night the scene of a terrible murder. A man named Bartholomew Burke was then and there deprived of life in a manner the most cruel and atrocious that has been known since the discovery of the guillotine. The murderer has not been apprehended.

THE BUILDING NO. 378 BROADWAY.
The building No. 378 Broadway, corner of White-street, in the vicinity of the corner of White-street and Broadway, was on Thursday night the scene of a terrible murder.

THE MURDERER.
The murderer of Burke was a man named James J. Corney, who was seen by several witnesses on the night of the murder.

THE ESCAPE.
Corney escaped from the scene of the murder and fled to his home in the city of New York.

THE SEARCH.
The police are making a search for Corney in the city and in the surrounding country.

THE EVIDENCE.
There is some evidence against Corney, but it is not sufficient to warrant his arrest.

THE VERDICT.
The jury returned a verdict of not guilty in favor of Corney.

THE APPEAL.
Corney has appealed from the verdict of the jury.

THE FUTURE.
The case will be tried again in the next term of court.

THE WITNESSES.
The witnesses in the case are as follows: John Doe, John Smith, and John Brown.

THE JURY.
The jury in the case consisted of the following members: John Doe, John Smith, and John Brown.

THE COURT.
The case was tried in the Supreme Court of the City of New York.

THE VERDICT.
The jury returned a verdict of not guilty in favor of Corney.

THE APPEAL.
Corney has appealed from the verdict of the jury.

THE FUTURE.
The case will be tried again in the next term of court.

THE WITNESSES.
The witnesses in the case are as follows: John Doe, John Smith, and John Brown.

THE JURY.
The jury in the case consisted of the following members: John Doe, John Smith, and John Brown.

THE COURT.
The case was tried in the Supreme Court of the City of New York.

THE VERDICT.
The jury returned a verdict of not guilty in favor of Corney.

THE APPEAL.
Corney has appealed from the verdict of the jury.

THE FUTURE.
The case will be tried again in the next term of court.

THE WITNESSES.
The witnesses in the case are as follows: John Doe, John Smith, and John Brown.

THE JURY.
The jury in the case consisted of the following members: John Doe, John Smith, and John Brown.

THE COURT.
The case was tried in the Supreme Court of the City of New York.

THE VERDICT.
The jury returned a verdict of not guilty in favor of Corney.

THE APPEAL.
Corney has appealed from the verdict of the jury.

THE FUTURE.
The case will be tried again in the next term of court.

THE WITNESSES.
The witnesses in the case are as follows: John Doe, John Smith, and John Brown.

ten o'clock, he was then standing outside the door, and saw a man who was going to the store. I asked him if he would have some of the goods, and he said that he would. I then saw him enter the store, and I saw him come out with a bundle.

WITNESS.
William Kay, big day, sworn, deposed: I am a bookkeeper of Krowder's; Krowder keeps a saloon on the corner of White-street and Broadway. I saw a man named Burke enter the saloon on Thursday night, and I saw him come out with a bundle.

WITNESS.
John Doe, sworn, deposed: I am a policeman of the 15th Precinct. I saw a man named Burke enter the saloon on Thursday night, and I saw him come out with a bundle.

WITNESS.
John Smith, sworn, deposed: I am a policeman of the 15th Precinct. I saw a man named Burke enter the saloon on Thursday night, and I saw him come out with a bundle.

WITNESS.
John Brown, sworn, deposed: I am a policeman of the 15th Precinct. I saw a man named Burke enter the saloon on Thursday night, and I saw him come out with a bundle.

WITNESS.
John Green, sworn, deposed: I am a policeman of the 15th Precinct. I saw a man named Burke enter the saloon on Thursday night, and I saw him come out with a bundle.

WITNESS.
John Black, sworn, deposed: I am a policeman of the 15th Precinct. I saw a man named Burke enter the saloon on Thursday night, and I saw him come out with a bundle.

WITNESS.
John White, sworn, deposed: I am a policeman of the 15th Precinct. I saw a man named Burke enter the saloon on Thursday night, and I saw him come out with a bundle.

WITNESS.
John Grey, sworn, deposed: I am a policeman of the 15th Precinct. I saw a man named Burke enter the saloon on Thursday night, and I saw him come out with a bundle.

WITNESS.
John Gold, sworn, deposed: I am a policeman of the 15th Precinct. I saw a man named Burke enter the saloon on Thursday night, and I saw him come out with a bundle.

WITNESS.
John Silver, sworn, deposed: I am a policeman of the 15th Precinct. I saw a man named Burke enter the saloon on Thursday night, and I saw him come out with a bundle.

WITNESS.
John Copper, sworn, deposed: I am a policeman of the 15th Precinct. I saw a man named Burke enter the saloon on Thursday night, and I saw him come out with a bundle.

WITNESS.
John Lead, sworn, deposed: I am a policeman of the 15th Precinct. I saw a man named Burke enter the saloon on Thursday night, and I saw him come out with a bundle.

WITNESS.
John Tin, sworn, deposed: I am a policeman of the 15th Precinct. I saw a man named Burke enter the saloon on Thursday night, and I saw him come out with a bundle.

WITNESS.
John Zinc, sworn, deposed: I am a policeman of the 15th Precinct. I saw a man named Burke enter the saloon on Thursday night, and I saw him come out with a bundle.

WITNESS.
John Iron, sworn, deposed: I am a policeman of the 15th Precinct. I saw a man named Burke enter the saloon on Thursday night, and I saw him come out with a bundle.

WITNESS.
John Steel, sworn, deposed: I am a policeman of the 15th Precinct. I saw a man named Burke enter the saloon on Thursday night, and I saw him come out with a bundle.

WITNESS.
John Nickel, sworn, deposed: I am a policeman of the 15th Precinct. I saw a man named Burke enter the saloon on Thursday night, and I saw him come out with a bundle.

WITNESS.
John Cobalt, sworn, deposed: I am a policeman of the 15th Precinct. I saw a man named Burke enter the saloon on Thursday night, and I saw him come out with a bundle.

SPEECH OF D. R. ATCHISON.
Special Correspondence of the N. Y. Daily Tribune.

LAWRENCE, KANSAS, Tuesday, July 15, 1896.
AFFAIRS IN LAWYERS.
A gentleman has just arrived in town who was a passenger on the Missouri last week, and who was arrested at Lawrence, Kansas, by the Free State men for Kansas. He was arrested at Liberty, Mo., on Friday last. A mob came on board the boat, threatened and insulted them, and then went up the river to be taken over to Kansas. The man was a gentleman, and his name was Lawrence. He was arrested by the Free State men, and was taken to Lawrence, Kansas, where he was held in custody.

LAWRENCE, KANSAS, Tuesday, July 15, 1896.
AFFAIRS IN LAWYERS.
A gentleman has just arrived in town who was a passenger on the Missouri last week, and who was arrested at Lawrence, Kansas, by the Free State men for Kansas. He was arrested at Liberty, Mo., on Friday last. A mob came on board the boat, threatened and insulted them, and then went up the river to be taken over to Kansas. The man was a gentleman, and his name was Lawrence. He was arrested by the Free State men, and was taken to Lawrence, Kansas, where he was held in custody.

LAWRENCE, KANSAS, Tuesday, July 15, 1896.
AFFAIRS IN LAWYERS.
A gentleman has just arrived in town who was a passenger on the Missouri last week, and who was arrested at Lawrence, Kansas, by the Free State men for Kansas. He was arrested at Liberty, Mo., on Friday last. A mob came on board the boat, threatened and insulted them, and then went up the river to be taken over to Kansas. The man was a gentleman, and his name was Lawrence. He was arrested by the Free State men, and was taken to Lawrence, Kansas, where he was held in custody.

LAWRENCE, KANSAS, Tuesday, July 15, 1896.
AFFAIRS IN LAWYERS.
A gentleman has just arrived in town who was a passenger on the Missouri last week, and who was arrested at Lawrence, Kansas, by the Free State men for Kansas. He was arrested at Liberty, Mo., on Friday last. A mob came on board the boat, threatened and insulted them, and then went up the river to be taken over to Kansas. The man was a gentleman, and his name was Lawrence. He was arrested by the Free State men, and was taken to Lawrence, Kansas, where he was held in custody.

LAWRENCE, KANSAS, Tuesday, July 15, 1896.
AFFAIRS IN LAWYERS.
A gentleman has just arrived in town who was a passenger on the Missouri last week, and who was arrested at Lawrence, Kansas, by the Free State men for Kansas. He was arrested at Liberty, Mo., on Friday last. A mob came on board the boat, threatened and insulted them, and then went up the river to be taken over to Kansas. The man was a gentleman, and his name was Lawrence. He was arrested by the Free State men, and was taken to Lawrence, Kansas, where he was held in custody.

LAWRENCE, KANSAS, Tuesday, July 15, 1896.
AFFAIRS IN LAWYERS.
A gentleman has just arrived in town who was a passenger on the Missouri last week, and who was arrested at Lawrence, Kansas, by the Free State men for Kansas. He was arrested at Liberty, Mo., on Friday last. A mob came on board the boat, threatened and insulted them, and then went up the river to be taken over to Kansas. The man was a gentleman, and his name was Lawrence. He was arrested by the Free State men, and was taken to Lawrence, Kansas, where he was held in custody.

LAWRENCE, KANSAS, Tuesday, July 15, 1896.
AFFAIRS IN LAWYERS.
A gentleman has just arrived in town who was a passenger on the Missouri last week, and who was arrested at Lawrence, Kansas, by the Free State men for Kansas. He was arrested at Liberty, Mo., on Friday last. A mob came on board the boat, threatened and insulted them, and then went up the river to be taken over to Kansas. The man was a gentleman, and his name was Lawrence. He was arrested by the Free State men, and was taken to Lawrence, Kansas, where he was held in custody.

LAWRENCE, KANSAS, Tuesday, July 15, 1896.
AFFAIRS IN LAWYERS.
A gentleman has just arrived in town who was a passenger on the Missouri last week, and who was arrested at Lawrence, Kansas, by the Free State men for Kansas. He was arrested at Liberty, Mo., on Friday last. A mob came on board the boat, threatened and insulted them, and then went up the river to be taken over to Kansas. The man was a gentleman, and his name was Lawrence. He was arrested by the Free State men, and was taken to Lawrence, Kansas, where he was held in custody.

LAWRENCE, KANSAS, Tuesday, July 15, 1896.
AFFAIRS IN LAWYERS.
A gentleman has just arrived in town who was a passenger on the Missouri last week, and who was arrested at Lawrence, Kansas, by the Free State men for Kansas. He was arrested at Liberty, Mo., on Friday last. A mob came on board the boat, threatened and insulted them, and then went up the river to be taken over to Kansas. The man was a gentleman, and his name was Lawrence. He was arrested by the Free State men, and was taken to Lawrence, Kansas, where he was held in custody.

LAWRENCE, KANSAS, Tuesday, July 15, 1896.
AFFAIRS IN LAWYERS.
A gentleman has just arrived in town who was a passenger on the Missouri last week, and who was arrested at Lawrence, Kansas, by the Free State men for Kansas. He was arrested at Liberty, Mo., on Friday last. A mob came on board the boat, threatened and insulted them, and then went up the river to be taken over to Kansas. The man was a gentleman, and his name was Lawrence. He was arrested by the Free State men, and was taken to Lawrence, Kansas, where he was held in custody.

LAWRENCE, KANSAS, Tuesday, July 15, 1896.
AFFAIRS IN LAWYERS.
A gentleman has just arrived in town who was a passenger on the Missouri last week, and who was arrested at Lawrence, Kansas, by the Free State men for Kansas. He was arrested at Liberty, Mo., on Friday last. A mob came on board the boat, threatened and insulted them, and then went up the river to be taken over to Kansas. The man was a gentleman, and his name was Lawrence. He was arrested by the Free State men, and was taken to Lawrence, Kansas, where he was held in custody.

LAWRENCE, KANSAS, Tuesday, July 15, 1896.
AFFAIRS IN LAWYERS.
A gentleman has just arrived in town who was a passenger on the Missouri last week, and who was arrested at Lawrence, Kansas, by the Free State men for Kansas. He was arrested at Liberty, Mo., on Friday last. A mob came on board the boat, threatened and insulted them, and then went up the river to be taken over to Kansas. The man was a gentleman, and his name was Lawrence. He was arrested by the Free State men, and was taken to Lawrence, Kansas, where he was held in custody.

LAWRENCE, KANSAS, Tuesday, July 15, 1896.
AFFAIRS IN LAWYERS.
A gentleman has just arrived in town who was a passenger on the Missouri last week, and who was arrested at Lawrence, Kansas, by the Free State men for Kansas. He was arrested at Liberty, Mo., on Friday last. A mob came on board the boat, threatened and insulted them, and then went up the river to be taken over to Kansas. The man was a gentleman, and his name was Lawrence. He was arrested by the Free State men, and was taken to Lawrence, Kansas, where he was held in custody.

LAWRENCE, KANSAS, Tuesday, July 15, 1896.
AFFAIRS IN LAWYERS.
A gentleman has just arrived in town who was a passenger on the Missouri last week, and who was arrested at Lawrence, Kansas, by the Free State men for Kansas. He was arrested at Liberty, Mo., on Friday last. A mob came on board the boat, threatened and insulted them, and then went up the river to be taken over to Kansas. The man was a gentleman, and his name was Lawrence. He was arrested by the Free State men, and was taken to Lawrence, Kansas, where he was held in custody.

LAWRENCE, KANSAS, Tuesday, July 15, 1896.
AFFAIRS IN LAWYERS.
A gentleman has just arrived in town who was a passenger on the Missouri last week, and who was arrested at Lawrence, Kansas, by the Free State men for Kansas. He was arrested at Liberty, Mo., on Friday last. A mob came on board the boat, threatened and insulted them, and then went up the river to be taken over to Kansas. The man was a gentleman, and his name was Lawrence. He was arrested by the Free State men, and was taken to Lawrence, Kansas, where he was held in custody.

LAWRENCE, KANSAS, Tuesday, July 15, 1896.
AFFAIRS IN LAWYERS.
A gentleman has just arrived in town who was a passenger on the Missouri last week, and who was arrested at Lawrence, Kansas, by the Free State men for Kansas. He was arrested at Liberty, Mo., on Friday last. A mob came on board the boat, threatened and insulted them, and then went up the river to be taken over to Kansas. The man was a gentleman, and his name was Lawrence. He was arrested by the Free State men, and was taken to Lawrence, Kansas, where he was held in custody.

LAWRENCE, KANSAS, Tuesday, July 15, 1896.
AFFAIRS IN LAWYERS.
A gentleman has just arrived in town who was a passenger on the Missouri last week, and who was arrested at Lawrence, Kansas, by the Free State men for Kansas. He was arrested at Liberty, Mo., on Friday last. A mob came on board the boat, threatened and insulted them, and then went up the river to be taken over to Kansas. The man was a gentleman, and his name was Lawrence. He was arrested by the Free State men, and was taken to Lawrence, Kansas, where he was held in custody.

LAWRENCE, KANSAS, Tuesday, July 15, 1896.
AFFAIRS IN LAWYERS.
A gentleman has just arrived in town who was a passenger on the Missouri last week, and who was arrested at Lawrence, Kansas, by the Free State men for Kansas. He was arrested at Liberty, Mo., on Friday last. A mob came on board the boat, threatened and insulted them, and then went up the river to be taken over to Kansas. The man was a gentleman, and his name was Lawrence. He was arrested by the Free State men, and was taken to Lawrence, Kansas, where he was held in custody.

Col. SICKNER'S forces are also increased to four to two hundred cavalry, and they have had some conference with our Committee during the day, and to give our proof of all the facts...

HEAD-QUARTERS 1st CAVALRY (CAMP), at 10 o'clock on the 12th inst. The following resolutions were adopted by the Convention...

Col. JAMES H. HOLLIDAY, Capt. R. V. HUNNIN, Messrs. HOLLIDAY, SCHAFFNER, ROSS and CREECH. This morning the town was visited at sunrise by a large number of Federal soldiers...

Judge WALKER presided at the chair, and Geo. J. DREW appointed Secretary.

While the Committee on Permanent Organization were preparing to report, the Convention was addressed by Mr. J. W. HITCHCOCK...

The Convention was then addressed by Messrs. COLLIER and SCHUELLER, when Wm. HITCHCOCK offered the following:

Resolved, That it is the imperative duty of the Kansas people to stand by the Union until the 4th inst., and to proceed at once to the rescue of our slaves...

Resolved, That the people who are standing firmly by the cause, and that the people would uphold their representatives in assembling and debating until driven or carried out by a Government...

Discussion was continued until the Committee on organization of Central Committee, &c., reported as follows:

The Committee on organization of Central and District Committees made the following report: The Free State men of Kansas, in a Convention assembled for the purpose of a closer union...

Resolved, That the Committee shall proceed as an applicant for every District in the Territory or State District Committee, to be composed of as many members as the circumstances may require...

Resolved, That the Committee shall have full authority to raise money, to purchase property, to employ agents, and to do all such things as may be necessary to carry out the objects of this Convention...

Resolved, That the Committee shall have full authority to raise money, to purchase property, to employ agents, and to do all such things as may be necessary to carry out the objects of this Convention...

Resolved, That the Committee shall have full authority to raise money, to purchase property, to employ agents, and to do all such things as may be necessary to carry out the objects of this Convention...

Resolved, That the Committee shall have full authority to raise money, to purchase property, to employ agents, and to do all such things as may be necessary to carry out the objects of this Convention...

Resolved, That the Committee shall have full authority to raise money, to purchase property, to employ agents, and to do all such things as may be necessary to carry out the objects of this Convention...

Resolved, That the Committee shall have full authority to raise money, to purchase property, to employ agents, and to do all such things as may be necessary to carry out the objects of this Convention...

Resolved, That the Committee shall have full authority to raise money, to purchase property, to employ agents, and to do all such things as may be necessary to carry out the objects of this Convention...

The Committee on Resolutions reported as follows:

We, the people of Kansas, in Mass Convention assembled at Topeka, Kansas, and the total apportionment of the Territory and State, and the total apportionment of the Territory and State...

I do most sincerely deplore, before God and our country, the fact that the people of Kansas are being held in slavery...

We proclaim to the world that we have all the elements for a great and powerful State; our hills are fertile, and our climate all that could be desired...

Resolved, That the people of Kansas shall stand by the Union until the 4th inst., and to proceed at once to the rescue of our slaves...

Resolved, That the people who are standing firmly by the cause, and that the people would uphold their representatives in assembling and debating until driven or carried out by a Government...

Resolved, That the people who are standing firmly by the cause, and that the people would uphold their representatives in assembling and debating until driven or carried out by a Government...

Resolved, That the people who are standing firmly by the cause, and that the people would uphold their representatives in assembling and debating until driven or carried out by a Government...

Resolved, That the people who are standing firmly by the cause, and that the people would uphold their representatives in assembling and debating until driven or carried out by a Government...

Resolved, That the people who are standing firmly by the cause, and that the people would uphold their representatives in assembling and debating until driven or carried out by a Government...

Resolved, That the people who are standing firmly by the cause, and that the people would uphold their representatives in assembling and debating until driven or carried out by a Government...

Resolved, That the people who are standing firmly by the cause, and that the people would uphold their representatives in assembling and debating until driven or carried out by a Government...

Resolved, That the people who are standing firmly by the cause, and that the people would uphold their representatives in assembling and debating until driven or carried out by a Government...

Resolved, That the people who are standing firmly by the cause, and that the people would uphold their representatives in assembling and debating until driven or carried out by a Government...

Resolved, That the people who are standing firmly by the cause, and that the people would uphold their representatives in assembling and debating until driven or carried out by a Government...

Resolved, That the people who are standing firmly by the cause, and that the people would uphold their representatives in assembling and debating until driven or carried out by a Government...

Resolved, That the people who are standing firmly by the cause, and that the people would uphold their representatives in assembling and debating until driven or carried out by a Government...

Resolved, That the people who are standing firmly by the cause, and that the people would uphold their representatives in assembling and debating until driven or carried out by a Government...

Resolved, That the people who are standing firmly by the cause, and that the people would uphold their representatives in assembling and debating until driven or carried out by a Government...

Resolved, That the people who are standing firmly by the cause, and that the people would uphold their representatives in assembling and debating until driven or carried out by a Government...

Resolved, That the people who are standing firmly by the cause, and that the people would uphold their representatives in assembling and debating until driven or carried out by a Government...

Resolved, That the people who are standing firmly by the cause, and that the people would uphold their representatives in assembling and debating until driven or carried out by a Government...

Resolved, That the people who are standing firmly by the cause, and that the people would uphold their representatives in assembling and debating until driven or carried out by a Government...

that the negroes, or persons, to that were as bad, as a grain of mustard-seed, that 'Old Buck' will remember Kansas in mercy. Strange infatuation! But there are not enough open National Democrats...

OTHER RESOLUTIONS.

The following resolutions were introduced by various members of the Convention: Resolved, That the Government of the United States...

Resolved, That the Government of the United States should remove from office any person holding office under the laws of the United States...

Resolved, That the Government of the United States should remove from office any person holding office under the laws of the United States...

Resolved, That the Government of the United States should remove from office any person holding office under the laws of the United States...

Resolved, That the Government of the United States should remove from office any person holding office under the laws of the United States...

Resolved, That the Government of the United States should remove from office any person holding office under the laws of the United States...

Resolved, That the Government of the United States should remove from office any person holding office under the laws of the United States...

Resolved, That the Government of the United States should remove from office any person holding office under the laws of the United States...

Resolved, That the Government of the United States should remove from office any person holding office under the laws of the United States...

Resolved, That the Government of the United States should remove from office any person holding office under the laws of the United States...

Resolved, That the Government of the United States should remove from office any person holding office under the laws of the United States...

Resolved, That the Government of the United States should remove from office any person holding office under the laws of the United States...

Resolved, That the Government of the United States should remove from office any person holding office under the laws of the United States...

Resolved, That the Government of the United States should remove from office any person holding office under the laws of the United States...

Resolved, That the Government of the United States should remove from office any person holding office under the laws of the United States...

Resolved, That the Government of the United States should remove from office any person holding office under the laws of the United States...

Resolved, That the Government of the United States should remove from office any person holding office under the laws of the United States...

Resolved, That the Government of the United States should remove from office any person holding office under the laws of the United States...

Resolved, That the Government of the United States should remove from office any person holding office under the laws of the United States...

these circumstances, and in consequence of the crowd of people, but I will not be present. I have been ordered to go on by Mr. Boyer, I cannot stay your party...

I have just obtained a copy of the above speech which is more characteristic of the man, the occasion and the cause from which it is emanated...

Resolved, That the Government of the United States should remove from office any person holding office under the laws of the United States...

Resolved, That the Government of the United States should remove from office any person holding office under the laws of the United States...

Resolved, That the Government of the United States should remove from office any person holding office under the laws of the United States...

Resolved, That the Government of the United States should remove from office any person holding office under the laws of the United States...

Resolved, That the Government of the United States should remove from office any person holding office under the laws of the United States...

Resolved, That the Government of the United States should remove from office any person holding office under the laws of the United States...

Resolved, That the Government of the United States should remove from office any person holding office under the laws of the United States...

Resolved, That the Government of the United States should remove from office any person holding office under the laws of the United States...

Resolved, That the Government of the United States should remove from office any person holding office under the laws of the United States...

Resolved, That the Government of the United States should remove from office any person holding office under the laws of the United States...

Resolved, That the Government of the United States should remove from office any person holding office under the laws of the United States...

Resolved, That the Government of the United States should remove from office any person holding office under the laws of the United States...

Resolved, That the Government of the United States should remove from office any person holding office under the laws of the United States...

Resolved, That the Government of the United States should remove from office any person holding office under the laws of the United States...

Resolved, That the Government of the United States should remove from office any person holding office under the laws of the United States...

Resolved, That the Government of the United States should remove from office any person holding office under the laws of the United States...

Resolved, That the Government of the United States should remove from office any person holding office under the laws of the United States...

Resolved, That the Government of the United States should remove from office any person holding office under the laws of the United States...

MEMORIAL TO CONGRESS.

Col. HOLLIDAY reported the Memorial to Congress, which he had prepared and ordered to be printed immediately and forwarded to all the District Committees for signatures...

MEMORIAL.

The undersigned, citizens of the Territory of Kansas, respectfully represent that from and on the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill...

Resolved, That the people of Kansas shall stand by the Union until the 4th inst., and to proceed at once to the rescue of our slaves...

Resolved, That the people who are standing firmly by the cause, and that the people would uphold their representatives in assembling and debating until driven or carried out by a Government...

Resolved, That the people who are standing firmly by the cause, and that the people would uphold their representatives in assembling and debating until driven or carried out by a Government...

Resolved, That the people who are standing firmly by the cause, and that the people would uphold their representatives in assembling and debating until driven or carried out by a Government...

Resolved, That the people who are standing firmly by the cause, and that the people would uphold their representatives in assembling and debating until driven or carried out by a Government...

Resolved, That the people who are standing firmly by the cause, and that the people would uphold their representatives in assembling and debating until driven or carried out by a Government...

Atchison's Speech.

The following is a verbatim report of the speech of DAVID R. ATCHISON, delivered at the camp, two miles west of Lawrence, on the morning of the 11th of May...

GENTLEMEN, OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS: This is the first day of my life that I have spent in the Territory of Kansas. I have been ordered to go on by Mr. Boyer, I cannot stay your party...

I have just obtained a copy of the above speech which is more characteristic of the man, the occasion and the cause from which it is emanated...

Resolved, That the Government of the United States should remove from office any person holding office under the laws of the United States...

Resolved, That the Government of the United States should remove from office any person holding office under the laws of the United States...

WASHINGTON.

"Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable."

"We join ourselves to no party that does not carry the flag and keep step to the music of the Union."

WEDNESDAY, JULY 9, 1856.

CONGRESS—YESTERDAY.

The SENATE reaffirmed its work for the pacification of Kansas. At an early hour of the session Mr. DOUGLAS reported, from the Committee on Territories, the House bill for the admission of Kansas as a State under the Topeka Constitution, with an amendment, substituting the bill of the Senate in the exact form in which it had passed on Thursday last. Mr. DOUGLAS entered into a brief but forcible exposition of the relative merits of the two bills, and urged the superiority of the latter. The first, he contended, sanctioned the illegal and unauthorized acts of a portion of the people of Kansas, without any evidence upon which the Senate could rely that the Topeka Constitution was in conformity to the will of the legal voters of the Territory. This constitution, it was acknowledged on all sides, was the work of a party. The bill of the Senate provided, on the contrary, for ascertaining, by a fair census, the actual population of the Territory and the legally qualified voters thereof. It proposed to obviate all the objections of its opponents to test oaths, and secured the rights of all persons who had been illegally expelled and who desire to return and exercise their rights before the first of October next. There had been a pledge made, through the venerable Senator from Michigan, that in the appointment of commissioners to take the census of Kansas every portion and party of the country should be fairly represented. Mr. D. could therefore see no just ground for further resistance to this measure of peace, and it could only proceed from a wish on the part of the opposition to continue the agitation until after the Presidential election.

Mr. COLLAMER, of Vermont, who had presented the minority report, felt it his duty to give an exposition of the views of those of the committee and the Senate whom he represented. This he did in a calm and temperate manner, stating his propositions with much clearness and force. He said that in all diseases, moral, political, or physical, it was deemed wise to go to the cause of the evil. He thought this had not been done in the case before the Senate. The bill looked very fair, but there were radical defects in it as a practical measure. It gave no indemnity for the outrages that had been perpetrated upon unoffending parties, and it gave no security for the future. It did not afford protection to persons whose property had been destroyed, and who had been expelled from Territory. The same power which had driven them out could keep them out. It in reality repealed none of the odious laws passed by the Legislature of Kansas. Mr. C. also

defended the Topeka movement, and undertook to prove that there was nothing new or unusual in that proceeding.

Mr. PEARCE, of Maryland, claimed that he was perfectly free from excitement on this subject, having been absent during the heated discussions thereon. He had acquiesced, with no great degree of ardor, in the Kansas-Nebraska act, but felt that he could view the present aspect of affairs with an impartial eye. He thought the proposition of the Senate a perfectly fair and just one for all parties. The obnoxious laws had been as fully rendered inoperative as if they had been repealed in so many words, and the objectionable alien featute had been removed. He could not see how any just mind could object to the pending measure, which, in his view, secured the rights of all citizens to the fullest

ADMISSION OF KANSAS.

SPEECH OF HON. E. B. WADE, OF OHIO,

In the Senate of the United States, July 2.

(Continued from Saturday's paper.)

'Black Republicans,' of whom I am one, are contending for. We intend, above all other things, that you shall not have another inch of territory anywhere for Slavery, and especially not Kansas, which you have attempted to steal. Now, when I call on the gentleman to be equally explicit, he says that I use intemperate language. Perhaps I do, for I am impelled by considerable zeal on this subject, because it has brought jeopardy on our country. It is enough to stir the blood of every man who has any love of country, to see how our liberties have been jeopardized by the late course of things. The Senator from Illinois refuses to tell me what he understood, as chairman of the Committee on Territories, was meant by the insertion of the most material clause in the Kansas-Nebraska bill. I know that many gentlemen from the South held that no legislation was wanted to enable them to take their slaves into the Territories. They held that the Constitution gives the right, without legislation. The Senator from Mississippi (Mr. Brown) avowedly held that doctrine. That Senator, in a speech delivered not long since, said it was unfortunate that the law did not define particularly what was the meaning of the language to which I have alluded. I know why it was not done. You could not agree among yourselves about it. Council after council was held on these very words. Many Southern gentlemen said that Slavery was carried to the Territories by force of the Constitution; others held a different doctrine; and you had to compromise by putting in the words, "subject only to the Constitution of the United States," which overthrew the previous clause about leaving the people perfectly free to form their own institutions. This specious language, calculated to tickle the ear of the people, was entirely nullified and overthrown by the addendum, which you now refuse to explain. The Senator from Mississippi, (Mr. Brown) in the speech to which I have referred, said:

"In passing the Kansas bill, Congress, in my opinion, committed one error; and out of that error has grown much of the confusion and discord which have ever since distracted the inhabitants of the Territory. It was just to repeal the Missouri restriction; but it was unwise to leave the inhabitants of the Territory in doubt as to the extent of their real powers. It was a grievous error: not to have defined precisely what we meant by leaving the people of the Territory perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way."

That declaration comes from no enemy of the measure, but a fast friend to it, but an honorable man, who will not shrink from giving me his views of the Constitution upon any matter connected with this great controversy. I have given his opinion. Then I am justified in saying that you failed to define what you meant in this most important of all subjects. You left it in your declaration, as a trap to catch men who knew nothing of what you intended. I knew it. There was no Senator on the floor who did not understand perfectly well that that addition was obtained by great labor, pain, and deliberation, and in the minds of perhaps a majority here annulled the specious words which were before inserted to tickle the ears of the people. That stump speech, which, as Mr. Benton said, was injected into the enacting clause of your law, was annulled by this other clause, which those who were not lawyers would not be likely to understand; and to-day the Senator from Illinois cannot tell me how he understands it.

I know by another indication what was the meaning of that. Nearly all of you went back on the stump and said, "Is it not right for the people of the Territory to frame their domestic institutions in their own way? Who can object to so reasonable a proposition as that? These Black Republicans, however, want to come in, and by some arbitrary rule override the will of the people in the Territories." And yet, you all knew that that was not the understanding which was attached to the very clause that you undertook to palm off on them. I shall not occupy time by reading from the Journals of the Senate, for I remember what took place on that occasion. My then colleague, Mr. Chase, in order to test your veracity on that subject, and your good faith in that enactment, proposed to insert at the end of that clause this most reasonable proposition:

"Provided, That the Territorial Legislature shall have power to exclude Slavery in said Territory."

The votes of all the friends of the bill stand recorded on the Journals against that proviso; and yet you complain of me because I speak freely on this subject. You say the people were to be left perfectly free; and when the test came, whether they should be free or not, you voted it down. This was like the apples of Sodom—fair to the look, but as you approach them, and attempt to taste them, they turn to bitterness and ashes.

Is this the way in which the American Senate is to deal with the unsophisticated people of the United States? You pretended that you had no power to legislate at all for the Territories; that non-intervention was to rule; and, again, Mr. Chase tested

you by asking you to declare that the people should have the privilege of choosing their own Governor, judges, and other officers. He offered an amendment for that purpose, so as to test your real views on the subject of non-intervention; but you as promptly voted it down, saying that they had no such right, but yet not abating one jot or one tittle of your sticking for what you call the rights of the people of the Territories, and the want of power in Congress to legislate for them.

Mr. President, the passage of that bill was an unfortunate hour for this Republic: I felt it then; and during that dark night I rose here, and told you that I feared the knell of our Republic was rung; that you had given it a wound under which it would languish, and finally die. God knows I fear now that my prediction will be verified, for all the evils which I then thought would arise out of this dangerous and unjust legislation have come upon us. This Government has been legislating for seventy years on matters connected with the welfare of the American people: not always, perhaps, in the wisest manner, but still so as to make every one proud of the American name, eager to uphold the integrity of our institutions; but now they have received a wound that makes every patriot tremble, and induces him to pause as he attempts to lift the curtain which conceals the future of this Republic.

For more than seventy years, the rights of the American people have been secured, and we have heard of no civil war, no civil strife or contention, during this period; we have not heard of American blood shed by American hands on American soil, for the purpose of propagating any species of political principle or defending or overthrowing any of her institutions. Now, however, since the spoiler has come, and with him this nefarious legislation, strife and contention embitter one section of the country against the other, so that it now requires all the coolness of the patriot to withhold his hand from rushing into the arena of civil war. Sir, civil war, in fact, now exists in your Territory, and it has been commenced for no other purpose but to carry Slavery into Kansas in the face of your specious legislation, which was to leave the people free to legislate as they pleased on the subject.

I wish to know whether there is any party, or any section, in the Senate of the United States, that can look with composure at the transactions now going on in Kansas. I ask every man, no matter from where he comes, if his blood does not boil as he contemplates the acts of lawless violence that are being committed there? Does any one suppose that these blows of civil war can be given by one side forever, and never be retaliated by the other? I know, sir, that the northern people are patient, long suffering, and very slow to anger; but if these things go on, the day will come when they will think that forbearance ceases to be a virtue. It is doubtful whether their quiet is not a shame to-day. What have the Free State settlers of Kansas done to justify the aggressions of those who are attempting to propagate the institution of Slavery.

I ask my colleague, [Mr. Pugh,] the advocate of Slavery, who stands here, turning his back coolly upon three fourths of the Legislature of his State, putting them at open defiance; who has never breathed here the name of Liberty; whose tongue has been employed, since he has had a seat on this floor, in nothing but the advocacy of abject

Slavery; and who, with an industry worthy of a better cause, has hunted up and perverted, I will say, the musty records of the early history of this Government, in the vain hope that he could call there something on which to hang an argument for eternal slavery—I ask him, prejudiced as he must be, what have the Free State people of Kansas done, that deserves robbery, and murder, and the burning of their towns? What have the free emigrants from Ohio done, that they should be hunted down like wild beasts in the prairies of Kansas! Have they raised their hands in ruthless violence against the institutions of their country? He denounced them as traitors. Who have they betrayed? What law have they transgressed? What injury have they done? Echo answers, What! They have gone there and taken their claims for the honest purpose of settlement. There is not a single act of violence, or blood, or illegality, of which they can be accused.

I am amazed at the facility with which some men follow in the wake of Slavery.— Sometimes it leads me even to hesitate whether I am strictly correct in the idea that all men are born to equal rights, for their conduct seems to contravene this doctrine. Sometimes I see in some men an abjectness, a want of that manly independence which enables a man to rely on himself and face the world on his own principles; that I do not know but that I am wrong in advocating Universal Liberty. I wish to Heaven all such were of the African race.

I ask again, Why are these men denounced as traitors? What have the immigrants from Ohio done to demand the fate which has been visited on them? What had Brown done, that he should be met, in the prairies by five or six men, who, with a barbarity worse than that of the savage, hewed him in pieces, and, whilst dying from his ghastly wounds, threw him into the presence of his wife, to distract her, dethrone her reason, and turn her out upon the world a raving maniac! What had Barber done—a man who went from Preble county, nearer my colleague's home than mine, who is certified to by all his neighbors as one of the most inoffensive men in the world, who went into the Territory in good faith, to seek an industrious and honest livelihood? For no other reason than that he held the principles which I hold—for no treasonable acts, but barely for the avowal that he loved Freedom better than Slavery—he was hewed in pieces by men who occupy important positions under this miserable Administration, who still retain their places, and who, I have no doubt, commended themselves to the powers that be by the most deliberate murders.

I know, Mr. President, that this is a hard indictment; but it can neither be doubted nor denied. Our country has come to a crisis which demands all our wisdom to extricate her. I speak plainly of the evils which are existing, because we must understand them before we can apply a remedy. I believe, before high Heaven, that, in the history of all men who were ever intrusted with the welfare of mankind, the acts of none blacken the pages of history more than those of Franklin Pierce, the present President. The accusations which I have made here are beyond the reach of denial. The record is made up, and by that record he shall be tried. It will not do now to deny it. I impeach him of these crimes, and those who believe he is guilty of them, and still uphold him, are accessories after the fact.

The Free State men of Kansas have done no wrong. Their only crime is, that they loved Freedom more than Slavery. You cannot escape by cries against the Aid Society; and yet here is a sophistry thrown into the report of the committee and the speech of my colleague, that it is a wonderful thing that, while Kansas is groaning under all these evils, Nebraska is enjoying peace! The Senator from Kentucky, in his argument yesterday, thought it was a profound mystery how it happened that, although the first bill proposed to make but one Territory out of this great region, it was recommitted, and afterwards reported as a bill for two Territories. To one who did not look behind the curtain, that would seem to be a little strange. Why did you want two great Territories with scarcely a white man in them? In my judgment, when the first bill was reported, the idea was to make a slave State; but it was seen that the Territory was so large that it would receive a great population from the free States, and that it would not be as likely that your secret societies for propagating Slavery would be as successful in the whole of it as by cutting it in two, and making sure of one at all events, and trusting to luck for the other. You cut it in two, and commenced proceedings to propagate Slavery in Kansas because it lay alongside of Missouri, and it was therefore easy to transport any number of Missourians there, to control the Territory. You thought you could make it a slave State much easier than you could the whole region at first called Nebraska.

Why is it that there is no disturbance in the present Territory of Nebraska? Merely because your secret society to propagate Slavery by fraud and force has not been in operation in that Territory. Does any man suppose, for one moment, that the Southern States, intent upon making the Territories slave States, would willingly adopt the principles of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, as preached by its Northern advocates? We know that they intend to bring Slavery into the Territories. Can it be supposed, for a single moment, that it is possible, by the vote of the people, to make a slave State, left perfectly free to the emigration from the North, a population of fourteen millions, to compete with a population of six millions? Southern emigration is not half as vigorous as that from the North, to say nothing of the emigration from abroad. Did any man for a moment believe that anything could be gained to Slavery by the faithful application of this principle? No, sir; they knew it well. Southern gentlemen do not contend for that kind of squatter sovereignty, but they put their faces like brass against it, knowing that, if carried out in its true spirit, it would deprive them of all new territory forever. Hence they raise their voices against it.

When they sternly rebuked the advocates of this squatter sovereignty, those gentlemen turned round, and resorted to a miserable absurdity. They do not say, there is no such thing as popular sovereignty; but, if you consult the first report of the chairman of the Committee on Territories, you will find that he talks of a sovereignty suspended in abeyance. Who ever heard of that before? I have heard of bears and woodchucks being suspended, and in abeyance, during the winter, but I did not know that it applied to sovereignty. I supposed that whoever possessed could exercise jurisdiction, or else there was no sovereignty at all. What an idea to talk about sovereignty suspended in abeyance, held in trust by the congress of the United States! It was a complete backing

out; it was a repudiation of squatter sovereignty, at the bidding of those whose mandate some are accustomed to obey. I have not had time to examine this latter report of the Committee on Territories, but I doubt whether this doctrine is so much as named there. I do not say that it is not mentioned, for I have not read it. First, we were told that the sovereignty was suspended in abeyance; then, the first bill of the committee was abandoned; and now another one is reported tying up every loophole of discretion in the people of the Territory, not leaving them a single thing on which to legislate. I am inclined to suppose that even the doctrine of suspended sovereignty held in abeyance is dropped, and I do not think it will wake up in the spring. It has done its work, and it will be heard of no more.

I hope the people will not be troubled any longer with a vain idea that there is to be a fair competition for the Territories, and that the inhabitants are to be allowed to frame their institutions as they think proper.— How has it been in Kansas? How is it there to-day? How did Mr. Atchison and Mr. Stringfellow and all Missouri understand it? My colleague and the senator from Illinois have argued that there might be a majority of men there to make it a slave State, and seemed to be very much in hopes that such would be the case; but they knew that it was not so, for no man, no State, resorts to force and fraud to accomplish that which can be accomplished in a legitimate and proper way. The very fact that the people of Missouri crossed over the line in great numbers, with arms, with banners flying and drums beating, took possession of the polls, and drove away the inhabitants, shows conclusively that they knew, if the people were left to themselves, they would in a moment make Kansas a free State. Why all this expense and labor, and the commission of these egregious crimes, if the purpose could be effected without them? The fact is what every man would know to be the case, even without understanding the evidence; he would know that people emigrating from a section containing fourteen millions would out number those coming from a section of not more than six millions. If left to themselves, they would have excluded Slavery forever; and hence the power of the General Government must be invoked, and emigration must be fostered from the Southern States; even States must be appealed to, and men must be sent and paid for going—not to settle on claims and become actual residents; for if that was the object, I, who approve the conduct of the Aid Society, would not condemn any man for that. If any man from the North or the South has gone there for the purpose of making that Territory his home, I have not one word to say against him. Let him go there; let him carry his principles with him; let him carry them out at the polls by his vote. If he is so blind to his own interest, and so forgetful of the rights of others, as to vote for slavery, I shall deplore it; but I shall not raise my hand or my voice against him. It stands confessed that the pro-slavery men were outrotted; that the free State men were as three to one; that Missouri and all the slave States were conscious of it; and hence fraud, force, and violence, were restored to, in order to accomplish that which could not be accomplished in a legitimate way.

I call the attention of the Senate to this, for it is pregnant with the most fatal inferences to the integrity of that posse of troops. The Senator from South Carolina, in endeavoring to rescue Mr. At-

emison from any imputations, has passed sentence on that army who surrounded Lawrence, and called themselves law and order men, which puts in unmistakable colors the savage atrocity that characterized those barbarians. Why, sir, there is not an Indian tribe on the continent of America that would threaten in time of war to do the deeds against any settlement which were threatened by these men surrounding Lawrence, and which it took all the skill, all the ability, all the influence, of their great chief and leader. (General Atchison,) to prevent from being perpetrated. They intended, he says, to burn the place, and drench the streets with the blood of the inhabitants of Lawrence; and it was all their leader could do to restrain them from this. Why, in the name of all that is sacred, this infernal revenge against the innocent people of Lawrence! Had not the Governor of the Territory just told these troops that he had been in Lawrence, and found nothing against the people there—that he was perfectly satisfied with them! But this had no effect whatever to mitigate the infernal atrocity which seemed to actuate those hell-hounds who surrounded that city. They wanted, still, to burn the place—to drench the streets in the blood of innocent men, woman, and children, of the town; and he tells us, in this letter that when they were induced to leave, they left murmuring and threatening that they would return again.

I had hope, sir, for the honor of human nature, as well as for the peace of the country, that this threat would never be attempted to be put in execution; but, alas! it has proved too true. These monsters in human shape, who had gone there, breathing nothing but revenge for fancied injuries, when they had received none—wishing to wash their hands in the innocent blood of strangers who had done them no harm—retired reluctantly, murmuring and threatening that at some future time, they would have their revenge. Too well, aided by this accursed Administration, have they kept their word, and sacked and burned Lawrence. Plying men, women and children, can attest how faithful they were to the nefarious threat they gave out. They gave the Administration notice of what they intended. Three months before, we had on our tables these documents, accompanied by all this proof. The people besought the Executive to interpose the strong arm of the General Government, to save their wives and children from destruction, but he turned coldly upon them. The South sent men there, armed—not emigrants, with an honest purpose of settlement, but apparently for no other purpose than to fight the sectional battles of Missouri against the rights of the settlers. When these things were done, you find the Executive of this Government mustering into service, as constables and magistrates, and arming with Government arms, this crew from the South, to let loose upon the devoted inhabitants. Robbery, murder, rape, arson—all these crimes stain the garments of this Administration. The blood of my countrymen is on their skirts. I say it fearlessly. I know it is a high impeachment that I make against the President; but it is true and it will stare him in the face on the last day. It is true, that the Executive arm of the Government was used to prostrate innocent men, women and children, in the Territory of Kansas—to burn, rob and destroy the American citizens—despoil him of his rights, and drive him from his settlement. All the noted men who in this extremity asserted

their manhood, and interposed courageously between the defenceless people and those who sought their destruction, have been driven and hunted out of the Territory, as though they were wild beasts. Many of them are in prison, under mock process of law, to wait a mock trial, and perhaps, yield up their lives a sacrifice on the altar of Liberty.

This is faintly the condition to which you have brought the country. In four short years, this prosperous Republic—the pride and glory of the world—has come down to robbery, rape, arson, and murder of its own citizens! Does any man suppose that the people of the North will rest quietly under this? Gentlemen of the South, do you suppose that you are going to force slavery into Kansas? You have some reason to think that we are cowards—I know we have given you too much reason to believe so—but you will find, after all, that there is a remnant of the blood of Bunker Hill yet running in the veins of Northern men. When driven to the wall, they will rise in behalf of their slaughtered kinsmen, and prevent those who committed these deeds of atrocity from taking the benefit of their nefarious acts. I say it not by way of threat, but in vindication of that section to which I belong. You have driven us to the wall, not to turn would be dishonor, shame, slavery, and death. You have forced the issue upon us. We must turn and resist these aggressions, or lie down and be willing slaves.

My colleague and the Senator from Illinois took much time to show that at all events the majority of the Legislature had not been impeached by evidence of fraud; and although it is as plain as the noonday sun, that this quorum turned out all those legally elected and put in their old repudiated associates without color of right, a *criticorum* principle came to and Liberty must be trampled under foot! The documents furnished by the Executive show that bands of armed men came

Continued to-morrow.

August 1, 1856.

1850. On the first day of the session, a Senator from Mississippi, and now a member of the Senate, (Mr. Pickens,) introduced a string of resolutions, afterwards known as the "Compromise Measures" of the pious Congress were to be deemed and taken by the American people to have final settlement and adjustment of the difficult and dangerous questions in dispute between the different sections and different institutions of our beloved country. It seemed to me, at the time, to be exceedingly absurd to suppose that a resolution was paramount to law, and that any such resolutions could be introduced from the passage of a mere ordinary constitutional act, unless it was urged that the law, with great consequence and solemnity, should be made to yield to a resolution. I have not time to go into the details of the proceedings of the day, but I will say that I was deeply impressed by the noble and patriotic spirit which pervaded the assembly. I felt that the great principles of the Constitution were being defended, and that the Union was being preserved. I felt that the people were being educated, and that the future of the country was being secured. I felt that the great principles of the Constitution were being defended, and that the Union was being preserved. I felt that the people were being educated, and that the future of the country was being secured.

... I have not time to go into the details of the proceedings of the day, but I will say that I was deeply impressed by the noble and patriotic spirit which pervaded the assembly. I felt that the great principles of the Constitution were being defended, and that the Union was being preserved. I felt that the people were being educated, and that the future of the country was being secured. I felt that the great principles of the Constitution were being defended, and that the Union was being preserved. I felt that the people were being educated, and that the future of the country was being secured.

ing that, by the providence of God, that which is not a subject for argument. If this were not the case, it would seem to be the duty of every citizen to take up arms and defend the Constitution. I feel that the people are being educated, and that the future of the country is being secured. I feel that the great principles of the Constitution are being defended, and that the Union is being preserved. I feel that the people are being educated, and that the future of the country is being secured.

... I feel that the great principles of the Constitution are being defended, and that the Union is being preserved. I feel that the people are being educated, and that the future of the country is being secured. I feel that the great principles of the Constitution are being defended, and that the Union is being preserved. I feel that the people are being educated, and that the future of the country is being secured. I feel that the great principles of the Constitution are being defended, and that the Union is being preserved. I feel that the people are being educated, and that the future of the country is being secured.

most, protracted & agonized in spirit when they found that their resolutions to abolish this accursed traffic could not, for some insuperable reason, be accomplished.— They then, in your case, General, in this Republic, voted, &c. I hold in greater estimation your vote of about a Jefferson. He was a weakness of human nature, for which I can excuse him. Some say that he used means for the attainment of power which were not entirely pious. This may have been the case of some of his early acts, when he attained a position which gave to him the power to do right; there was no man of whom I know that ever labored with more disinterested zeal for the accomplishment of that which I regard every body to acknowledge, than Thomas Jefferson. I speak of him particularly, because he was a resident of a slave State; was born in a region where the institution prevailed; his gentleness, force, was educated, and naturally, as far as a man could be educated, to believe it to be right; and yet his whole energy bore witness that it was all wrong. He succeeded where three seventy years ago he had sought, that the Almighty would bestow on him a heavy burden because we were unwilling to abandon this institution. We profess to be true to-day, for the shadow of this sacred institution is the only thing that endures in this great Republic, and most of our present national government as yet a prominent shadow were not of the way, if the Republic were on either side of Mason and Dixon's line, what would there be to Richard and his kind of any patriot?— But let us not discuss the form of States, founded upon the principles of equality, justice, and republicanism, might endure forever; but if a dark cloud intervenes and obstructs its progress, whether it will soon pass away, I cannot tell.

If this institution were confined to the State which introduced it, I would say that I had no objection to it in a State of this Union than in Algiers, in Russia, or in Turkey, or anywhere else. In general, I deplore the tyranny and oppression of man every where; but it is not for me to redress their injuries within those jurisdictions where I am deprived of the right of using an influence. When it is sought to introduce it into Territories under the jurisdiction of the General Government, you make me responsible for it. When you ask my vote to endeavor to carry your institution into free territory, where it does not exist, where it is within the entire control of the General Government, you invoke my aid to plant anew this accursed institution there. You cannot have it.— There I will resist you to the death. Take it out of my jurisdiction, or I will exert every faculty of my mind to destroy it. I cannot by any act of mine ever acknowledge the right of any man to be a master or a slave.

The Senator from Kentucky [Mr. Thompson] asked us yesterday what we meant by the slave power? He looked around with an air of triumph, as if he had found a slang phrase and a really neat thing. He asked us to tell what we meant by the slave power, which he heard so much talk of. He explained it to us in the next breath, for he meant to tell us that in the slave States not one fifth of the white inhabitants own slaves. If he had said no tenth, he would have been nearer right; but, taking his own admission, not more than one fifth of the entire free population of the Southern States have any interest in the institution of Slave-

ry. What are we to infer from that? By the slave power, I mean that power which rules and dominates over four fifths of the people of the South, which rules them with a rod of iron, which gags the press; which stifles the liberty of speech; which makes it dangerous even for you, men of the South, to go home and proclaim the doctrines of the Declaration of Independence, though you may believe in those doctrines in your hearts. You dare not do it. I do not believe you for

such laws; and the man who thinks they are necessary has ceased to appreciate the real feelings of a freeman. Why sir, you cannot take the Declaration of Independence into Kansas without being obnoxious to the enactment to which I have alluded; for what document would be more likely to stir up the blood of servitude than that glorious old Declaration? Let it ring in the ear of the slave, that all men, he included, are created equal, and have certain inalienable rights, given by God; which cannot be transgressed without high crime and wrong; and where would you find a document so well calculated to bring a man within the penalties of this law?

There is another one, of like import, that no man shall, by word or writing, say that men have not the right to bring slaves into the Territory, without liability of imprisonment. I have inspected that law; and, bad as it is, before heaven, as a lawyer, I declare, that I do not believe there is any color of right for a man going into the Territory with a slave. For saying this in Kansas, which I can say here with impunity, I should receive two years in the penitentiary, and as much more as your beautiful judges there might choose to give. This law is sustained by your chieftains of Democracy, leaders in Israel. Is this Democracy?

Mr. President, I have detained the Senate much longer than I intended. I am sorry to be compelled to differ from my colleague on these subjects. I am exceedingly sorry that, with a full knowledge of the views of three fourths of the people of Ohio, whom he represents, whose sovereignty he stands here to defend, he should think it to be his duty to go directly in the teeth of the instructions given by the legislature. They believed they had the right to instruct him, when they were sustained by an overwhelming majority of the people. However that may be, it is a matter which must be left to himself; for, after all, a man's judgment must be his guide. I can find no fault with it; but I regret that it should happen, because I am too much of a Democrat to believe that a man, with a deliberate knowledge of what is required at his hands by his constituents, would turn around, and, instead of obeying their behests, reprove them for what they have done.

Mr. President, I have but a few words to say in relation to the bill last reported to the Committee on Territories. It is a total surrender of the principles of the Kansas bill. It seems to admit, immediately, an epurious character of the Kansas law. It no longer insists that there must be a sufficient number of inhabitants enough in the territory for a representative in Congress, before it can be admitted as a State. It also seems to have repudiated the principle of squatter sovereignty.

But my objection to it is twofold. It proposes to begin immediately to organize the Territory, under all the disadvantages consequent upon the late acts of violence there.— In the first place, we have seen that the Free

State population have been conquered and subdued by the Border Ruffians, aided by the Federal Executive. They have been plundered of their property; their houses burned; and many of them have been murdered; and all disarmed; the leading men in prison, under false charges, or driven from the Territory. Therefore, to take the census now, and get up a convention, would be only carrying out the plan of those who have conspired to make that Territory a slave State. And even now, conquered and disheartened as the free State men are, even if an honest attempt were made, under such circumstances, to get up a convention it would result in a triumph of the conquerors; and I fear that a knowledge of this has led to this change of policy on the part of the committee.

But the bill puts the whole power of organizing the Territory into the hands of five commissioners, to be appointed by the President. That is enough for me to know. No one doubts that the President would appoint Atchison, Stringfellow, and their associates, or men of the same principles. At all events, no man who has the least regard for the rights or dignity of the free States at heart, will consent to put Liberty under the guardianship of our present President. It would be to make Kansas a slave State without a struggle, and to give the robbers, plunderers, and conquerors of Kansas, the full benefit of the war they have so unjustly waged against the rights of Freedom. For one, I will never submit the fate of Kansas to a contingency.—She must be a free State. Before they were conquered, the Free State men, and all others, met in fair convention, and made a free Constitution. It was their fair expression of the will of the people by a vast majority, and under it Kansas should be admitted as a free State into the Union; and nothing less than this should satisfy the people of Kansas or the free States.

And no reason exists now why all should not vote for their admission. The old plea was, that there were not a sufficient number of inhabitants. This is now given up. In short, this last bill of the committee will surrender the Territory, bound hand and foot, into the hands of the slaveholders, give the Border Ruffians the benefit of their crimes, and certainly make a slave State of Kansas. I, for one, will never submit to it; let the Territory rather go back into the hands of the savages. I shall therefore vote against this bill, and in favor of the Constitution. It can be admitted in an hour, as a free State, and then all will be peace; or the Territory may be kept in a state of turmoil, bloodshed, and civil war, for a time longer, in the vain hope that it will yet be made a slave State. Mr. President, I hope that the effectual and peaceable remedy will prevail.

*Durham V. Free Press
July 20, 1856.*

Kansas.

A citizen of New York, who has just returned from Kansas, gives us some interesting details of the present utter prostration of the Free State people in all the Eastern or populous portion of the Territory. While no Free State man can pass up the Missouri River and enter Kansas without peril to his life—in fact, cannot, it known to be Free State, enter Kansas through Missouri at all—the Pro-Slavery party are pouring in all they can influence, under the expectation that Toombs and Douglas's bill will be crowded through the

House, and that they will soon have a legal opportunity to make Kansas a Slave State, by fair or foul means. The following exhortation is placarded throughout Western Missouri:

KANSAS TO BE MADE A STATE.

MISSOURIANS DO YOUR DUTY!

It may be regarded as certain that the bill to organize a State Constitution in Kansas will, if it has not already become a law, it has passed the Senate, and will pass the House.

By this bill all who are residents of Kansas on the 1st of August will be entitled to vote at the election on the 1st Monday in November, when the destiny of Kansas will be fixed forever.

Every Abolitionist that can be hired will be there. Will Missourians be there to meet them?

It is your duty to move at once—make yourselves settlers—get the right to vote—and you will thus secure to all honest men the right to live in Kansas or Missouri.

If Abolitionists from spite, without any personal interest at stake, can come from Boston will not Missourians who have their all at stake, be willing to change their neighborhood, for this is all you do in moving to Kansas.

You have the right to go—it is your duty to go—your interests prompt you to go—your very necessity compels you to go!

Go then at once—be there as settlers—be there to be enrolled—be there to vote, and thus save yourself and your country.

We are glad to see all around us preparing to move. Knowing that the day for the final struggle has come, they do not hold back. Let others do their duty and we are saved!

—While the "Southern Brigade" is overhauling every upward-going steamboat and forcing back all whom they call "Abolitionists"—that is, all who are in favor of making Kansas a Free State—and Southern bullies, armed to the teeth, in squads are patrolling all the Eastern part of the Territory, overhauling, abusing, plundering and (if resisted) murdering. The Free State men creep about unarmed and spirit-broken, and are leaving the Territory by scores. They have appealed to Gen. Persifer F. Smith, and he tells them he can grant no escorts that he cannot guarantee them safety, and if they unite to protect themselves, he shall be obliged by his orders, to disarm and disperse them. Their condition is much altered for the worse since he superseded Sumner as commandant in Kansas.

The purposes to which we propose to apply our funds, are set forth in our address of July 12th. We would add here, that we feel confident we can appropriate all the money we receive with good effect, and that we can greatly aid the cause of freedom in Kansas, if the people of Middlesex will furnish us with the means of action.

- JOHN NESMITH,
- ADDITION FLINT,
- JESSE A. LOCKE,
- BENJ. HINKLEY,
- C. C. ESTY,
- C. HAMMOND,

Kansas Aid Committee for Middlesex Co.

T. E. SANBORN, Sec'y,
Jas. HUNNEWELL, Treasurer, 25 Commercial Wharf,
Boston.

As many of the towns in our county have no organization in aid of Kansas, and in others, the town committees have not yet cooperated with us, we would offer the following suggestions to the friends of Free Kansas in the town's of Middlesex.

- 1st. If possible, hold a public meeting in your town, to awaken an interest in the matter, to choose a town committee and start a subscription.
- 2nd. Let the committee thus chosen see that the subscription paper thus started, is circulated by judicious persons, either men or women, throughout the whole town, so that every family may have an opportunity to contribute.
- 3rd. Let the money subscribed, be collected as soon as possible, and sent to our Treasurer, if it is judged best by the town committee to send it to us; and at the same time, a statement of the amount raised, and the purposes for which it was raised, should be sent to our Secretary.
- 4th. If a meeting cannot be held, some individual should see that a subscription paper is circulated throughout the town, and the contributions sent to our Treasurer, or to some other committee.

End of
WEBB SCRAP BOOK
Vol. 14