

Vol. 15

WEBB SCRAP BOOK
July-Aug. 1856

WASHINGTON, July 6th, 1856.

To the Editor of the Missouri Republican:

Sir: In the turn of excitement attending the Kansas question in both houses of Congress the enclosed bill for the survey of the Southern boundary of that Territory, has been passed so quietly as to attract but little attention. It does not appear to have been published in the proceedings of Congress, nor in any of the newspapers that have come under my observation. Presuming, therefore, that you may not have a copy to lay before your readers, I take the liberty of sending one. We are chiefly indebted to the Hon. Mr. PHELPS for its prompt passage, as he gave it his special attention, and, I believe, introduced it.

It has been brought forward very opportunely. As a mere political question, the establishment of this line may at no very remote day, become important to the whole Union. That of 36 deg. 30 or the "Missouri Compromise," notwithstanding the efforts of certain parties to renege it, may now be considered as obsolete, dead, and beyond all hopes of restoration as a great political boundary. If the bill which has just passed the Senate for the organization of the State of Kansas, shall receive the approbation of the other House of Congress and the President—which seems highly probable—and the people decide to come in as a free State, (which, again parenthetically, is not here believed very probable) then at least to a certain extent, this Southern line of Kansas will become a substitute for the obsolete Missouri Compromise line.—With this difference, however, that, whilst the one was confessedly extra-constitutional, and in the hands of politicians exceedingly elastic, the other will be conformable to the requirements of this instrument only so far as the boundary of this new State extends, and no further. If the people even decide in favor of "Free State," an important constitutional point will be gained; that is the right of the people in any part of the territory of the United States, to decide the question of slavery for themselves without regard to any geographical or imaginary political line. The last nail will be driven into the coffin of the Missouri Compromise! and its defunct remains may then be deposited without hope of resurrection, in the "tomb of all the Capulets." Under these circumstances then, and contemplating the result of the Kansas question when submitted to her people in the most approvable point of view, it is important to have this line surveyed and established at the earliest possible moment, thereby fixing it physically on the face of the earth and mentally in the heads of the people.

Beyond this Missouri has a local interest in the immediate survey and exploration of this line. The point at which it departs from the western boundary of this State, is near the termination of the southwestern branch of our Pacific Railroad. From this point the parallel of 37 degrees north—the boundary line—passes until it reaches the usual road of travel from Missouri to Santa Fe, through a region of country which has never yet been thoroughly explored. Traders, hunters and others, upon whom we are at present obliged to rely for the little information we have of it, represent it generally as a fine level country, well watered and timbered; as well adapted to agricultural purposes as any portion of Kansas Territory, and we may infer, consequently, as appropriate for the location of the great Pacific Road as any of the routes that have heretofore been explored. It undoubtedly abounds in coal, as the same coal lay is known to exist in Kansas, and extends south of this boundary line. In the vicinity of where this line must cross the Arkansas river, is an extensive salt plain, where this material exists—there is no doubt from the representation of reliable persons who have visited this region—in inexhaustible quantities, and under circumstances highly favorable for obtaining it more advantageously for the supply of the West generally, but Missouri particularly, and of a better quality than that now in general use among us.

Looking at the explorations of our Western territory, made under the authority of the Government of the United States, it would seem as if the region of country for several hundred miles West of the State of Missouri, through which this line will pass, had been studiously avoided. Almost every portion of this territory from the coast of the Gulf of Mexico to the Canadian fork of the Arkansas, and all that lying North of the Kansas river to the British possessions,

has been explored by the officers of the United States army and others, and their results published by Congress. But between the Canadian fork and the Kansas, extending as far west as the head of Cimarrone, there is an area nearly or quite as large as the entire State of Missouri, into which it is believed not a single exploration on the part of the Government has been made, and of whose geography we are as little informed as we are of the Great Basin between the Sierra Nevada and the Rocky Mountains. Very recently a large company of explorers, in search of reported gold mines, were lost in this region, and for a considerable time the most serious apprehensions existed for their safety. Whether these reported gold mines do or do not exist, is yet an unsettled question. Our present ignorance of this country is so great we scarcely know the number or names of many of the principal streams flowing through it. On some of our most recent maps the course of the Cimarrone, one of the largest of these, is laid down doubtfully.

This failure to investigate so important a portion of our public domain has probably been accidental, but an opportunity will now, in connection with the survey, be presented, which, it is to be hoped, will not be neglected. It is understood that Mr. PHELPS is very anxious it should be done. This Honorable gentleman, as may be seen by the current reports of the proceedings of Congress, though one of the most attentive members to everything relating to the general interest of the country, does not neglect the local interests of his State or constituents. He is esteemed one of the most industrious, intelligent and useful members of the House. His constituents have cause to be proud of him, and it is confidently expected they will give him in August a flattering testimonial of their approbation. He deserves to have, and we have every reason to believe has, the entire confidence of the Administration, and will no doubt use it to every proper extent to have the survey and exploration made on the most liberal scale.

A MISSOURIAN IN WASHINGTON.

AN ACT to authorize the President of the United States to cause the Southern boundary line of Kansas Territory to be surveyed and marked.
Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President of the United States is hereby authorized and directed to cause the Southern boundary line of the Territory of Kansas, between the State of Missouri and the Territory of New Mexico, to be surveyed and distinctly marked, and a plat of said survey shall be deposited in the office of the Secretary of the Interior, and another plat of said survey shall be deposited in the office of the Secretary of the Territory of Kansas.

PUBLIC MEETING IN LECOMPTON.

At a meeting of the citizens of Lecompton, held at Kendall's Hall, Thursday evening, June 26, 1856, Col. Ely Moore, formerly of New York, was called on the Chair, and Col. Wm. I. Preston, formerly of Richmond, Va., was appointed Secretary.

The Chairman explained in a few happy and pertinent remarks, the objects of the meeting, being to take proper steps in regard to the emigration of permanent law and order settlers in the Territory—the meeting being specially called on account of a letter received by Dr. Rodrigue, from his brother residing in New York, inquiring into the expediency and policy of bringing out four or five hundred men, who would become bona fide settlers, with pro-slavery tendencies, and as to the probable chance of obtaining claims for these men. The Chairman, in the course of his remarks, amidst applause, spoke of the conservatism among the true Democracy of the North, and that they would ever be found shoulder to shoulder with the South upon the great principle of non interference in the domestic institutions of the States or Territories.

On motion of Col. H. T. Titus, it was resolved that a committee of five be appointed to prepare suitable resolutions expressive of the sense of the citizens of Lecompton in regard to the queries of Mr. Rodrigue. The following gentlemen were appointed said committee: Col. H. T. Titus, A. P. Walker, W. H. Clowes, J. C. Thompson, and Dr. B. C. Brooke, who, after retiring a few moments, reported the following preamble and resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:

Whereas, We have received reliable information that a large number of conservative State rights men residing in the city of New York, and its vicinity, have expressed a desire to emigrate to Kansas and assist us in sustaining the laws of the Territory and shaping our institutions, provided they can be assured that they will be able to find permanent homes in our midst and meet with a generous welcome from the law and order party of the Territory; therefore,

Resolved, That we the citizens of Lecompton have received this intelligence with unfeigned satisfaction, and will extend to any such a most cordial and heartfelt welcome, and will do all that lays in our power to assist them in selecting desirable locations, and will render them such other service as may be conducive to their welfare and comfort.

Resolved, That we hail this movement on the part

of the conservative men of the North, which augurs the future success and triumph of the "law and order party" of the Territory, and receive it as an endorsement of our present position and previous course.

The most enthusiastic spirit prevailed, and speeches expressive of their satisfaction at this demonstration of conservatism on the part of the North were made by the Chairman, Col. Titus, Mr. Clowes, Mr. Thompson, Mr. Walker, Col. Preston and Col. Woodson, at the call of the meeting.

On motion, resolved that the proceedings of this meeting be published in the Lecompton Union, the Missouri Republican, N. Y. Day Book, and all papers friendly to the cause be requested to copy.

On motion, the meeting then adjourned.

W. I. PRESTON, Sec'y.

THE EVENING NEWS

Saint Louis:

THURSDAY EVENING JULY 17, 1856.

A Losing Business.

Kansas speculators, into which Northern and Southern sharpers invested such a deal of money, with the confident expectation of making several hundred per cent. profit on the investments, have turned out unfortunate. The losses sustained by the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company by the destruction of property at Lawrence, by the flight from the Territory of its emigrants without making entries of land, and by the return of those companies which were disarmed on the Missouri river, have already been made the subject of complaint. Southern speculators have met with no better success, as Major Buford, if reports be correct, is able to testify.

This gentleman sold his plantation in Alabama, and invested the proceeds, amounting to something like \$50,000, in the glorious but unpaying business of making Kansas a slave State. He collected a company of nearly three hundred men, whose expenses to the Territory he paid, having first entered into written agreements with each member, individually, by the terms of which his men were to preempt a claim of land in Kansas, and mortgage it to their commander, to secure the money he had advanced to them. All promised well, and Major Buford flattered himself with the prospect that his Alabama plantation would be the means of securing to him a hundred or more Kansas farms, worth a dozen times as much as the one he parted with. But he soon found that going to distant Territories to maintain the rights of the South is not just what it seems to be. Major Buford passed through this city, not long ago, on his way to Alabama, and it is said that he is so disgusted with the Kansas business that he will have nothing more to do with it. He tried to get his men to settle on preemption claims, become steady citizens, so as to secure him for the sums of money he had paid out for them. But the men could not be induced to do it. They preferred roving over the country in organized bands depending on their too hospitable friends in Kansas and Missouri for the means of support. These friends are becoming tired of them and no doubt desire their departure. They have done nothing for themselves, nothing for their commander, and nothing for the cause of the South, in Kansas.

KANSAS STATE
HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

2 U-FORTUNATE INVESTMENT.—The Boston Courier referring to the last clerical appeal in aid of Kansas, signed by seventeen Boston clergymen, says:

Similar papers, however, have floated through the country previously, which were set on foot by the same sort of people who have this contribution in hand, and who never made any returns to the subscribers with regard to the disposition of their funds. No man can tell what became of the famous Sievegood investment. The Kansas fund raised in the United States was a large one—those who paid their money for this purpose had very had some pieces of printed paper in return, but they never received any dividend, morally or pecuniarily, from the outlay. "Riches take wings and fly away" says the proverb, which was most excellently exemplified by the Irish and Hungarian delusions. The Kansas call follows them; and those who give their money towards it literally "cast it upon the waters."

CAN THESE THINGS BE TRUE?—We learn that a man by the name of Smith, who has been living in this city for twelve or eighteen months, has been for a week past, kept in confinement as a prisoner some place near the Wayne City Landing, without any process of law. The charges against Smith are, we learn, that he is a Freesoiler. He has in this city a wife and several small children, his wife and three children quite sick, and one of them has not been expected to live for some days; his family is in destitution and no one to furnish them with comforts. What is intended to be done with him we have not learned. What good can result from keeping a man in confinement, not permitting him either to see his family or leave the country—for we learn that he is willing to emigrate, but has not the means. One gentleman, who is very indignant at the thought of proscribing people for opinions sake, insisted on hanging Smith for being a Freesoiler, but the others present would not permit it.—[Independence Messenger.

THE DAILY SENTINEL.

RUFUS KING & WM. H. WATSON,
PROPRIETORS.

Under the Name and Firm of Rufus King & Co.

MILWAUKEE:

Thursday Morning, July 17.

The Fourth of July at Topeka.

Legislature Dispersed by U. S. Troops.

CROMWELL, NAPOLEON—& F. PIERCE.

Swords drawn, Fuses Lit, and Cannon loaded.

Over Four Hundred Dragoons in the Field.

TOPEKA, July 4, 1856—11 P. M.

To the Editors of the Chicago Tribune:—

Naturally a more beautiful, politically a more important day, never rose in Kansas than the present Fourth of July.

Cannon in the camp of the cavalry announced its advent.

Yesterday afternoon, and during the night, the Free State men received accessions to their strength.

About eight hundred men were in the city this morning. Of this number, five hundred, at least, had arms and were drilled.

Flags floated in the breeze from every public building and in front of every tent.

Five companies of dragoons under Col. Sumner were encamped southeast of the town, and five companies from Fort Riley, under Major Merrill, on the opposite side of the river, about two miles northwest of Constitution Hall.

The Mass Convention met at eight o'clock. Speeches were delivered by Col. Phillips, Judge Wakefield, Col. Allen, Judge Schuyler, Rev. Pardee Butler, Mr. Chapman, Mr. Collyer, Mr. Wm. Hutchinson, Mr. Samuel C. Smith, Mr. Watson, of Leavenworth, and others.

The subject of debate was the propriety of the Legislature convening notwithstanding the in-

terruption received from Col. Sumner that we would disperse that bod at all hazards.

We had a clique of Buchanan intriguers in the Convention, who were endeavoring to induce it to pass resolutions by which the Democracy might be saved from defeat at the approaching Presidential election.

For this purpose they privately spoke with approbation of Toombs of Georgia's bill, and various other measures proposed or contemplated by prominent Democrats. They contended that, as it was evident the South was backing down, we ought not to pass any resolutions by which our friends in Congress would be prevented from agreeing on a compromise measure—the repeal, for example, of the Shawnee Code and Free State Constitution both. But they soon found out that no such measure would be tolerated for a moment; that the people were in living earnest, and would repudiate the Republicans as willingly as they denounced the Democracy, if our party consented to make any compromise with our enemies. They held that as we have a majority in the House, and can therefore stare the Senate and Executive into a compliance with their party demands. Any compromise with the Propagandists would at once disgrace us, and perpetuate anarchy in Kansas.

Seward's Bill—that and nothing else, they are willing to accept. Every attempt to pass any resolution, contemplating another election, another Constitution, or another Territorial Government was unanimously voted down.

The proposition to stop the supplies was very popular.

They are as confident that the Republicans will refuse to pass any Appropriation Bills until Kansas is admitted, as they are that slavery will never be extended over another inch of National Territory.

About ten o'clock, a gentleman moved that the business of the Convention be temporarily suspended for the purpose of listening to a proclamation from Marshal Donelson, of "Et Cetera," celebrity.

The motion was adopted and the great &cist mounted the platform.

He is a tall, lanky gentleman of forty-five or fifty years, with a fair complexion, iron-grey whiskers, and imbecile looking eyes. He was dressed in jean pants, vest and coat, and wore a "shocking bad" and very dirty straw hat.

He said, as any judge of human nature could easily see, that he was not good at speaking, and called on Judge Elmore to read the Proclamation.

Judge Elmore rose and took out the official parchment. He read the Proclamation of Franklin Pierce, "President of the Southern portion of the United States," issued in February last; then the proclamation of Wilson Shannon, the son of Lecompton, who threatened to cut a woman's heart out,—published a month ago—thirdly, another proclamation dated July 4th, issued by Daniel Woodson, Secretary of the Territory and acting Governor, and lastly a note from Col. Sumner, addressed to the Legislature, announcing his determination to execute the command of Woodson—for the Legislature to disperse—"at all hazards."

There was only one copy of Woodson's proclamation and Sumner's note permitted to be taken, and a gentleman carried it off before any of the reporters could transcribe it. It will be published.

As soon as the proclamations were read, the business of the Convention was resumed as if no interruption had occurred.

Marshal Donelson remained. He looked as a countryman looks at a railroad for the first time—utterly amazed, apparently; at the conduct and coolness of the Convention.

He left! On reaching the camp he told the officers there must be a fight.

Col. Sumner, excited by the news, ordered his men to prepare for battle.

Two field-pieces were charged with grape shot and the dragoons loaded their carbines and revolvers.

Shortly afterwards they were ordered to march.

The Convention was informed of the fact as soon as they began to move, but proceeded quietly with its business, and continued to discuss the resolution before it, even after it was surrounded by the troops.

As Col. Sumner, riding at the head of his men—about two hundred—turned round the Garvey House, and entered Kansas Avenue, Company G, Topeka Guards, under Messrs. Mitchell and Haynes, were drawn up in front of Constitutional Hall, for the purpose of being presented with a banner by the ladies of the city.

Col. Sumner, both by his manner and tone,

indicated that he was determined to obey orders, and expected to fight.

Several of the officers and men have informed us that such was the expectation of every soldier when they entered the town.

Col. Sumner, by a series of rapid movements, stationed his men, with admirable skill, in 3 divisions—one drawn up in front of Constitutional Hall; another in line with it, but further up the street; a third several paces back and between the first and third divisions.

There was no intention of resisting the United States troops; and therefore the Colonel could easily station his forces in the most formidable position. If the people had intended to fight him, he never would have been permitted to enter Topeka.

The drummer of Company G, Topeka Guards, was beating when the troops entered town. He kept on, and the company stood firm, even when the dragoons were riding toward them.

The drummer plied his sticks regularly until the heads of the horses of the first file touched him. He made one step forward and then stood still.

So with the others, none moved till the horses of the troops could go no further without stepping on them, and then they made only one step forward, and immediately "dressed left."

Col. Sumner looked at them half angrily, half admiringly. The drummer still kept on and did not desist until requested to do so by the Colonel.

On the banner of the company the ladies had inscribed—

"OUR LIVES FOR OUR RIGHTS."

As soon as the troops were stationed, a committee, appointed by the Convention, waited on Col. Sumner and informed him that the citizens had no intention of resisting the United States troops, and asked him whether he proposed to disarm them, or disperse the Convention.

If he had attempted to do either he would have been resisted by the Free State men.

As he was entering the town, some one moved that the companies lay down their arms and parade without them.

Mr. Watson, of Leavenworth, said—

"Gentlemen—In every city in the United States to-day companies of armed men are parading. We have the same right to carry arms that they have.

"If Col. Sumner attempts to disarm these companies, he supersedes his authority, and does so at his peril. I shall stand among the boys."

This brief speech was loudly cheered.

To return. Col. Sumner replied that he did not intend to break up the Convention or disarm the volunteers; he had come there to prevent the Legislature from convening, and would do so if they attempted to assemble, but if they did not, he would remain in town till after twelve—the hour to which the Legislature had adjourned—and then return to his camp.

Three cheers were proposed and given to Col. Sumner.

I didn't see exactly what this waste of breath was for, and proposed three cheers for Governor Robinson—a man, in my opinion, more deserving of the honor. They were given with the wildest enthusiasm—the boys waving their hats and cheering in front of the armed "instruments" of the Slave Power. One of the officers, a Pro-Slavery man, looked concentrated razors at me for so doing; but after casting a few essence-of-meat-axe glances at him he finally bestowed his eyes on other individuals.

Three cheers were proposed and given for Freedom in Kansas.

Col. Sumner dismounted and entered the chamber of the House of Representatives.

He was very much agitated. The man appeared to be ashamed of the soldier. Col. Sumner is a true gentleman; but he is the tool of Pierce—and is he not to be pitied? I would have given three tears for him if I had the feminine accomplishment of producing salt water at pleasure; but to the servant of F. Pierce—no, by Jove, no cheers.

Mrs. Gaines of Lawrence, and another lady went up to Sumner and extended their "snowy digits."

"How do you do, Col. Sumner," said the ladies.

He took each of them by the hand, and said in a confused tone—

"Ladies, I am sorry to interrupt you; but I must attend to my duty."

"Stop, Colonel," said one of the ladies, as he was going off, "these gentlemen (pointing to the Topeka Guards) met here to receive a banner from the ladies of Topeka, on the day of our would-be-independence."

"You shall be independent," said the soldier as he suddenly left them.

D. S. MORRISON & CO. PROPRIETORS.
D. S. MORRISON—EDITOR.

THURSDAY EVENING, JULY 17.

For the Republican.
THE FIRST EPISTLE OF STEPHEN, THE
APOSTLE OF THE NEBRASKAITES, TO
JAMES.

- 1st. Forasmuch, my brother in the faith, as it has pleased our Council to name thee for the office of chief ruler of the Americans.
- 2nd. Whereat I am deeply grieved—
- 3rd. And sorely disappointed—
- 4th. And terribly crestfallen—
- 5th. And awfully riled—
- 6th. And d—d mad.
- 7th. My dear brother in the faith, I conjure thee to hold fast the covenant thou hast made with the Nebraskaites.
- 8th. For indeed thou art one of us, who are of the tribe of David, who is chief of those who go forth to lay waste the cities of the Yankees.
- 9th. For behold the Yankees are an abomination in the sight of the Lord.
- 10th. They do not crave to become servants as becometh them in the sight of the Lord.
- 11th. Yea, they do not desire to become slaves unto David and his goodly hosts.
- 12th. Yea, and they are fully occupying the land with their cunning workmen in iron and in brass, in gold and in precious stones, in wood and in clay, and the soil of this goodly land are they tilling and taking the fruits thereof.
- 13th. These things are an abomination in the sight of the Lord, for behold I had made a covenant with David that the Land of Kansas should be an inheritance for him and his servants.
- 14th. Which covenant these Yankees have well nigh destroyed.
- 15th. Therefore, I charge thee James if thou shouldst become the chief ruler, I charge thee in the fear of the Lord to remember my instructions.
- 16th. Gird on thy armor and go forth, or send thy valliant captains and their hosts, and altogether subdue the land of Kansas.
- 17h. For it has become the home of Democrats.
- 18. Where Reader will not speak to the Yankees to turn them from the errors of their ways.
- 19. And where Lane will not turn according to the command of David.
- 20th. Where Baford, that man of God is treated with scorn, yea, and where his mighty men in the spirit are spat upon.
- 21st. For the land of Kansas must be the place of habitation of the sons of Ham.
- 22nd. Appoint one Brooks who stand high in our synagoga, and strove mightily to slay a Yankee as a leading captain.
- 23 d. Appoint one Herbert who feareth the Lord and eschewing the evil as a leading captain for he did say a son of Erin who was an abomination in the sight of the Lord.
- 24. Command me to those brethren who deal in strong drinks, for they are the tra-

He evidently saw at once the full enormity of the orders he had been compelled to obey; and how odious his act, even although unwillingly executed, would appear in the annals of American history.

He mounted his horse and gave orders to march.

Three cheers were given for Col. Sumner, as he put his foot in the stirrup, in order to convince him that, although the people allowed the act he had committed, they did not regard him as responsible for it.

"Forward!—March!" shouted the officer, in a strong, ringing, but agitated voice.

"Three cheers for John C. Fremont!" cried a voice in the crowd.

Three loud, prolonged and enthusiastic cheers were given for the Republican candidate.

The troops heard it, and I saw the Free State officers smile, as they rode along.

"Three groans for Franklin Pierce!" cried another squatter.

An effort was made to suppress this demonstration of disrespect, lest the officers should suppose, as they were now some distance off, that it was intended for them.

But it was too late, and three heartily-given groans were heard in the streets.

I had forgotten to add that, as Sumner came out of the Constitutional Hall, a new American flag was hoisted over it.

Three cheers were given for the star-spangled banner.

The mail is preparing to start. I enclose a copy of a letter from Col. Sumner to a committee appointed by the Convention; the resolutions adopted by the People; a couple of speeches; a communication from the prisoners at Leecompton, and the Memorial to Congress.

The outrage I have endeavored to describe was perpetrated on the Fourth of July, by command of the President of the Democratic Party.

Respectfully yours,
JAMES REDPATH.

Dubuque Daily Tribune.

Thursday, July 17, 1856.

"George Law speaks out against the democratic ruffianism, which lords it over Congress and over Kansas—against the Pierce policy of making Kansas a slave State by the strong hand of "border ruffians," and against Mr. Buchanan, because he is pledged to the policy of Mr. Pierce. The great contractor has, to be sure, a good sized crew of his own to pick with Mr. Fillmore, concerning the affair of the teamship Crescent City; and it must be confessed, that in his plain statement of the case, the Know-Nothing Ex-President is placed in a somewhat ridiculous and contemptible light before the American people.

But upon the main question of his candidate for the White House, "Live Oak George" is particularly felicitous, and speaks the common inspiration which is moving the masses of the independent people for Fremont. He goes for Fremont, because he has done something for the country—has left his foot prints from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific—has done something in opening the track of empire westward, in conquering California, in securing it to the North, and in developing its fabulous riches for the benefit of the North, the South, and all mankind.

He prefers a man like this, in the prime of life, unfettered and fresh from the people, to any "old politician, with his hosts of dependents as seedy as himself." He pronounces Buchanan and Fillmore "old rones, who have lived upon Office, and have never done anything for the country." And is this not true? What is there to be remembered, in the public life of Mr. Fillmore, except his compulsory endorsement of the Compromise bills of '50? What great public act or measure is there on record especially identified with the name of Buchanan, except the "Ostend manifesto?" Men of this stamp, who live and grow fat upon office; who spend from thirty to forty years in the most conspicuous offices without leaving a distinguished mark, save their disparagement upon the journals of Congress, or the records of the Executive Government, are surely not the men for this active, bustling day. Such are the views and conclusions of "Live Oak George," who has no more respect for an "old fog" than for a line of old stages, where a double track railroad is wanted.

I don't see how it is possible in this conversation—but, as conversations with the fair sex are often pointless, I merely state it as one of the incidents of the day.

The Colonel entered the chamber of the House of Representatives—his sword hanging by his side—with a stern but agitated expression of countenance.

He went up to the platform. The chamber was densely crowded. A deep silence ensued, unbroken till the soldier entered into a private conversation with some gentlemen around him.

At noon, Samuel F. Tappan, Assistant Clerk, in the absence of the Speaker and Chief Clerk, called the House to order, and proceeded to call the roll of members, with as much coolness and regularity as if Col. Sumner had been at Leavenworth and Franklin Pierce a myth.

Twice the roll was called over. Caleb S. Pratt called it a third time. Seventeen members answered to their names.

There were thirty-four members in town, and as the people had decided that the Legislature should proceed, Mr. Tappan rose and ordered the Sergeant-at-Arms to go after absent members.

COL. SUMNER'S SPEECH.

Col. Sumner immediately rose from his seat, apparently much affected, and said:

"Gentlemen—I am called upon this day to perform the most painful duty of my life.

Under the authority of the President's proclamation, I am here to disperse this Legislature, and I therefore inform you that you cannot meet.

I, therefore, in accordance with my orders, command you to disperse.

God knows that I have no party feeling in this matter, and will have none as long as I hold my present position in Kansas.

I have just returned from the Borders, where I have been sending home companies of Missourians, and now I am ordered here to disperse you.

Such are my orders that you must disperse. I repeat that this is the most painful duty of my whole life—but you must disperse.

Judge Schuyler—Are we to understand that the Legislature is dispersed at the point of the bayonet?

Col. Sumner—I shall use all the forces under my command to carry out my orders.

Col. Sumner then sat down and the House and audience dispersed.

After the Chamber was cleared, the old soldier went out and mounted his horse.

A law and order man went up to him and suggested that the Senate should also be dispersed.

Col. Sumner dismounted and entered the Senate Chamber. He delivered nearly the same speech as he addressed to the House of Representatives.

The Senators stood in a semicircle before him; and the Chamber was densely crowded.

After Col. Sumner concluded his remarks, an unbroken silence prevailed.

Col. Sumner, feeling the embarrassment, said: "Gentlemen, do I understand that you consider yourselves dispersed?"

Mr. Thornton, of Topeka, President of the Senate, stepped forward and coolly replied: "I cannot answer, nor can any other member of the Senate. The Senate is not in session."

Col. Sumner felt that his situation was exceedingly embarrassing.

After reflecting for a few moments—his brows knit, his eyes cast on the ground—the Senate was addressed by Marshal Douelison, who said— "Gentlemen, I want a pledge from each of you that you will not assemble again; if you don't give it, I will arrest every member of the Senate.

This unparalleled impudence on the part of the Marshal was received with the silent contempt it deserved.

Who ever heard before of a conditional arrest? If the Marshal had writs to serve, it was his duty to execute them. He had none, and his threat was at once uncalled for, insulting and childish.

"Will the Colonel," asked Mr. Thornton, "give us time to converse, in order that the decision of the Senate may be known?"

Sumner answered—"No; my orders command me to prohibit you from convening. I must command you not to assemble, and the Senate must consider itself dispersed."

As Col. Sumner was coming down stairs, he recognized Col. Phillips, of the New York Tribune, and nodded to him.

"Colonel," said Phillips, "you have robbed Oliver Cromwell of his laurels."

Sumner did not speak, but the expression of his eye clearly indicated what he thought.

He looked startled at first, then serious, angry

24 servants of the Lord, and my prayer is, that I should be with them always.
 25th. Franklin has been sick for some weeks, but sends salutations.
 26th. That man of God, Butler, desires to be recommended to thee. Amen.
 July 14th, 1856. ANON.

THE GAZETTE.

ALFRED SANDERS, Editor.

CITY OF DAVENPORT:
 THURSDAY MORNING, JULY 17, 1856.

KANSAS EMIGRANTS.—The Kansas emigrants from Chicago, who attempted to reach that territory via the Missouri river, but who were turned back by armed bands of Missouri ruffians, passed through our city early last week by a safer route to Kansas. Though we have many border Ruffians in principle in our State there are few who would go so far as to attempt to stay these men in peacefully passing through our State to their Western homes. The Iowa City *Republican* in speaking of this Chicago Company says, "If there was no danger that the sympathisers with the Border Ruffians, in this city, would feel shocked by the intelligence, we would mention that they are again provided with arms, and expect to reach Kansas, under circumstances that will prevent the exercise of the thieving propensities of their late assailants."

[For the Gazette.]

OUR COUNTRY'S CALL.

- I. Hear the Nation's call; freemen, one and all:
 Hear poor Kansas' earnest cry—
 See her bleeding land lift its beck'ning hand:
 Sons of freedom, come ye nigh.
 CHORUS: Chase the Ruffians from her shore,
 Let their cruel reign be o'er,
 Chase the Ruffians from her shore,
 Let their cruel reign be o'er.
- II. Leave the shop and farm, leave your bright hearths
 To the polls, our land to save, (warm,
 Front your leader be, true and noble, free,
 Fearless, temperate, good and brave.
 CHORUS: Chase the Ruffians, etc.
- III. Hail our Father Land here the people stand,
 All resolved, united now
 In the freeman's cause, ne'er to faint or pause,
 This our purpose is, and now.
 CHORUS: Chase the Ruffians from her shore,
 Let their cruel reign be o'er,
 Chase the Ruffians from her shore,
 Let their cruel reign be o'er.

Kansas Meeting in Chicago.

On last Saturday evening a large meeting of the best citizens of Chicago met in Dearborn Park to consider the outrages to citizens of Illinois on the Missouri river.—Among the resolutions passed were the following:—

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions, so far as they relate to the outrages on citizens of Illinois, be forwarded to Gov. Mateson, and that he be requested to take such steps as may be necessary and proper to cause the property of our citizens to be restored to them, and to protect them from robbery and outrage hereafter, and that a copy of the same be forwarded to Congress, with the prayer that Congress will without delay, pass laws effectually to protect the lives and property of the citizens of Illinois and other States, on the great national highways of the Union.

Resolved, That we regard the Kansas bill of Douglas, which passed the Senate on Thursday, as specious, deceptive and fraud-

ulent; as designed as an electioneering document, leaving the real bona fide settlers of that Territory crushed to the earth under border ruffian rulers. With liberty crushed out; the Free State settlers scattered and subdued, their leaders imprisoned or murdered; and armed banditti guarding the soil against all Free State emigration, we regard the bill as devoting the Free State men who still remain to the ruthless and bloody hands of Atchison, Stringfellow, Jones, Lecompton, Shannon and Pierce.

Gen. Bruce, of New York, was then introduced to the audience, who made a speech of an hour in length, and in a clear and forcible manner revealed the dark plots of the slave-power.

In the course of his remarks he made a statement that New York could be counted for Fremont by from twenty to sixty thousand majority; that such was the unanimity in some parts of the State, that in the city of Syracuse, in his county, there was not a lawyer in the whole city who was not on the side of freedom.

WHY GERMANS BECOME REPUBLICANS.

All over the country, and especially in the larger cities, New York, Cincinnati, Chicago and Boston, the Germans are forsaking the sham Democratic party which has given itself up exclusively to the support and extension and slavery, and are allying themselves to that other party, upon whose banners are inscribed the principles of liberty and true republicanism. Nor is this natural, though very desirable movement, confined to the large cities. It pervades the continent from Maine to Iowa,—in the towns and villages, and among all the rural German populations, the same changes are discovered, the same correct sentiments are prevailing. It is not that the Germans are actually changing any of their life-cherished principles. They have always believed in true Democratic doctrines, but they have at length found out that the present leaders of the so-called Democratic party, have betrayed all the essential principles of Democracy, and that the same leaders have been and are again striving to use the Germans only for the sake of advancing their own individual interests, and consummating the plans of the slavery propagandists.

We are far from denying the very pleasurable emotions with which we regard this revolt of the German mind against the dictation of corrupt partizans. But while we find in it a very important auxiliary towards the formation of that overwhelming force of freemen, who are to restore the administration of the country to its original and proper purity, it can never be forgotten that the Germans themselves will be among those most benefited by the restorative revolution which we anticipate. The interests of no class of American citizens who are seeking homes for themselves in the fertile prairies of the West, can possibly be more advanced by keeping those prairies open to the possession of freemen, than the interests of those Germans who are already here or those who expect to come.

But if slavery be allowed to fasten its baneful influence upon Kansas, what will there be to hinder it from possessing itself of all the central as well the choicest portion of the continent? The day is near when all the srrable portions of the north-western territory will be occupied. Unless

then the compact be enforced which reserved to freedom and free men that choice expanse of central country, for which the contest is now being waged, there will be no place left this side of the Rocky Mountains, where the institutions of freedom can be planted, or on which the prosperities of free men can be founded. The incubus of slavery will prey upon it like a vampire, and thus holding a commanding position in the very heart of the country, the oligarchists who own and control it, can carry out at their leisure, their favorite design of converting the fair fabric of our governmental system as founded by the fathers, into that most gross anomaly of a gigantic slave republic.

For it must always be remembered that wherever slavery exists, free white laborers are inexorably excluded, except they submit to the direst necessity, or to terms at which the feelings of a free man instinctively revolt. We have now before us a letter written by a Texas resident to a friend in Ohio, which states that in Texas a farm slave can be hired at \$20 per month, and a white laborer for the same wages. Being placed upon this kind of equality, the lordly slaveholder regards them both with the same degree of contempt,—or rather he gives the preference to the slave, as the one who is more completely submissive to his commands or to his caprices. Large numbers of Germans have already settled in Texas, for the most part in colonies by themselves. It has been hinted that they intend endeavoring to form a free State in that part of the country which they own and occupy. But whatever hope there may have been for that consummation, would be utterly blasted if the slave power is permitted to triumph in Kansas. That triumph would settle the fate of the Germans in Texas, and any wishes they had indulged or plans they had formed for the establishment of free institutions, would be as remorselessly crushed by the triumphant slave power, as were ever any of the efforts of the patriots by the tyrants of the old world.

On the question, then, whether slavery be established in territory which belongs to freedom, hangs the issue, whether the commanding and most important position on the continent shall be surrendered to aristocrats or to republicans, and its wide-sweeping fields of inexhaustible fertility be left open to the cultivation of free laborers, or be doomed to echo to the clank of the chain and the crack of the whip. Permit slavery to be established in Kansas, and Mr. Toombs could congratulate himself that he had taken a long step towards that Bunker Hill monument, from which, he has predicted that he will call the roll of his slaves. Permit slavery to be established in Kansas, and free laborers would soon be pre-emptorily excluded from having any share in the remaining garden spot of the country.

DEMOCRATIC PRESS

The Work of a Scoundrel.
 We have evidence in our possession going to show that some of the tools of the pro-slavery party in this city took it upon themselves to notify the people of Lexington, Missouri, in advance of the arrival of the Chicago emigrants at that place, of their coming, at the same time ma-

king numerous false accusations respecting their objects, for the purpose of producing the state of things which has actually occurred. The miscreant who wrote a certain letter from this city to the Mayor of Lexington, Mo., upon this subject, will do well to be more careful to cover over his tracks hereafter if he wishes to avoid exposure. There is now "a rod in pickle" for him.

of the South, but the grain falls upon the fruitful fields of freedom, and in due time will yield an hundred fold.

The clamor of a few government officers and underlings will be all the practical result which will spring from this notable plan to cheat the people of the North for the twentieth time, with that most despicable of all crawling things—Franklin Pierce.

of July; and accordingly, the woods and plains of Kansas are swarming with Missouri emigrants, gone there for the very purpose so openly and manfully avowed by Col. Scott. We trust the Representatives of the people will not be caught by so shallow an artifice; but should they prove careless, or recreant to their trusts, the people will take the matter into their own hands. *Kansas must be free!*

The Daily Journal.

THURSDAY MORNING, JULY 17, 1856.

Passage of the Kansas Bill.

Thrice have the Representatives of the Free People of the North triumphed in the popular branch of Congress since the commencement of the present session. First, in the election of Banks as Speaker; secondly, in the appointment of the Kansas Investigating Committee; and lastly, in the passage of the Bill for the admission of Kansas with the Topeka Constitution. We hope our friends will stand firm, keep their vantage ground, and hold the Border Ruffians steady by the bit.

Douglas is alarmed—the Administration is trembling—Buchanan is pale with terror—and already the Old Line Senate repudiates squatter sovereignty, shows the white feather, crawfishes like a coward, and launches deep into the work of legislating for the people of the Territories. In hot haste Douglas incubates a bill, and it passes the Senate with a rush, in the hope of checking the tide of indignation which is rocking to and fro through the land. *It comes too late!* The Administration and its followers—its tide-waiters, its apologists, are all doomed! The hand writing is on the wall, and the Cincinnati Platform is not broad enough to support the trembling knees of Buchanan. "There's a Buck in the Lick," and the People have pointed the musket of Liberty at the frightened varmint! The light will be waved in November, and the Buck will fall and go where the good old Bucks have gone before him.

The Douglas Bill is a trap honied over to catch the unsuspecting. Having hunted down the Free State men, and driven thousands from their homes in Kansas; having disarmed and sent home the emigrants who were proceeding up the Missouri; having prohibited, as by a Russian ukase, the further settlement of the country from the North, they now propose to submit the question of slavery to all who were residents of Kansas on the 4th of July—to the thieves and ruffians of Buford's Regiment—to the invaders of Kansas—to the men who sacked Lawrence—who drove defenceless women and children from their cabins—to the men whose hands are red with murder! It is too late for such a palliative; the remedy will not answer. The Topeka Constitution is good enough. It was framed by freemen—it is the choice of the people—and what is more, it asserts the great truth that *Kansas is ours, and Kansas shall be free!*

The effect of Douglas' bill may be anticipated from the following extract from the testimony of Col. John Scott, of St. Josephs, Missouri, who was acting as the attorney of Whitfield before the Committee of Investigation. He says:

"It is my intention, and the intention of a great many other Missourians, now resident in Missouri, whenever the slavery issue is to be determined upon by the people of this Territory, in the adoption of the State Constitution, to remove to this Territory in time to acquire the right to become legal voters upon that question."

Ha! ha! my boys! is it there you are? It is well known that Ned Hannegan was sent by the Cincinnati Convention as an *avante courier* to Atchison, Stringfellow and Buford, to give them notice of Douglas' bill, and to prepare them for an influx of population before the 4th

DAILY ADVERTISER.

July 17 DETROIT, 1856!

Pierce and Free Kansas—a Practical Act.

The friends of human freedom insist that the Senate bill is a subterfuge, and that, though it apparently offers, it really withholds all practical benefit from Kansas, and all hope of it becoming a free State. The instigators of the bill insist that they are in earnest, and desire to see Kansas free. Let the House of Representatives amend the bill by taking upon themselves the appointment of the commissioners. Like many laws, the Kansas bill would be far less objectionable in form than in the manner of its execution. The test of fairness, therefore, must be applied, not to the law alone, but to the manner of its execution. To that end, and at the same time to test the sincerity of the Senate, let the House amend the bill, by naming commissioners, and in that shape send it back to the Senate. If the amendment is accepted, well and good, if not, and it is rejected because five Democrats who are above reproach are placed upon the Board, their insincerity will be as generally apparent as it is already certain.

The proposition, as it now stands, is to allow Franklin Pierce, whom the Locofoco party have "spewed out of their mouths, because he was neither hot nor cold," to allow Franklin Pierce, the leavings of the Cincinnati Convention—Franklin Pierce, who has stood by applauding, while hundreds of free State men have bit the dust of Kansas—Franklin Pierce, whose immediate agents got up the panorama of the sack of Lawrence with natural fire and real blood—Franklin Pierce, the gracious patron of Southern cut throats—Franklin Pierce, the mighty associate of Brooks, Herbert, Rust, and Keitt—Franklin Pierce to hold in the hollow of his hand the fate of Free Kansas.

There is no fairness in any mode, proposition, or measure of settlement, where power over the entire subject of negotiation remains latent in the exclusive hands of one party. The proposition of Appius Claudius to Virginius, to keep his maiden daughter, and take testimony at some future day touching her slavery or freedom, was of the same kindred with this specious bill. Appius cared not what promise he gave so he kept Virginia. Pierce is equally indifferent to the terms of the law, provided its administrators are subject to his pleasure. The people have had enough of Franklin Pierce, and they have no wish with regard to him, but that he may betake himself from the sphere of his and their disgrace to such measure of consolation as he may find in private life. But their duties are not done with. There is the responsibility, and theirs therefore the privilege and the duty, to see to it that Kansas is defended in her claim to be a free State. Their Representative in Congress will see to it, that a pro-slavery and venal Senate are not allowed to defraud the possessors of those rights by and with their consent.

In other times, and upon other subjects, it might be practicable for a mere subterfuge, like the Senate bill, to avail something, but not now. Popular attention is too thoroughly aroused, and the question has stirred the popular heart too long, and too deeply, to be trifled with. Slavery extension across the bodies of our own fellow-citizens, like Gay and Brown, at the point of the bayonet, by the sweep of the broadsword, and the flash of the revolver, is not an abstract question, like a protective tariff. Free speech, free soil, and free opinion are not free trade—they touch the first principles of liberty, and procure a ready response, which the rudiments of political economy have yet to be learned.

It is only the most stupid and depraved, and whom the Locofoco leaders can expect to beguile by shallow pretenses, like the Senate bill, and those classes are already. The old Democratic party is now undergoing the process of being winnowed; the chaff flies

Chenango Telegraph.

NORWICH, N. Y.

THURSDAY MORNING, JULY 17, 1856.

THE GOVERNMENT OF KANSAS.

The enormity of the Territorial Laws of Kansas can never be sufficiently understood by those who, living outside their malign and freedom-blasting influences, do not directly feel their injustice and utter tyranny. We have heretofore printed, and asked consideration for, the act passed by the bogus Legislature which qualifies the utterance of sentiments against the institution of Slavery under various grades of crime, and prescribes the penalty of Death for some, of imprisonment and a certain number of lashes for others. It is our purpose now to ask attention to the "lawfully" allotted penalty for the lightest degree of crime acknowledged by that Legislature, the declaration that "persons have not the right to hold slaves in the Territory." Chapter 22 of the Territorial Laws, provides as follows:

"Every person who may be sentenced by any Court of competent jurisdiction, under any law in force within this Territory, to punishment by confinement to hard labor, shall be deemed a convict, and shall immediately, under the charge of the keeper of such jail or public prison, or under the charge of such person as the keeper of such jail or public prison may select, be put to hard labor, as in the first section of this act specified, to wit: 'On the streets, roads, public buildings, or other public works of the Territory.' [Sec. 1, page 146] and such keeper or other person, having charge of such convict, shall secure such convict while engaged in such labor, to be securely confined by a CHAIN SIX FEET IN LENGTH, of not less than four-sixteenths nor more than three-eighths of an inch links, with a ROUND BALL OF IRON, of not less than four nor more than six inches in diameter, attached, which chain shall be securely fastened to the ANKLE of such convict with a strong lock and key; and such keeper or other person having charge of such convict may, if necessary, combine such convict while so engaged at hard labor, by other chains or other means, in his discretion, so as to keep such convict secure and prevent his escape; and when there shall be two or more convicts under the charge of such keeper, or other person, such convicts shall be FASTENED TOGETHER by strong chains with strong locks and keys, during the time such convicts shall be engaged in hard labor without the walls of any jail or prison."

This is one of the laws which the Democratic party, by its platform (of which James Buchanan is the representative, from which he cannot take, and to which he cannot add a single plank), has resolved to enforce; and this the penalty, revolting, debasing, humiliating as it is, subjecting a free American citizen to the public's ears and contumely of his oppressors, far more than within the prison walls where the degradation of punishment is relieved by its privacy, which is to be borne from two to five long years by the men of Indiana and Ohio, of New England and New York, of the East and the West, who dare in Kansas to exercise the constitutional privilege of free speech. If Washington, Jefferson, Clay, Webster, and the other great men who have given glory and fame to their country, could reappear in the flesh, and, standing again in life and action, should utter upon the prairies of Kansas the sentiments declared by them in the past, what would be their amazement at the penalties which would await them on every side for speaking their honest convictions on the subject of Slavery!

Washington said, in a... I never mean, unless some particular circumstance should compel me to it, to possess another slave by purchase, it being among my first wishes to see some plan adopted by which Slavery in this country may be abolished by law."

Said Jefferson in his Notes on Virginia: "The whole commerce between master and slave is a continual exercise of the most unreluctant despotism on the one part, and the most abject submission on the other." "With what exultation should the statesman be loaded, who, permitting one half of the citizens thus to trample on the rights of the other, transforms those into despots, and those into enemies, destroys the morals of the one part and the amur patrie of the other! Can the liberties of a nation be thought secure, when we have removed their only firm basis—a conviction in the mind of the people that these liberties are the gift of God? That they are not violated but by his wrath? Indeed, I tremble for our country when I reflect that God is just, and his justice cannot sleep forever."

"Surely such language as this is eminently 'reasonable,' and 'calculated' to render slaves 'disorderly.' And just as surely, in the language of the President and the new candidate of the Democratic party, 'the law must be enforced.' Come, then, oh immaculate editor of the Cheango Union, take your equally innocent friend Sheriff Jones, aid, with chain and ball for each of those founders of the Republic, manacle them together, fasten them down by the roadside to pound stone or shovel gravel, permitting them, the while, as they pursue their daily work, to chant praises to 'the great principle for which our revolutionary fathers fought,' and of which you tell us, the Nebraska bill is the perfect and true embodiment."

Said Mr. Webster in his Marshfield speech in 1848:

"I feel that there is nothing unjust, nothing of which any honest man can complain, if he is intelligent, and I feel that there is nothing of which the civilized world, if they take notice of so humble an individual as myself, will reproach me, when I say, as I said the other day, that I have made up my mind, for one, that under no circumstances will I consent to the extension of the area of Slavery in the United States, or to the further increase of Slave representation in the House of Representatives."

And again in 1850: "Sir, wherever there is a particular good to be done—wherever there is a foot of land to be staid back from becoming Slave Territory—I am ready to assert the principle of the extension of Slavery."

Said the noble old statesman of Kentucky, Henry Clay, in 1850:

"I have said that I never could vote for it myself, and I repeat, that I never can, and never will vote, and we heartily bow to the power that will make me vote, to spread Slavery over territory where it does not exist."

This, too, conflicts with the law of Kansas. So hurry the loved statesmen away to the chain gang; and as they bend down to the disgraceful and degrading punishment, forget not to read them, from your adored Nebraska bill that "its true intent and meaning" is "to leave the people thereof perfectly free (not only free, but PERFECTLY free) to form and regulate their 'domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States.'"

WORKING OF THE "BLACK CODE."

Below will be found an account of the arrest of eight citizens of Kansas, for the crime of "high treason against the United States," in having refused to obey the requirements of the "Black Code." We believe we can say with safety that a more villainous outrage has never been committed under the color of law, and we believe too that no honest minded man can peruse the record of such outrage, without a feeling of rage and humiliation, that such enormities should be permitted to disgrace the American name. If there exists a doubt in any mind as to the pure villainy of the PIERCE and DOUGLAS dynasty, a villainy which should consign the authors to the gallows—the conduct of the creatures who were sent out to administer the "judicial" affairs of Kansas, will serve to remove it. The correspondent of the New York Times, thus tells the disgraceful tale:

LAWRENCE, Kansas, June 26, 1856. 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 in town on their way home. I have learned many interesting facts connected with the affair that should go upon the record.

After they had been kept near where they were taken, about two weeks, guarded by the U. S. troops, who were ordered to keep them in irons the most of the time, they had orders to remove them to Tecumseh. A scene then followed which has no parallel in a Republican Government. They were chained two and two by taking a common trace chain and using a padlock at each end, which was so fixed as to make a close clasp around the ankle. Like a gang of slaves, they were thus driven the whole distance, at the rate of twenty five miles per day, dragging their chains after them. The last part of the journey was most torturing to them. They were unaccustomed to traveling—their chains had worn upon their ankles, until one of them became quite exhausted and was put in a wagon. What a humiliating, disgusting sight, in a free government—to see a chain gang of men, who had committed no crime whatever, driven sixty five miles by their merciless persecutors to attend a trial, then have granted an unconditional release, and no provision for redress.

They have convicted three of them of treason, while five are allowed to go free, when the testimony was general against them all alike with few exceptions. One of the prisoners named Jacob Benjamin, they could find nothing whatever against—the witness did not even know him, and the proceedings looked so ridiculous against him, that the Court has struck his name from the warrant and other legal (or illegal) papers, as you will see hereafter in the report.

They have their chains here with them, and their exhibition excites much curiosity. The one worn by John Brown, Jr.—who is insane in consequence of his inhuman treatment—is polished thoroughly by his constant exercise while raving to be released, and is easily selected by its bright appearance. I understand that one of our citizens has obtained one of the chains, and intends to send it to Rev H. W. Beecher, as a relic of Douglas's squatter sovereignty.

While they were at Tecumseh, they witnessed the examination of Dr. Tucker, of Topeka, on a charge of horse stealing, before Edward Hoagland, Esq., United States Commissioner, before whom they were also examined, and although the Doctor proved an alibi, by five or six reliable witnesses, he was convicted without any show of evidence against him. He even said before the trial commenced, that if he proved an alibi by 150 of the best men in Topeka, he would still convict him. This Hoagland is from Dundee, New York, and is a capital specimen of a Northern doughface.

The Courant.

HARTFORD: THURSDAY MORNING, JULY 17, 1856.

THE CHARLESTON MERCURY ON MR. DOUGLASS AND HIS NEW KANSAS BILL.—We give an article from the Charleston Mercury, upon the new Kansas bill, originally introduced into the Senate by Mr. Toom, adopted by Mr. Douglas and his Committee on Territories, and passed by the Senate as the true, all-healing panacea for the afflictions of Kansas.

Our Charleston cotemporary, speaking in behalf of South Carolina's chivalry, says that this bill will not do—that Mr. Douglas has deceived the South, and deceived himself, and has assumed to carry a load which has broken him down. Worse than all, the Mercury agrees with Mr. Seward, that the day of compromises is past. What, then, are we to do? Is it secession that our South Carolina philosopher is driving at? If so, why not await the results of the Presidential election? For, should Fremont be

electd, as he may be, the South have only to follow the advice of Mr. Fillmore, and they are out of the Union, and in for a war which will last them for several generations.—N. Y. Herald.

The Evening Press.

Campaign Song.

TUNE—Fillkins and his Dinah. As Buchanan was walking by the White House one day, His eyes did roll upward, and thus he did say, "I am looking for lodgings, and this is the thing: So I guess I will take it quite early next spring." Chorus—Singing to la la la la la la la la la la.

Then bowing quite lowly to the people around, He called them the bravest he ever had found; The South was his darling, the North was his pride; And in speaking of Kansas he tenderly sighed— Chorus—Singing to la, &c.

"I am yours my dear people," he fervently said, "And 'tis for that reason I never shall wed; I'll be your protector, yours truly alone,— Your joys and your sorrows shall all be my own." Chorus—Singing to la, &c.

'Twas thus he was talking sweet things to the crowd, When the voice of the people rose up very loud; "Here comes JOHN and JESSIE, so clear out of the way, 'Tis too late in the season for you to make hay." Chorus—Singing to la, &c.

"We go for Free Kansas, Free Press and Free Speech, And many great things that Freedom doth teach,— We want no old fogies to crush us with wrong, So clear out the way for JESSIE and JOHN!" Chorus—Singing to la, &c.

Then Buchanan with weeping looked 'round on the crowd, But alas for his feelings, they cried very loud;—"Make way for brave FREMONT, our hero, make way, You can ride up Salt River for TEN CENTS A DAY!" Chorus—Singing to la, &c.

MORAL. Now all wire pullers take warning by this, Ere dreaming of gaining political bliss,— Don't knock at the White House or Uncle Sam's Farm, Unless Freedom and JESSIE do hang on your arm! Chorus—Singing to la, &c.

The Republican.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS. THURSDAY MORNING, JULY 17, 1856.

Samuel F. Tappan, clerk of the free state legislature of Kansas, has arrived at Washington, having left the territory on the 6th. The news of the first vote on the Topeka constitution by the U. S. House reached the territory the day he started, and caused an expression of deep regret on the part of the free state men and of corresponding elation with the pro-slavery party. Gov Robinson and the other prisoners are still encamped on the prairie near Le Compton. Walker, the captain of the guard, barricaded a small cabin, about half a mile from Le Compton, to protect the prisoners from a rescue on the 4th, and treated them so badly that Col Sumner sent Walker and his company to the fort, and placed another company, commanded by Capt Sackett, over the prisoners. The prisoners are now treated well, and are allowed to receive the visits of their friends. Mr Tappan reports that when coming down the river, companies of armed men were stationed at Liberty, Independence and Lexington, to intercept the steamer Keystone, which it was reported was expected up the river with a company of free state men. There was no such company bound up the river. Mr Tappan also reports that Gen Smith arrived in the territory several days before he left.

Concord has given \$1364 for Kansas which is in the proportion of \$650,000 for the whole state.—A thorough organization in behalf of Kansas has been formed in Middlesex county, with a committee of which John Nesmith of Lowell is chairman, to receive and appropriate funds for the following objects: To furnish relief to suffering free state settlers by supplying them with food, clothing, &c.; to send actual settlers and see that they are properly supported; to provide employment for the laboring men of Lawrence by rebuilding the Free State Hotel; for such other purposes as the committee may think best.

WICKED PERVERSIONS OF TRUTH.—The Boston Post, always unfair in its partizanship, never before descended to such gross falsifications as in the present campaign. It persists in saying, with all the evidence against its statements, that the

object of the convention at Topeka, Kansas, on the 4th of July, was "to annul a law of the United States—to abrogate a government established by Congress," and then assuming this absolute falsehood to be true, calls upon the people of Massachusetts to "rebuke rebellion!" Fiddle-faddle! Can the Post really do nothing better for its party in Massachusetts than to coin such stuff as this? It cannot be sustained either by fact, by specious inference or ingenious perversion, and is therefore as contemptible as it is wicked.

Kansas Notes.

A member of the Connecticut colony writes from Wauhousa, Kansas:—

"We are getting along finely. I calculate that we have nearly four hundred acres planted with corn, which will, at a low estimate, yield some twelve thousand bushels. We want men to build houses for us, masons, stone-cutters, joiners and mechanics of every sort. Send them along."

G. W. Collamore of Boston, an ultra conservative whig lawyer, has returned from a trip to Kansas, and confirms all the worst tales of ruffianism and robbery. He places the free state heroes of Kansas on a par with those of the revolution, and alleges that his respect for the latter has been increased by witnessing the courage, fortitude and fidelity of the former.

A correspondent of the N. Y. Tribune, writing from Leavenworth, Kansas, on the 4th states that after the ruffians had robbed and driven back the emigrants from Ottawa, Ill., the officer in command at the fort came down with a squad of dragoons, inquired of Capt Clarkson (the leader of the southerners) as to what had occurred, and, upon hearing Clarkson's version of it, declared that what had been done was all right, and according to the president's proclamation: and having taken a drink with the captain, he marched his men back. He also says:

"Last week, on Wednesday, sixteen wagons of emigrants, quietly wending their way to Kansas across Missouri, were met two miles east of Platte City by an armed band, and turned back. They were emigrants who made no warlike demonstrations, and who came out under no impulse of excitement; they came with their teams and utensils to make their homes in Kansas; but they came from a free state, therefore they must not be allowed to enter Kansas. The free state men of Leavenworth have been for the last six weeks as completely under the subjection of armed tyranny as ever a people could be. The same armed band which imprisoned Parrott, Conway and others, and drove them from the territory six weeks ago, have been here constantly, and have kept free state men completely in awe. They dare not hold a public meeting, they dare not express their sentiments in any public manner; scarcely dare they write a letter to a friend lest it should fall into the hands of men who would commit some outrage upon them. We have no arms—we have never prepared for this state of things, and the whole force of the slave power is concentrated upon the border here. Only last week there were not less than two hundred of these men here in town armed with United States muskets. In six hours time they could call five times that number of men from Missouri, and were the free state men to offer resistance to their outrages it would avail nothing, and result in the useless sacrifice of life. This is the true condition of things here."

A company of twenty emigrants left Blackwell, S. C., last Friday for Kansas, under Gen L. M. Ayer. They design settling in the territory, as they say, probably after the manner of Buford's rangers.

The Washington correspondent of the N. Y. Journal of Commerce thinks the report that a warrant for the arrest of ex-governor Reeder for treason has been sent to Washington from Judge Lecompte of Kansas, is highly probable. If Gov Reeder should appear at Washington he will immediately be taken under this writ and carried to Kansas, where, as he has reason to believe, he would be assassinated by the ruffians. This correspondent says that more excitement will be the consequence of his arrest and transfer to Lecompton than any thing else that has occurred. Mr Barclay of Pa., gave it as a reason for changing his vote on the Topeka bill and going for that bill.

Gerritt Smith's subscriptions to make Kansas a free state will amount, when completed, to \$40,000. Such a man ought to be allowed to go to bed when he pleases, in Congress or out.

Worse and Worse.

The day after Gen Persifer F. Smith, the new military commander and pacificator of Kansas, arrived at Leavenworth, a deputation of citizens waited upon him, asking protection for their lives and property against the armed marauders from the South at the various river tows. Smith replied that he had no authority to grant such protection; that the armed bands alluded to were regularly enrolled militia, acting under color of the law, and that the people had no redress except by the civil law;—and that law is the Missouri code of the bogus legislature!

WHAT DEMOCRACY HAS IN STORE FOR THE NORTH.—"The time is close at hand when such statesmen as Sumner and Hale will have justice, full justice, done them: when, in short, an Abolitionist will be lynched as readily in New York and Boston as in Charleston or New Orleans."—N. Y. Day Book (a Democratic paper)

BOSTON DAILY TIMES

THURSDAY, JULY 17, 1856.

Great "Freedom" Excitement in Lexington!

A meeting to devise measures for furnishing "material aid to bleeding Kansas" (or, in other words, to raise the "needful" for an abolition electioneering fund, under false pretences,) was held at Lexington on Monday evening, Rev. Charles Hudson presiding. It had been called by notices given from the pulpits of the various churches on the Sunday previous. The Rev. E. B. Waitman, an agent of the Aid Society, and partner in a land speculating firm, having branches in this city and in Lawrence, Kansas, and who has had an "actual settlement" in the latter town for at least three weeks during the last two years, had made a loud call for "material aid" at the Lexington Unitarian Church on the previous Sunday evening, and this meeting was called by Mr. Hudson in response. At the appointed hour nobody was present, but the masses commenced gathering before 9 o'clock, and in the course of the whole evening nine persons, including the door keeper and two lads, entered the hall. To save expense, only one lamp was lighted. A rampant abolitionist present made a motion to form the meeting into a Fremont Club. Against this a worthy deacon zealously protested, remarking that the meeting was notified from the several pulpits, and politics ought not to be introduced. It was finally resolved to appoint a Collecting Committee, to see what can be done in the way of raising funds.

Just at present, "Bleeding Kansas" goes a begging in Lexington, and unless the Rev. Mr. Hudson bestirs himself, and poneyes over two or three hundred dollars to start a subscription paper, his chances for the Black Republican gubernatorial nomination will be but slim.

[From the New York Herald.]

SERMON OF THE REV. DUDLEY A. TYNG.

Politics in the Pulpit.

At the close of the last month the Rev. Mr. Tyng, of the Church of the Epiphany in Philadelphia, delivered a sermon to his congregation which has made no little noise, even in that peaceful city. It was of so extraordinary a character that he was interrupted in its delivery, and informed the next day by a resolution of his Vestry that they disapproved of his conduct, and protested against its repetition.

And the Vestry was right. The Rev. Mr. Tyng, forgetting his character, his place and his duty, launched forth into the sea of politics, dashed into its angriest waters, emulating their froth and foam, their violence and their bitterness. The Kansas difficulties, the slavery question, and the aggressive spirit of the South, were the subjects of his discourse, and their various aspects and consequences were minutely argued. He attempted a

vidication of his own course, though one of the ministry, for expressing these views, and has finally published his sermon, to let the world see what he has done.

Whatever reluctance we may have had to speak of the conduct of a gentleman so well esteemed by his friends, is gone with the publication of the sermon. It is a challenge to the public, and the press may take it up.

We therefore do not hesitate to pronounce it a most unjustifiable departure from the obligations and the duties of a Christian minister to have delivered such a sermon. It is a violation of the precepts of the Gospel, a disobedience to the commands of the Saviour, and an offering to the spirit of darkness and confusion.

If there be anything plainly set forth in the New Testament, it is that of submission to the laws—to the powers that be; of gentleness, moderation and patience under the evils incident to humanity. Neither the Saviour nor his Apostles discussed the validity of the Roman laws. Paul, when in bonds, prepared to submit himself to their decision, when, by the least exercise of his own power, or that which he might have implored, he could have set himself free and placed himself in safety. My kingdom, said the Prince of Peace, is not of this world; but his modern followers are determined it shall be.

And it is historically true, that whenever the clergy take part in political strife it becomes bitter, relentless and bloody. Being habitually respected, at least for their office—considered as the ambassadors of God—they have weight with those over whom they are placed, and unfortunately too often step beyond their sphere, and forget, like other envoys, to follow their instructions.

Most of the internal wars of France, of England, of Germany, Switzerland and Italy have been owing to the bigotry and intolerance of the clergy. Most of the blood shed on the scaffold, at the stake and by the sword has been so by means of clerical violence. The most dangerous of all national disorders are those where the ministers of religion become active politicians; for the natural sense of wrong which produces discontent in the minds of men, becomes insanity when it is fed with the fires which priests know how to kindle.

The Rev. Mr. Tyng is an educated man; he belongs to a body of Christians who have hitherto shown their good sense and their true piety in letting these vexed questions alone, leaving the issue to God, and to the impression His spirit shall make on the hearts of men. He should have imitated the example of his brethren, and refrained his lips from evil as they have done theirs. But he has taken the responsibility, and must abide the consequences. It remains to be seen what will be his future position among them, after this noise from his sounding board.

If the preacher finds himself called to make politics his theme and the laws his study—if he proposes to enter the arena while he denounces political life—let him take off his gown and descend from the pulpit. Let him imitate the example of Everett, Bancroft and others, who resolved to employ their "talents for mankind" in some other way than that to which they had been set apart. We know where to find these men when they discuss political questions, and we do not wish to go to any church to be instructed in constitutional and municipal law.

As to the subject matter of the discourse, we have too frequently expressed our opinions to be expected to repeat them here.

All the raving and all the ranting of fanatics and fools cannot conceal the fact that slavery in its mildest forms exists in many of the States, but not in as many as at the time of the adoption of the Constitution—that no reasonable or practicable, or humane plan has yet been brought forth for its abolition—that all the effects of emancipation, as it has been satisfactorily tested in the West Indies, have been to sink the slave population to the level of beasts, and to re-introduce their old heathen superstitions and their most shocking native orgies; that a sudden change in the character of the domestic institutions in the South would cause the flowing of

most valuable products of the country, and finally, that nothing could be possibly gained by the proposed change by either race thus placed in direful antagonism.

But for such preaching as this of Mr. Tyng we should not have had any of the violence of which he complains in Kansas. It is these Peters the Hermits who have led on their stendiary emigrants with rifles into this new crusade, and who must be held guilty of the mischief; and singular enough, the Administration has been their colleague. It has aided, not put down, the dissensions in Kansas and added fuel to the unholy flame.

We advise these preachers "of the word" to take heed to their ways. Theirs is a distinct duty. It is the care of souls,—not of the body politic. They are sent to reform the individual—not to discipline States. Their themes are to be found in the holy volume, and not in Uncle Tom. Their business is not to array men against each other, or to shout over the unhappy strife, but it is to whisper peace, to put an end to discord, and to smooth the bed of death.

BOSTON HERALD

FIRST EDITION.

THURSDAY MORNING, JULY 17.

my kansaw Expedishun.

CITY OF LAWRENCE, }
July 1—1856.

Editor:—I kan't Hardly say wot most paramount in my mind—wether it Waellins of disgust, Or deribun—wen i To open, & read of, the follerin Letter from deekan Fratingale:—

"Walpole, Mass., June 15th, 1856.

MR. JOB SASS:—I have to inform you that if your stay in the Kansas Territory is any farther prolonged, the homestead and farm will go to ruin.

Old Mr. Joseph Brown is about the worst man you could possibly have entrusted your affairs with.

Reckless in principle, as I believe him to be,—loose in his morals, as I have reason to know he is, (enquire of Mrs. Fratingale for particulars,)—I wonder, together with all the neighbors, how you could have left the management of your farm and your business in his hands.

The fences are all down, and there isn't a gate about the premises that has a hinge left upon it. Your crop of hay will amount to a mere song,—the stray cattle, stepping over the fallen rails, eat up the swards full as fast as old Mr. Brown cuts them. (He lost the use of a very respectable pair of trousers, yesterday, by the way, as he was mowing the meadow adjoining my orchard lot. A cow at his heels, thinking, as I suppose, he was a little too slack at the scythe, gave the old gentleman a nudge with her horns, tearing a rip thereab, about one foot and six inches in length.)

But I have time only to add, that there is a moral influence your absence from home is creating, Mr. Sass.

People begin to wonder what it means when they see Mrs. Sass riding around the village, or going out on the pond, attended only by old Mr. Joseph Brown. And let me assure you, my dear Mr. there is good cause for alarm. Old Mr. Brown is not a handsome man, I admit, but he has a way with him that if he and Mrs. Fratingale were shut up in the parlor together, and I wasn't within a stone's throw of them both, I wouldn't hesitate to say that a bill of divorce betwixt me and Mrs. Fratingale, might not be drawn up at the next session of the Court.

Very respectfully,
FRANCIS FRATINGALE."

as I sed, I Received this letter with feelins of disgust, not unmixed with lafter. my ansur, if The editur konsents to its publikastun, shall Bee forridd by The next male.

I know Not why it is that i kan't kum out here & settle matters Konsarnin slavery & The niggurs, without makin a rumpus at Home, but if need Bee, I'll return, & leave the hole thing at Eeg ends.

I'll rite Agin to-morrow.

JOB SASS.

DAILY ADVERTISER.

BOSTON:

THURSDAY MORNING, JULY 17, 1856.

THE SYSTEMATIC RELIEF OF KANZAS.—The arrangements made last week at the National Convention at Buffalo, of the friends of Kansas, for giving system to the general desire of the Northern States to assist the free men of Kansas, are such as promise an immediate concentration of action, and seem to us to evince great practical wisdom. The delegates were almost unanimously of the opinion that the purposes of the organization should be peaceful and defensive, not vindictive or aggressive. They secure this position by assuming no control whatever over the emigrants in Kansas; confining the effort of the convention and its committees to the work of securing funds for the assistance of pioneers, and opening to the best advantage their means of communication, leaving them to that freedom which ought to belong to every citizen, when they arrive in Kansas.

For this purpose the convention named the National Executive Committee, consisting of gentlemen whose names we have already published. Mr. George R. Russell represents Massachusetts on this committee. A quorum of the committee resides in the city of Chicago, which is destined to be the outfitting station for the emigration of this summer and autumn. For, under the present arrangements of the people of Missouri, it becomes necessary that these men shall all go by land through the State of Iowa. The Executive Committee will make such arrangements for improving that route, and facilitating travel on it, as are in their power.

It is evident that the city of Chicago has a peculiar commercial interest in favoring this movement, as the great Western rival of St. Louis, which has been singularly passive while the great Western emigration was driven away from her by a few hundred banditti on the Missouri. The city of Chicago has acted also with great patriotism, in collecting funds for the relief of Kansas, and the convention appears to us to have acted with great wisdom, in selecting it for these reasons as the seat of a quorum of the Executive Committee.

This committee acts as a disbursing committee. To it, the convention proposed that the funds collected by different parts of the country for the relief of Kansas, should be remitted, since it is, beyond doubt, the body which can act most intelligently and systematically in the disposal of them. We are anxious to express, in the most distinct way, our approval of this recommendation. We believe that valuable time has been already lost, for the want of that concert of action among different relief committees, and from the uncertainty existing as to methods of relief:—uncertainty, which will now be removed.

For the object equally important of securing a universal contribution to these funds, the convention adopted a measure, which also has our decided approval. On motion of Mr. Gerrit Smith, Mr. Eli Thayer of this State, was appointed a committee of one, to take charge of the systematic organization of all the States friendly to Kansas, for her relief. We believe the convention was wise in making this committee to consist of one person. We believe it particularly fortunate in appointing Mr. Thayer to a duty which he can discharge so efficiently.

The service which he has rendered to Kansas, first by creating the Emigrant Aid Company, in the face of great depression, and next, by constant public and private appeals in behalf of Kansas, is well understood in New England and in New York city. The work now entrusted to him, is, very clearly, the work for one man, not for many. We are glad to be able to announce this morning, that Mr. Thayer has already entered on his work with the promptness which the occasion demands. He has perfected a plan, which may carry the cause of Kansas to every hearth-stone in the free States. It proposes that there shall be formed two classes of Kansas committees; a State committee for every State, and a county committee for every county. Some of these committees already exist.

Each county committee should then appoint a town agent for every town in the county, with authority to appoint a solicitor (male or female) for every school district in the town. These district solicitors apply to every man, woman and child, if possible, in their respective districts; and make returns of their collections with a duplicate of the subscription books to the town agent. By applying to this agent any subscriber can ascertain whether his subscription has been duly forwarded. The town agents make returns to the treasurer of the county, who makes regular returns to the Treasurer of the State Committee, who in turn remits to the National Committee.

In this way every cent contributed can be traced from the hand of the donor to the treasury of the general committee, without any charge for expenses. And, by this plan, the general committee deals only with State committees, these with county committees, these with town agents, and these only with the school district solicitors, and they with individuals. If this plan were faithfully carried out, we should have three or four million of subscribers as the result, with scarce any expense for agencies.

We publish these details in extenso, thus, in the hope that they may be at once copied through the country, and that the different arrangements may be put at once in motion. We hope to announce soon that a regular series of remittances to the Chicago National Committee has begun.

We observed in one report of the Buffalo convention, that a member of that convention expressed the feeling that Mr. Thayer's connection with the Emigrant Aid Company would make his appointment unpopular with the country. We confess our surprise at this suggestion. We believe that the unanimous feeling of the free States of this Union towards that company of which he is the founder, is one of profound gratitude for its efforts at a time when every one beside was in despair as to the fate of Kansas. The convention at Buffalo would never have existed, had not that company acted when it did. There would have been no free State party in Kansas without it. There may be many men there from the free States who did not go under its auspices, but there are very few who did not go influenced by the assurance that the company gave that Kansas should be free. We can understand why President Pierce and Dr. Stringfellow denounce it; but we do not see why the unpopularity of its founder with them should act in the Buffalo convention.

Mr. Thayer defended the company with spirit before the convention, and the convention showed no fear of its unpopularity. He referred to the enthusiastic praise it has re-

ceived abroad and at home—style in the London Times "the greatest American movement of this age," it has been welcomed here by our ablest statesmen, scholars and business men. After his speech, no sort of opposition was made to his appointment: and the Convention commissioned him to the work we have described.

TO THE BOSTON DAILY ADVERTISER.

[FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.]

WASHINGTON, July 16, 1856,
Wednesday evening.

The Senate had an exciting discussion upon the naval promotions, in executive session today. It is understood that no vote was taken.

Mr. S. P. Hanscom, late Clerk of the Kansas Investigating Committee, was called out of his room today, and assaulted by Capt. Pate, late in command of a company of Border Ruffians in Kansas. Mr. Hanscom received only a single blow. The cause of the assault was a letter by Mr. Hanscom, saying that Mr. Pate showed the white feather in surrendering twenty-five men to fifteen free-state men.

An assistant doorkeeper of the House was also assaulted by a companion of Mr. Pate.

The Atlas.

THURSDAY MORNING, JULY 17, 1856.

Toombs' bill, to make Kansas a slave State, by placing its destinies in the hands of five commissioners, to be appointed by Franklin Pierce, or rather by the slave drivers under whose lash he acts, cannot pass the House.

One of the little tricks resorted to to help it through, is to represent that the Missourians dislike the bill, and that Major Oliver threatens to vote against it. The event will show that all the Missourians will vote for it. They were in the lobbies of the Senate on the night of its passage, urging it through.

FREEDOM!

"NUNC ACT NUNCIAM!"
"LET US DO OR DIE!"

The golden dawn of Freedom has changed to a lurid glare!
On the chafed brow of Liberty lies the darkness of despair!
The waves of time are tinged with blood, the blood of the brave
and true,
And hearts have wildly throbb'd to hear the wail of the chosen
few!

Ye sleeping Sampsons of the North! Oh heed that *Piercing*
wail!

The Phillistines are on your track, fire mingled with their *hail*,
They tread upon your neck in scorn, and gail you with a chain.
Whose fetters you, alas! have forged, degrading soul and brain.

Arouse! ye stalwart Patriots! loud let the war-cry peal!
Now buckle on your armor! Now nerve your hearts of steel!
New England's sons ne'er falter'd in the battle of the Free!
Strike! for the blood of our bold Brethren, one blow for Liberty!

No cotton breast-work shall defend the traitor-tyrant's Power;
No manufacturing Midas reign, the despot of an hour;
Learn ye that truth eternal beams o'er the Father-land,
While Southern falsehood and defeat, stalks onward hand in
hand.

Nor compromise, nor dire repeal, can stay the impulse now!
Dallah's wiles ye've trusted long; then haste to breathe the
vow

To Heaven, that in the coming storm, our halloo-box shall be
"The harp of the North;" 'tis *Jo Pean*, "the anthem of the
Free!"

Burst the black bond! the clarion sound! o'er mountain, vale
and plain!
From East to West, from North to South, from Georgia unto
Maine!

Our Senate is baptized in blood! 'tis the blood of Freedom's
foe!
Then down with tyrants! wave your flag for Freedom and Free-
mont!

July 4, 1856. HOWARD.

Chicago, July 15.—Advices from Leavenworth of 11th inst, state that Gen. Persifer Smith had arrived. Next day a deputation of citizens waited upon him, asking protection for their lives and property, against the armed marauders from the South at the various river towns.

Smith replied that he had no authority to grant such protection; that the armed bands alluded to were regularly enrolled militia, acting under color of the law, and that the people had no redress excepting from the civil law.

Boston Journal.

THURSDAY EVENING, JULY 17, '56.

The failure of the effort which is now being made to reverse that policy of the national government the object of which is to strengthen and extend slavery, is to be deprecated as one of the worst evils which could happen to this country on one account which is not often taken into view. There are many, very many, in the Southern States, who deplore the evils of slavery, and who would gladly exert their influence to secure its abolition. The North can prevent the extension of slavery into territory which is under the control of the federal government, but it is to this class of our Southern fellow-citizens alone that we must look for any practical movement towards an amelioration of the lot of the slaves, or to secure gradual emancipation. To this class Henry Clay once belonged. Many of these freedom-loving Southerners are looking with anxious interest upon the great struggle which is now being waged to overthrow the influence of the Southern oligarchy. They sympathize with the friends of freedom, and would gladly co-operate with them in their efforts to prevent the extension of an institution which depresses and degrades labor, and is an incubus upon the prosperity of the South. But they are now over-awed by the slaveholders who so control the politics and domestic regulations of the South that to express an opinion even against slavery is almost certain to be followed by persecution and punishment. To this class we can afford our sympathy and indirectly our aid by breaking down the influence of the slave power over the general government, and failing to achieve this, we shall doom the Southern friends of freedom to disappointment and continued subjection to a triumphant oligarchy.

As an illustration of the interest with which the present struggle is regarded by those at the South who are opposed to slavery, the following extract from a letter to the *Chicago Tribune* will be perused with interest. The letter is a private note to the editor, accompanying a communication which commented in severe terms upon the supposed pusillanimity of the Chicago emigrants, and urging the North to march an army into Kansas strong enough to drive out the border ruffians and the United States troops, and then to carry the war into Platt county, and give her "fits." The *Tribune* publishes the note, and omits the long communication, which was evidently penned under a misapprehension of the facts in regard to the disarming of Chicago emigrants, as the writer had only seen the false statement published in the *St. Louis Republic*:

PENSACOLA, Leake Co., Miss., July 2, 1856.

Editors *Chicago Tribune*:

I am in common with many Southern men, fed a deep interest in your success in the Kansas struggle, as well as in the ensuing Presidential election; but we dare do nothing, as we should thereby expatriate ourselves, or suffer intolerable persecution from the slaveholders and those under their influence. I long, however, to mount the stump and malevolence. My friends wish many Southern men really do think of public affairs in the present crisis. But we are tongue-tied—speechless, and dare not open our mouths in defense of equal rights and free labor, without falling under the merciless displeasure of the "Oligarchy," as you Northerners correctly call them. Yet many of us would brave their anger and malevolence, and our friends who are silent, would suffer on our account the ruthless vengeance of the public oppressors of our fair land.

The ensuing Presidential election is the most important ever held in this Republic. But unless you carry Pennsylvania for Fremont, your chances of success are rendered slim. I am satisfied that he will get New England, Ohio, New York and the five northern western States. In fact, our Buchanan slaveholders concede those States to you, but they claim Pennsylvania, New Jersey and California for Buchanan, and say that if Fillmore gets enough slave States to defeat old Buch before the people, the Democrats and Know Nothings will unite and elect him in the House. Buchanan will carry this State by 5000, and I believe will get all the South except Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri and Delaware, and he stands a fair chance for getting all of these.

Many a silent but eminent prayer will be uttered for your complete success in November, by true-hearted patriots south of Mason and Dixon's line, who will work and vote for Fillmore as the least of two evils, trusting that their throats may be overthrown by the success of Fremont. He is our hope and morning star. If he sets in darkness our last hope expires, and leaves us in gloom. May God in his mercy avert such a calamity from our land. His success will revive the smouldering fires of freedom in the breasts of tens of thousands of non-slaveholders by compulsion. Before his four years end there will be a powerful gradual emancipation party organized in all the Northern slave States on Clay's plan, while we further South in the cotton and sugar region, will conjure the right of Free Speech and of subscribing to, and receiving such newspapers as we please. Work and pray for Fremont; but be sure and work whether you pray or not.

Your truly,

KANSAS. The Montgomery (Ala.) *Journal* publishes the following extract from a private letter written by a member of Major Buford's Kansas company:

FOUR MILES SOUTH OF KANSAS CITY, Mo.,
June 22, 1856.

I have been through the "wars" in Kansas Territory, and am now perfectly tired out. I have been in one battle and several skirmishes, without receiving any personal injury, except a slight bruise received on my horse falling on me when he was killed from under me; but I received three bullet holes through my hat, and had a "tub full" of Sharpe's balls to whip around me. I have killed two of the "dogs," and captured one.

The United States troops will not permit us to enter the Territory, armed, any more, and hence "Othello's occupation's gone." I am coming South just as soon as I can make it "safe."

Buford's expedition is unfortunate. His men are scattered all along the frontier, trying to make money enough to "carry them back to Old Virginia."

This is undoubtedly the finest country in the world, without any exception; and if some of our wealthy slaveholders were to visit it once, they would emigrate with us, or be hanged.

South enough to send 20,000 men here this fall, well armed and provisioned. If she don't begin to stir her "strings," Kansas will be a free State, sure.

J. F. S.

It will be seen by the following extract from the *Macon (Ga.) Telegraph* that some of the Southerners have no stomach for the work of carrying slavery into Kansas. Certainly the doings of the South Carolina and Georgia rangers are far from creditable to the States which they represent, and must remind high-minded Southerners rather too unpleasantly of the exploits of the "cow boys" in the revolution:

"Pursuant to a call, the members of the Macon Kansas Emigration Association met, at the Council Chamber in this city, on Friday evening, June 27, 1856, and the following resolution passed:

Resolved, That in consequence of a failure on the part of the citizens to raise funds sufficient to defray the expenses of the Macon Kansas Emigration Association, to the territory of Kansas, and, at the same time, to the strong tide of opposition given to this enterprise by a portion of our fellow citizens—that this association now disbands."

The *St. Louis Democrat* adheres to its statement, which has been contradicted, that Gov. Price of that State furnished cannon from the State arsenal to be used in subduing Kansas. The cannon were delivered by the Governor to certain companies in Platte county, Mo., but the Governor knew that the companies were formed for the purpose of invading Kansas, and the cannon have several times been taken into the territory by them. The *Democrat* further states that Gov. Price had been in close correspondence with the Atchison gang all along, and has never scrupled to furnish them the means to carry on their outrages.

Washington, July 16. (Correspondence of the *New York Tribune*.) A resolution will be offered in the House to-morrow, calling on the President to know by what authority the United States troops in Kansas dissolved the Free State Legislature on the 4th of July; and what action, if any, has been taken to stop piracy on the Missouri river; to protect travel across the public domain; and relative to the destruction of property and robberies committed in Lawrence.

An affair of honor was nipped in the bud last night, between Mr. Burlingame of Massachusetts and Mr. Brooks of South Carolina, by a meeting of the friends of the parties. Messrs. Banks and Ashmun of Massachusetts for Mr. Burlingame, and Messrs. Bocock of Virginia and Boyce of South Carolina for Mr. Brooks. The latter demanded retraction of language uttered by Mr. Burlingame in his speech, to which that gentleman declined, declaring himself responsible for every word in his speech. He distinguished between the act and the actor, and this was satisfactory, and the matter was amicably settled.

The subjoined card from Mr. Brooks, in connection with the matter, appears in the *Union* of this morning: "The importance of evil disposed persons, who, by newspaper articles, and in private conversation, have done injustice both to the Hon. Mr. Burlingame and myself, renders it necessary that the subjoined memorandum should be appended to my speech. Mr. Burlingame, in a fair and manly way, admitted his responsibility for any language used in his speech, and displayed an intention to reflect upon the personal character of Mr. Brooks, or to impute to him, in any respect, a want of courage, but discriminating between the man and the act to which he was called upon to allude. He had characterized the latter only in such a manner as his Representative duty required him to do. The above is a statement of the facts, which I refer to in reference to the passage of Mr. Burlingame in his late speech, which reference to Mr. Brooks. It is in the handwriting of Mr. Speaker Banks, and was acknowledged by Mr. Burlingame in our presence, and was satisfactory to us, as friends of Mr. Brooks."

W. S. BOYCKE.

THE WEEKLY TRANSCRIPT.

PUBLISHED EVERY THURSDAY MORNING, AT NORTH
707, 17 ADAMS, ST. 1856.

Kansas Festival at South Adams.

We are happy to state that the ladies of South Adams have determined upon holding a Free Kansas Festival this evening, at Dean's new factory, the proceeds of which are to be donated to the sufferers in Kansas.

10 We think it is full time that the people of Berkshire manifested some sympathy for their suffering brethren in Kansas. There are many residents of Kansas who have gone directly from this county, who have already, perhaps, passed through the ordeal of rapine and blood, for the sake of the principles which have made old Massachusetts eminent. There is a host of excellent reasons for a large gathering this evening:—1st, Because the ladies of South Adams desire it; 2d, Because an excellent opportunity will be afforded for giving aid and comfort to our brethren in Kansas; 3d, Because there will be some capital speeches to listen to; and 4th, Because, Hodge's Cornet Band will be there. We hope there will be a good attendance from all the towns in the vicinity. The meeting will be addressed by the following gentlemen: Rev. Charles B. Bointon, of Pittsfield, and Professor Lincoln of Williams College, and Hon's James T. Robinson, A. A. Richmond, and H. L. Dawes, of Adams.

An extra train will leave So. Adams, at the close of the exercises, for the accommodation of those who go down by the 5-1-2 train.

Letter from Kansas.

The following letter was handed us by a friend from Stamford, Vt. It is written by his sister, who has been some time a resident in Kansas, and, though descriptive of circumstances with which our readers are already more or less familiar, is yet sufficiently fresh to be read with interest:—

K. T. June 19, 1856.

We received your letter last night, and I hasten to reply. We are, through the kind care of a merciful Benefactor, preserved amid the dangers and turmoil that pervades our fair land. It is, and has been, for the past two months, a scene of cruelty and oppression,—a detail of the whole would fill volumes. Law, rance, with all she has suffered is not to be compared with the sufferings of those on the southern borders. There the inhabitants were under the necessity of leaving their homes to go for provisions, and but few ever returned.—The most heart-rending treatment in the power of demons to invent was dealt out to them, scarcely equalled by any of the heathen nations. They were robbed of all they possessed, and then (some with their hands and feet tied,) were left alone to perish. One man who was tied and gagged, managed in some way to get his feet at liberty, and, after walking a number of miles, found some one who released him. Two others were taken and robbed, after which one was tied before the horses, and obliged in this way to run, they all the time whipping and insulting him. Being trampled upon by the horses, he at last sank down exhausted, when they shot him and left him upon the ground. These are but two instances of the many equally as cruel and revolting.

The United States troops have been ordered from the forts to disperse the ruffians. Last Sabbath they succeeded in driving the mob from Westport and Franklin, a town about five miles from here, but how long they will stay in their own quarters is uncertain; hope it will be final. We have a company with cannon stationed near here. Col. Sumner, the commander, is a very good man, and a firm Free State man. He has done much for us. Lawrence would now exist only in name had it not been for him. The Governor would not allow him to act, telling him not to interfere until ordered; but Pierce sent him orders to disband the mobs, and most of them are now disbanded.—Now, for a few days, we should enjoy comparative quiet, were it not for some pro-slavery men in the place who are continually annoying us

by going to the bogus officers, getting a deputy, and arresting any whom they pretend to suspect. So we none of us feel that we are safe from their intrigues. We do not fear them; but it is so provoking in this land of freedom; and, you know, we have never been trammelled before.

I never could have dreamed that the system of slavery could have rendered man, made in the image of God, so much below the brute creation. They seem like fiends in human form. You may think by what you hear that you have some idea of their degradation, but you can have no idea of the extent of it, nor of the ignorance and vice of which they are subjects. Three fourths of those whom Shannon ordered as his posse could neither read nor write, and sheriffs, who have been deputized and sent here to serve writs of arrest, could neither read nor write—could not read their own commissions. Is not this too much for republican spirits to bear! Oh, it grinds!

The day they came into Lawrence to destroy it was to us all a fearful day—one never to be forgotten. It was as bright and beautiful a morning as ever dawned on this fallen earth, and we arose thankful that we were spared.—We had had assurances from the Governor that he would allow no violence to be used if there would be no resistance shown him in arresting some for whom he had writs. Our men pledged their honor that there should be none, and urged his coming with a small posse and choose the rest from our own people, to which he had agreed the night previous to the attack.

We arose with this expectation, and proceeded quietly to make arrangements for the day, when, on looking out on the beautiful bluff, what should meet our eyes but a company of armed horsemen, stationed so as to command the town, with the lone star banner spread out in open defiance of our rights as citizens. Reinforcements were continually coming in, and about 10 o'clock the Marshal, with some three or four, came down, and, after summoning the landlord to assist, proceeded to make the arrests; after making them, they took dinner at the hotel, the landlord making extra preparations to entertain them, after which the Marshal marched his posse up on to the bluff and dismissed them, when bogus sheriff Jones took eighteen mounted men, marched down, and ordered our committee of safety to bring all the Sharpe's Rifles and cannon, and stack them in the street, or he would destroy every building in the city. The cannon was delivered up but the rifles were retained.

By this time the whole company bearing the lone star, with two cannon, had marched down into the city, and announced that a bill had been found against the hotel and printing presses, and that they must be destroyed for they were a nuisance, and dangerous to the interests of the Territory! and that they would give them one hour to carry out their things. Mr. Eldridge told them it had taken three weeks to put them in, and he should not attempt to carry them out in that time. They then ordered some of their own party to carry them out; some few were saved but the loss of property was great. I was baking, and had got some pies rolled out, when one of our boarders came in, and told us we had better leave the town as they were going to destroy the hotel—that there might be firing and we be endangered, as we live but a few rods from it. I left my work—took a few articles of clothing, and we all started for the west side of the town over the ravine. Men, women, and children were hurrying in every direction, and fear and consternation were depicted in every countenance. After the people had left, the marauders commenced breaking open and rifling the houses. They took clothing, money, provisions, drafts, land warrants, and every thing they could lay hands on. Some people

lost all their clothing except what they had on. Our house was entered, and everything turned over. They helped themselves to what provisions they wanted, and took a valuable rifle. J.— saved his by hiding it. They put the printing presses in the river, shouting and yelling like so many demons. They tried three cannon on the hotel which never started it, they then put kegs of powder under it, but they failed. Finding they could neither batter nor blow it down, they set fire to and finished it. It now stands a monument to the demoralizing effects of slavery, and the wretched condition of our American Republic. *Glorious land of freedom!* If this is freedom I will appeal to Queen Victoria, for never in the annals of history, has a nation suffered such outrages in their own land and under their own rulers. Why will the North give up to such tyrants as these, *poor ignorant scape galleys?* It might, if the North would carry into effect their resolutions, result in the abolishment of slavery; but I am afraid it will end in *resolutions and indignation meetings*, and like the resolution in the Massachusetts Legislature to appropriate \$20,000 for the relief of the Massachusetts emigrants, pass a third reading and be laid on the table there to die.

P. E. M.

The following stanzas, in honor of Fremont, by Mr. E. W. B. Cummins of Old Stockbridge, have recently been set to music by Mr. Whittaker, and the whole dedicated to the Sax-horn Band of North Adams:—

Fremont Rallying Song.

I.

Say, ye freemen, who shall be
The next leader of the free?
Know ye who can fearless dare
Front the savage and the bear?
Who can scale the mountain steeps;
Plow the drifts and bridge the deeps?
Stern of purpose—wise in plan—
Our Fremont is just the man.

II.

When the waves of threatening fate
Rise to whelm the ship of state,
Who shall speak the word of cheer,
Clear the breakers roaring near;
Spread the glorious stripes again,
And to safety's port attain?
Say, ye freemen,—well ye can—
If Fremont be not the man?

III.

Should the storms of Passion's war
Lower in muky gloomy afar,
And Columbia's eagle high
Shut in blood his burning eye;
Who, like Washington, shall stand,
Guard and bulwark of our land?
Save the flag of stars who can,
If Fremont be not the man?

IV.

Rouse ye then with heart and hand!
Freedom be to all the land!
Break the haughty tyrants rod—
'Tis a duty owed to God.
Wipe the blood from Kansas' soil,
From the spoiler take the spoil!
Let your cry of rally be—
Strike! Fremont and Victory!

The Douglas Bill in the Senate.

"Why don't the House accept and pass the Senate's Kansas bill?" is asked by some who now say they hope to see Kansas a Free State, but who never showed their faith by their works. Let us tell them:

L. Because that bill gives no assurance that Free Labor will have any fairer play under its provisions than it has had under the Kansas.

Nebraska bill. All the promises now made, all the lures hung out, are but repetitions of prospects equally specious, held out when the Nebraska bill was forced through Congress two years ago. Then we were told that Slavery had no chance to gain a footing in Kansas—that the "Laws of God" had excluded it—that the slaveholders "didn't" want that Territory—that they only wanted to establish the principle that Slavery might go wherever the people saw fit to carry it—and that the President would use his patronage fairly and justly in choosing men to govern and judge the Territory—that it would come in a Free State, of course. Such were the promises and prospects on the strength of which the original Nebraska bill was driven through Congress. We have seen how those pledges have been fulfilled. We are now asked to trust the very same men with the issue of Freedom or Slavery in Kansas. How can we?

II. Gov. Reeder, Lt. Gov. Roberts and Secretary Deitzler, with Senator Lane and many other Free State men of Kansas, are old-time Democrats, and strenuous supporters of the Nebraska bill when passed. Reeder and Roberts are Pennsylvanians; the former, and we think the latter also, belonged to that section of the party to which Mr. Buchanan belongs, and naturally sympathize with it. If the issue of Freedom or Slavery in Kansas were out of the way, these would now be for Buchanan. They are only opposed to him, if at all, because of their devotion to Free Kansas. Yet these say, as does every man who knows Kansas intimately and labors to make her a Free State, that to pass the Toombs-Douglas bill of the Senate is to surrender her inevitably to the Border Ruffians. Who is likely to know better than they?

III. The Toombs-Douglas bill which has passed the Senate does not abolish the ferocious code of laws imposed on Kansas by the irruption of Six Thousand Missourians on the 30th of March, 1855, but only a few of their most obviously atrocious provisions. It does not terminate the rule of Shannon and Le Compte, Donaldson and Jones, in Kansas; on the contrary, it perpetuates it. Let the House pass the Senate bill, and Shannon is still Governor, Le Compte Chief Justice, Donaldson U. S. Marshal, and Jones Sheriff of Douglas County, which includes Lawrence, Le Compte, &c., and all the acts and parts of acts of the bogus Legislature not expressly repealed hereby will have been tacitly sanctioned and affirmed by Congress. Jones and Donaldson can still pack Grand Juries that will, under Le Compte's instructions, order Free-State printing-offices and even hotels to be demolished as nuisances, and then place themselves at the head of Buford's and Atchison's hordes and proceed to put such presentment into execution. Not only the Territorial officers, but the Sheriffs and Judges of Probate, &c., appointed by the Border-Ruffian Legislature, will all hold on under the Senate's "Pacification" bill. How can Free-State men be expected to assent to this?

IV. We are told that those Free-State men who have been driven out of Kansas by Le Compte & Co. may return and vote at the election contemplated by Toombs's bill. How return? Not through Missouri, by the only facile route—that route is closed by the Border Ruffians. They may go around a twenty days' journey through the trackless wilds of Western Iowa if they choose. But suppose they do, what is to protect them against the indictments of Le Compte and arrests of Donaldson and Jones? Those warlike hold every man who helped establish the Free-State Government, or who refused to recognize as valid and obey the acts of the bogus Legislature, or who started to help defend Lawrence when they heard that the Border Ruffians were gathering to destroy her, to have committed treason, and they have quite a number of leading Free-State men now in close jail on indictments based on these views. Suppose our Free-State men now away from Kansas go back to participate in her struggle for Freedom, what is to prevent their sharing the fate of Gov. Robinson, Editor Brown, Secretary Deitzler, and others? Nay; who does not know that the Border-Ruffian authorities in Kansas would indict them, if they have not already done so, and have them arrested and shut up until the issue of Freedom or Slavery shall have been decided? What have they ever done to make us believe that they would not serve Reeder, Roberts, Lane, &c., as they have served Robinson, Brown, Deitzler, and others?

V. While Free-State men have been driven out and shut out of Kansas by hundreds for the last three months, Missouri and the South have been pouring in their legions unopposed and unmet. They are still pouring them in, while Free-State immigration has nearly ceased. We believe there are this day more Free-State than Pro-Slavery residents in Kansas;

but every office is in the hands of the latter, they are the ruling power—the "Law-and-Order" men—while our side are under foot, outlaws, rebels, according to what is dealt out in Kansas as law and justice. We have not a newspaper printed in Kansas nor on its border, while our adversaries have dozens. To go into an election now to decide whether Kansas shall be a Free or a Slave State, is to give the Border Ruffians the full advantage of all the outrages, crimes, election frauds, and robberies, they have been committing for the last two years. We cannot consent to this.

Of course, we are not to be understood as assenting that even a fair majority of the present inhabitants of Kansas have a right to establish Slavery therein. We recognize no such right, any more than we do a right to legalize Polygamy, Arson, or Horse-stealing. We hold the right of every innocent human being to the free and fair use of his own faculties and muscles to be above any right inhering in the community to enslave him. But, if we assented to the fundamental principle of the Nebraska act, we should still protest against the passage of the Toombs-Douglas bill of the Senate.

Portland Advertiser.

Thursday Morning, July 17, 1856.

Threats and Bribery.

New York mechanics are menaced with the loss of Southern patronage. We are told that an association has just been formed at the South, called the Southern Rights and Union Congress, the object of which is to regulate the trade between Southern and Northern merchants, and that the association already has an agent in New York City, to ascertain who shall be proscribed, and who, in consideration of Southern trade, will agree to favor the Southern view of the Slavery question.

This is perfectly in accordance with the whole spirit and genius of slavery. It is but a part of a system it has long pursued to sustain and strengthen itself—a system which has been partially and temporarily successful, but, like all efforts to sustain and extend any great wrong, must eventually recoil upon its authors. Proscription and persecution are the national weapons of slaveholders—as natural as canes, bowie-knives and pistols. They are never content with what can be secured in the ordinary and legitimate course of things. They are always resorting to some extraordinary methods to carry their points, by which they are very apt to injure themselves much more than others. They imprison Northern colored seamen at Charleston and New Orleans to prevent them from encouraging and aiding slaves to escape. The consequence is that they mourn over the lost commerce they drive away. They repealed the Missouri Compromise to extend slavery. By that act, they aroused a feeling at the North which bids fair to reject hereafter even the quiet and insinuating means by which they have heretofore controlled the government, and effectually and forever to prevent any further extension of slavery under the National authority. They undertook to crush out a Free State party in Kansas—they have created a Free State party all over the Union. They have threatened to hang men for talking about slavery, and the consequence is that every body is talking about it.—They have attempted to suppress the mention of the subject of slavery in the pulpit, and in the attempt, have unitedly arrayed the Northern clergymen and the Northern churches in decided opposition to the whole system. They attempted to stop Sumner's speeches with a club, and it secured for his speech a more extensive reading, than was ever before accorded to any other speech.

So it will be in this attempt to co-erce Northern merchants by threats, and corrupt them by bribery. This system has been tried extensively heretofore, and with great success in some of our great commercial cities like Philadelphia, New York and Boston. But there is a point beyond which

it will not work. In quiet times, when there was not much to stir men's blood and their better impulses, it has met with much success. But if we can judge, our northern merchants are not in a mood just now to be thus co-erced. They are willing even to make some sacrifices for the privilege of living and acting out their own will and their own convictions. Besides, they are beginning to learn that when a merchant is proscribed by the slaveholders, they have only to make the fact known, and it becomes for him the very best business advertisement he could have. Many have already made fortunes by it, having secured, for every Southern customer lost, Northern and Western customers, more in number and extent of trade, and far more sure and prompt to pay.

We think, therefore, that the chances are that the slave-power will take nothing by their motion in this matter, except to cut their own fingers and pick their own pockets. Northern merchants will learn and feel, and will teach them, that they are no more dependant upon their Southern customers than their Southern customers are upon them—while the other classes in the Free North, the mechanics and farmers scattered over our hills and vallies, will see and understand what threats and bribes are brought to operate upon the merchants of our great cities to influence and corrupt their political action. Let them see to it that the remark holds true that, "God made the country," even if it should be made manifest, through such influences, that "man made the town"

The Age.

AUGUSTA, ME.

Thursday.....July 17, 1856.

Dr. Smith, the late "American" Mayor of Boston, now in Kansas, writes in regard to the Missouri invaders.

"I fully believe that they are as thoroughly despised by avowed pro-slavery men as by republicans. If the United States forces act, as I doubt not they will, impartially, and protect peaceable people improving their claims, happiness and prosperity will again smile on the labors of honest men in Kansas."

A copy of the Hartford Times, of Tuesday, contains the following paragraph:

"A gentleman who has just returned from Lawrence and Wauabosa, in Kansas, informs us that the best of his knowledge and belief, the money subscribed by New England to the "emigrant aid" societies of Kansas, never reaches that territory. He is himself a free state man, but he feels compelled to say that both Robinson and Reeder are unprincipled men, of hollow hearts, and but one end and aim in stirring up the Kansas excitement, and that is self-aggrandizement, by one or another form of speculation."

The Albany Atlas contains a narrative from a returned physician, who went to Kansas a free state man, and acted with them as long as they kept within the Constitution and laws, or, as he says, "until they took treasonable ground." He says of the free state men:

"If they had obeyed the laws, and gone on quietly, he is sure they would have had a majority of four to one in the territory. The northern states were sending in an emigration of from ten to one. The first emigrants from the south came without slaves, and had no desire to introduce the same. But the treasonable Topeka movement drove these men, and a great number of the northern men, into the ranks of law and order. Those have been denounced abroad, and assailed as pro-slavery men. But the state is destined to be a free one; and there would not have ever been a question of this, at this day, but for the criminal folly of the so called free state men."

Revolution Attempted in Kansas.--- Eight hundred armed men assembled to overthrow the U. S. Authorities.

To what length the "Northern League" party have determined to go in their mad political career, it is difficult to conjecture. Threats of a general resort to arms in case of failure to

elect Fremont have already been sounded by the N. Y. Courier and Enquirer, and other leading spirits, and shadowed forth in Congress. Controlled by these leaders, the Free State party in Kansas, selected the 4th of July to attempt to set a government in active operation, independent of all authority of the U. S. government. The two branches of this self-constituted Legislature, which assembled some time since and adjourned to the 4th inst., then to throw off its allegiance, unless sooner admitted as a State by Congress, actually convened upon that day, with armed troops to maintain its usurpation of the reins of government, and defend its treasonable acts, against the forces of the federal government.

It cannot be said that this body of 800 men was for protection against Missourians, for it is a well known fact that Col. Sumner had driven from the territory all the "border ruffians," and that no apprehensions could exist on that account, as Sumner still remains to prevent any invasion. It was in direct hostility to the United States. It is to be remembered, that while some respectable and orderly citizens of the North have gone to Kansas, yet a large portion of those who have emigrated, have gone under the influence of the "Beecher Rifle gospel" precepts, and very many of the most not-headed and desperate of our Northern citizens have gone thither expressly to fight. The desperate character of Robinson, as developed in California, of Lane, as seen in his *spurious* memorial, and other acts, and of other leading spirits there and at the North, is not to be forgotten. Hence, it is not so surprising that men could be found ready to embark in such an enterprise.

It is also to be remarked that large companies of armed men have been formed in Illinois, Iowa and elsewhere, of late, some of which have been disbanded in Missouri, and it hardly admits of doubt, that these were destined, and expected to arrive in season to aid in this defiance of the lawful authority of the U. S. As but few of these had arrived, it was not deemed prudent to hazard a battle with the forces under Col. Sumner, and accordingly, after the Legislature had commenced operations, and Col. Sumner had with great prudence, moderation, and firmness, notified them that they must disperse and discontinue their revolutionary opposition, satisfied that he was in earnest in what he said, their hot blood oozed out at their fingers' ends, and direction was obeyed.

In the Rhode Island case, somewhat similar measures were pursued, and the revolutionary government was put down. Gov. Dorr was tried for treason, convicted and imprisoned, and it would have seemed as if that case should have furnished a warning to these Kansas men. It is time that such anarchy should be rebuked. The election of any man to the Presidency, is too dearly bought at such cost. Men may prate of liberty, but what is liberty without law? What is government, unless its authority be sustained? Every man should look at these things dispassionately.

The Kansas Money.

We find that the people who have liberally subscribed to aid Kansas, are beginning to inquire about its disposition—what has become of it. Large sums have been collected all over the Northern States, and especially in New England. Purses that were seldom opened to domestic charities have disgorged freely for bleeding Kansas, and we believe too, in a right good spirit. But what has become of it? Who has had the distribution of it? What record is there to show to what use it has been put?

These are honest inquiries that have never been satisfactorily answered, and we fear never will. We are allowed, however, to conjecture of some of the money and rifles that have been given to Kansas, but which have never reached there, by the following extracts from a letter received from Mr. Lines of New Haven, who started with a company, taking the very Sharpe's rifles with them which were raised at the celebrated Silliman meeting in that city. He may be considered a good witness in the matter. His statements are as follows:

"Several of these Missourians whose acquaintance we made, were men of influence, and they said to us distinctly, that when men came from the North with no other object than to become actual settlers in the territory, and as such do whatever they thought best to make Kansas a free State, they had nothing to say; but it was the belief that many were sent by said societies for no purpose but to vote, and to disaffect the negroes; that caused all the excitement and trouble. We assured them our object was narrowed down to that point—that we came upon our own hook, and that while we believed the whole slave system to be bad, we did not propose to interfere with it in any manner inconsistent with the laws of the country, and the rights of the States."

On board the steamer, filled with Missourians, this party met with nothing but courtesy; and when they left it, among other gifts at parting, the company gave Sharpe's rifles. Mr. Lines says:

"This may strike our friends at home as a somewhat singular use of the weapon, but we were satisfied it would do more to remove false impressions, and prepare the way for a free and fearless emigration from the East than any other use we could possibly make of a dozen of them. After the presentation, the rifle was exhibited freely, and carefully examined by the Missourians on board, and it was quite evident that we were not mistaken in our judgment in the case. One thing is now settled in the mind of every man in our company, that no fear of molestation need deter any person from coming here, if they come as they ought, and that ploughs and Bibles will be more useful than rifles and revolvers, and yet it may be well for those who trust chiefly to weapons for defence, when exposed to molestation, to bring them along; but my own mind is, and it always has been, in favor of peace, and as a means of promoting peace, to have little to do or say about deadly weapons."

The above extracts furnish food for reflection. Again, what has become of the Kansas Money? [Bangor Journal.]

DAILY FREE PRESS.

BURLINGTON:

THURSDAY EVENING, JULY 17, 1856.

Kansas News.

CHICAGO, Tuesday, July 15, 1856.—The Tribune has advised from Leavenworth to the 11th ult. "The Border ruffians had arrived there." A detachment of citizens waited upon them, asking protection of their lives and property, and armed men were sent from the South on the different rivers. Harassed, that is had no authority. What accused by us were regularly enrolled militia, and that there was no address except by civil law.

Whenever looked for any change for the better by Gen. Persifer Smith's Administration of military affairs in Kansas, must have overlooked the fact that he sent there by the same chiefs at Washington, who set out to force Kansas to be a Slave State—who were ready to violate any law of Congress, even those of our own people; and the express provisions of the Constitution—to tread under foot every principle of a free government and the most sacred rights of man in order to accomplish their unrighteous purpose. Have they ever shown the least disposition to slacken their lawless and bloody grasp on the throats of the free State men in Kansas!—or the least desire to check

the outrages of the Missourian and South Carolinian robbers and murderers? Not the least. General Smith is sent there in the expectation that he will be less scrupulous on the side of the border ruffians than Col. Sumner has been. Col. Sumner, if he has been obliged to obey his orders, has shown plainly enough at times that he took no pleasure in the work. Depend upon it, Smith is sent there to be a willing agent in the work of oppression.

Kansas as a Farming Country

A LETTER, under date of June 20th, to a gentleman of this vicinity, from a friend in Illinois who had been travelling a few weeks in Kansas, contains the following statements respecting that part of the Territory which he had visited. His account of the desirableness of that region for the farmer differs, somewhat, from other accounts. It is well to remember that no account made up from a short examination can apply to all parts of that vast Territory—large enough to contain a dozen such States as Vermont in it.

"With regard to the general appearance of the country, climate, soil, wood, water, and other advantages essential to a good farming district, I confess, I was somewhat disappointed. Although the soil, as a general thing, is good, it is not at all to be compared with Illinois, Georgia, Wisconsin, or even to many of the border Counties of Missouri. The climate would be no objection to a person living in Illinois. But the greatest objection I have to the territory is the scarcity of wood. In travelling through a district of country of the distance of 250 miles, I candidly do not think I saw (except in the Indian reserves, which is the best timbered portion of Kansas) as much timber as there is in "Henderson Grove." Kansas River has not one-third the timber on it, at any point which I touched, as Spoon river has. On the Neosho river, in the South part of Kansas, is, I think, the best supply of wood I saw in the Territory, except, as before said, on the Indian reserves. I traveled one day 25 miles and did not see even brush enough to hide a rabbit. On the smaller streams you will find small patches of timber, almost any one of which would be burnt up in Illinois in one winter by two or three old fashioned fire-places; and yet there are generally three or four squatters near expecting to make farms, "i. e." (fencing) out of it. The consequence is that the greatest body of the land never can or will be rendered available for farming purposes. It is frequently stated that there is a sufficient amount of rock for fencing purposes, but when you come to see the rock and its situation, you will conclude that not much ever can or will be used for fencing.—There is quantities of rock in the Territory, but I did not see but one small portion of a string of fence made of rock. There is some Coal, which will partly compensate for the scarcity of wood. Claims near Lawrence sell for \$1000 to \$1500, at Topeka and Leocompton not so high, and in the south part of Kansas from \$75 to \$150 and \$200. No valuable claims (or indeed any) to be got on the Kansas river, until you get near Fort Riley. Plenty of them on the Neosho river yet to be taken."

THE NORTH UNION.

WEST CHARLESTON

THURSDAY, JULY 17, 1856.

THE ISSUE.

We see, in some of the Administration papers a false issue brought before the people, in regard to the coming Presidential election. According to their representations, the great question at issue, is, whether Congress, or the people of Kansas, shall settle the question of Slavery in regard to that Territory. This can be nothing less than endeavoring to deceive the

people. The real fact is, the PEOPLE of Kansas have settled that question already by a majority of about four to one, in favor of freedom. And the question now, is, whether any regard shall be had to that decision. The Administration party are for trying the question over again, under such circumstances as to give the result entirely into the hands of the Missourians. This they did in the first trial. And because their treachery is made manifest—so manifest that they fear its result in the Presidential canvass—they ask for a chance to try the same thing again; thus virtually "owning up" to all the charges which have been brought against them by their opponents, and which they so stoutly denied, till the nomination of FREMONT & DAYTON, and the exposures of the Congressional Investigating Committee made them tremble. First, they pass a bill professedly giving the question of Slavery into the hands of the settlers of the Territory, supposing that the proximity of Missouri, aided by the strenuous efforts of secret societies organized for that purpose, and the eloquence and personal popularity of their then presiding officer, would enable them to keep settlers from the Free States out of Kansas, and to establish slavery there, with very little difficulty.

Finding themselves unable to do this without resorting to force, fraud, and the most unjustifiable and unconstitutional measures, they hesitate not in use of them all. When these measures are exposed, they resolutely uphold them, and endeavor by the shout of "Sectionalism," and "Black Republicanism," to stop the ears of the people, so that they shall not hear the truth. But when they find truth too strong for them, when they find the people really beginning to think, when they find their indignation aroused, they turn round and say "there is really something wrong about this but give us a other chance and we will try it again." As if they would at all slack their efforts to make Kansas a slave State by the use of any means in their power, constitutional or unconstitutional. As if another trial of the same kind with the former would bring speedy peace to Kansas and to the country. As if another trial, with the executive power of Kansas in worse hands than before, would be likely to give the real views of the citizens of that Territory.

Thus they attempt to blind and deceive the people, and hide from them the real issue, which is not whether Congress or the people of Kansas shall decide the question of Slavery therein; but whether the people shall be allowed to express their views fairly on this subject, and whether their decision shall be respected; whether the people of Kansas shall be allowed to decide for themselves, or the people of Missouri shall decide for them. We are willing to meet them on their own ground; we are willing the people should decide the question, but we must insist that they be allowed to do it peaceably, that they be not driven from the polls by armed invaders; or, that, if such is proved to be the case, the decisions of those lawless invaders be set aside, and the real decision of the people be respected.

Here we take issues, hoping that all lovers of freedom, all the friends of freedom, will unite and thus carry out the principles of justice on which our Government was founded.

The Great Question.

THE SLAVOCRACY FRIGHTENED AND CRYING FOR MERCY!

The spontaneous outpouring of public sentiment for FREEDOM and FREMONT has already inspired the Tyrants with terror. They cannot abide the day of wrath! They are trying to escape! Behold the PROOF:

IN U. S. SENATE, June 30, 1856.—Mr. Douglas, from the Committee on Territories, made a voluminous Report upon Kansas matters.

It contains an elaborate argument in favor of the bill accompanying the report, which provides for the appointment of five Commissioners, to be selected by the President from different sections of the Union, to represent fairly all political parties. They shall take a census of all the legal voters in the Territory, on the 4th of July instant, and make a fair apportionment of delegates to be elected by each county to form a constitution and institute a State government. When the apportionment shall have been made, the Commissioners are to remain in session every day, except Sunday, at the place most convenient for the inhabitants of said Territory, to hear all complaints, examine witnesses, and correct all errors in said list of voters, which list shall be previously printed and generally circulated through the Territory, and posted in at least three of the most public places of each election district; and so soon as all the errors have been thus corrected in said lists, are requested to cause a corrected list of the legal voters to be printed, and copies furnished to each Judge of Election, to be put at places of voting and circulated in every county in the Territory before the day of election. No person to be allowed whose name does not appear on the list as a legal voter.

The election for delegates to take place on the day of the Presidential election, and the convention to assemble on the first Monday in December to decide 1st, whether it be expedient for Kansas to come into the Union at that time, and, if so decided, to proceed to form a Constitution and State government which shall be of Republican form; Kansas then to be admitted under such constitution on an equal footing with the original States.

The bill provides further that no law shall be enforced in the Territory infringing the liberty of speech, or of the press, or the right of the people to bear arms, &c. It also provides punishment for illegal voting, or fraud and violence at election, and authorizes the use of military for that purpose. The main point is that the persons designated by the census as the present inhabitants of the Territory shall decide all points in dispute at a fair election without fraud or violence or any other improper influence.

All the white male inhabitants over 21 years of age, who were in the Territory on the 4th of July instant, are to be allowed to vote if they have resided in the Territory three months previous to the day of election, and no other test shall be required; no oath to support the fugitive slave law, or any other law, nor any other condition however.

This is apparently fair. Upon its face it pretends to secure an honest census, an honest election, and an honest decision, by the people of Kansas, of the slavery question. Impliedly it is a confession that Pierce, Douglas and all the Slavocrats have been, up to this time, wrong;

that Congress has something to do with this question; that the Missouri Bogus Legislature was wrong; that its laws were wrong; that the outrages upon the freedom of speech and the press were wrong; that the outrages upon life, liberty and property were wrong; that the infringement upon the right to bear arms was wrong; that murders, robbery, rapine, arson, have all been wrong; that the test oath was wrong; that the seizure of Governor Robinson and other Free State men, on charges of treason, was wrong; that the driving of Free State men from the Territory was wrong. These are just conclusions from Douglas' report and bill as above reported.

The whole thing is a confession of GUILTY! —GUILTY! —GUILTY! to all the terrible charges on which the present Government and sham Democracy have been arraigned at the bar of the People. It is a plea of GUILTY, and a cry for MERCY.

Freemen of Vermont! Consider this plea of guilty. Why is it so suddenly made?—Down to the nomination of FREMONT & DAYTON, there was but one cry from Douglas, Pierce, and the whole slavocratic crew—but one threat, openly and insultingly made to the freemen of Kansas, and to the friends of Freedom throughout the Union. It was this: "WE WILL SUBDUCE YOU!" Look at the Cincinnati Platform—not yet six weeks old; binding Buchanan & Co. to the same principles from which sprang the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the attempted Africanization of free Kansas, and the terrible outrages upon her free people; aye, and against these outrages, now publicly confessed to be wrong by Stephen Arnold Douglas, and a Slavocratic Senate at his heels; we say, against these gross violations of the Constitution itself, the Cincinnati Platform contains not one single word of condemnation. Oh! honest freemen—charitable freemen—fornbearing freemen; do you believe in this sudden conversion? Is it honest? Is it true, genuine heart repentance—or is it only the selfish, cowardly, skin deep repentance, forced upon the Tyrants by their fears of Fremont & Dayton, and of the wrath of the people? Judge ye. For our part, we hesitate not to say that it is spurious repentance. There is indeed a confession of guilt; but mark this: THERE IS NO REPARATION!

The infamous laws of the Bogus Legislature are not repealed; the real Kansas Legislature is not recognized; Robinson is not released from the charge of treason; the Border Ruffians are not driven from Kansas; Lawrence is not rebuilt; the printing presses are not restored; the private property destroyed is not replaced; the Topeka Constitution is not received; the will of the people of Kansas, already expressed by a popular vote, and maintained in spite of the hired ruffians of the Slavocracy, is not respected. No! none of these things are done.

They have once attempted to cheat Freedom of Kansas by trickery. Now they say—let us have another game. But won't they cheat again? We know little of cards; but we know there are four chief cards, of which the slavocratic blacklegs have all but one. The ace (the people) is on the right side: but slavery has the king (Pierce) the queen (the Senate), and the jack (the Army.) Will you trust these knaves with such a hand? It will not do.

Let two things be remarked, for with all the apparent fairness of Douglas' bill, there are

two fatal traps in it:

I. The President, with the advice of the Senate, is to appoint the five Commissioners, who are to take the census, and provide for the election. In fact they are to control the whole affair—counting whom they will as citizens, and admitting whom they will to vote. Is President Pierce worthy of this trust?—No! and Douglas and Cass have been the very first to prove that the people have no confidence in him; for these gentlemen have taken care to give their pledge "that he shall appoint men from different sections of the Union, to represent fairly all political parties."

Ah! Why don't they put the commissioners in the bill? Will they give us a committee for Freedom? If so—let them put their names in the act. But no such thing is to be expected. They will give us, probably, two Republicans, two Slavocratic Democrats, and a Dough-faced American. In short, a committee packed for Slavery. We put no trust in a Pierce-packed committee. Kansas was solemnly pledged to Freedom by the Missouri Compromise. The South pledged it; Congress pledged it; the Government pledged it; every political party from 1820 to 1852 pledged it. Let that pledge be redeemed. Let us insist upon the clear legal, constitutional, moral right of Kansas to Freedom.

II. The people who are in Kansas on the 4th of July, and remain there for three months, are to control the question. Remember! hundreds of the free state men, actual settlers, have already been driven out of Kansas by the Border Ruffians, and hundreds more have been prevented from going in. Remember again: the 4th of July is the day of the meeting of the Topeka legislature, and it has already been announced that thousands of Border Ruffians have been enrolled to enter Kansas on that day. The 4th of July has not been selected without a purpose; and it was anticipated as a day of triumph to the Slavocrats.

These two considerations stamp Douglas' new bill as a sham—as a scheme, plausible on its face, but really designed to consummate that perfidy to Freedom which originally repealed the Missouri Compromise, and has since sought to extend and establish Slavery in Kansas by violence and fraud. As conclusive proof that this is the real purpose of the bill, we give the following extract from a letter addressed to us by a Vermont Member of Congress:

"House of Representatives,
Washington, July 3, 1856. }

"Phelps of Missouri now says that with Toombs' bill, [as reported to the Senate by Douglas,] Kansas would be sure to be a Slave State."

Freemen of Vermont! put no hope in shams—no trust in Traitors. Douglas, Pierce & Co. shamelessly confess their guilt, but there is no true repentance. They confess their wrongs; but there is no reparation. They tremble before the People, as Felix did before Paul; but they will go on in sin. Let them go to their punishment.—Vt. Watchman.

The Plymouth Rock.

M. BATES, Jr., Editor.

JULY 17, 1856.

The New Kansas Bill.

We publish this week the bill to form a Constitution for Kansas previous to its admission into the Union as a State, and we ask for it the attention of every one who is willing to stop and reason upon the Kansas question. The passage of this bill places the republicans in a remarkably unpleasant dilemma, one or the other horn of which they must hang themselves upon. If a majority of the actual bona fide settlers of the territory are free State men, and it has all along been contended that they are, then this law will make Kansas a free State:—if the majority are not free State men, then all the stories about the rights of the people being trampled upon in the elections that have passed must prove to be based upon false premises and will end in smoke. The fact that the Topeka Constitution was framed by a party convention, and adopted by only 619 votes, will show that it is the Republican party that seek to carry its ends by anarchy, trampling the laws of the country in the dust. But say our Republican friends there is not population enough to make Kansas a State if required to come in as other states are admitted. And pray what is there in the people of Kansas which gives them privileges that the people of Minnesota, Nebraska, Washington and other Territories do not possess? The answer to this is that Kansas is in danger of becoming a Slave State, and hence she must be admitted under her Topeka constitution, whether or no. We have not forgotten the great contest in 1844, when it was contended that Texas if admitted would be forthwith cut up into three or four slave states, by which the South were to have a preponderance in the United States Senate, and terrible results were to flow from it. But Texas was admitted and though twelve years have elapsed, there is not the slightest probability that the predicted slave states are to be carved out there, nor was slavery extended over a foot of territory by the admission of Texas. We are told that the present is the "great contest for freedom," and stump speakers by the gross are harping upon the Kansas string though with not half so much force as they shouted opposition to Texas in '44. But the cries of these pseudo philanthropists failed them then, and they will not avail them now, out of New England; but with the November election will be settled the whole Kansas question, and the harps of the croakers may be hung upon the willows.

So far as the admission of Kansas into the Union itself is concerned, we have but one wish, and that is for the freedom of her people from the blighting curse of slavery, and we have faith enough in the potency of free principles in this country to believe that her soil will not be polluted by an institution which is legitimately confined to more southern latitudes. But we have all along been unable to see why, in a free Republic, where arbitrary lines are not very popular, to say the least, the line of 36° 30' should be selected as a black line between slavery and freedom, and that while south of it slavery can be perpetrated with impunity, the north is too sacred for its touch. For ourselves we wish the whole institution of slavery was transferred to our northern latitudes, for that would be sure death to it, and we cannot, for the life of us, see why slavery is such a sacred

institution in all the Southern part of Kansas, and so horrid in the northern part, merely because the territory is divided by an invisible parallel of latitude. The Republicans denounce the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and shout freedom for the whole of Kansas in the same breath, and yet they appear to forget that almost one half of this territory must have been consecrated to slavery, had not the compromise of 1820 been repealed. We rejoiced in the repeal of the Missouri line because it thereby consecrated the whole, instead of a part of the fertile West to freedom, and nothing but the designs of a set of political demagogues, who shout freedom, but mean office and power, and who will assent even to slavery in Kansas or Nebraska, if they can make capital out of it, has created the slightest danger of slavery in the newly organized territories.

The bill which has passed the Senate will, in our judgement secure freedom to Kansas, if the North attend to their legitimate business, and furnish emigrants with implements of husbandry and usefulness rather than implements of war, and send their money to aid those who need it rather than to pay political stump speakers, to make capital for the Presidency, this result will be speedily attained.

A letter from an intelligent emigrant to Kansas, just published in the New York papers, says that "not a dollar of the money raised in the East has ever reached Kansas," while thousands upon thousands of dollars have been contributed to support a set of lazy brawlers who are making a living out of the Kansas business, and of speculators who wish to sell their Kansas lands, and the people are fast opening their eyes to the true position of the case, which we trust the bill in question is to make a final disposition of.

The American Whig.

TAUNTON, MASS.

THURSDAY EVENING, JULY 17, 1856.

Another Cheering Word from the Patriot Quincy.

The venerable Josiah Quincy sent the following letter to the Young Men's Fremont Club, Boston, few days since, enclosing \$30 towards defraying the expenses of the Club:

Gentlemen:—I rejoice in your organization. Thank God the palsy of death is not yet upon the liberties of the free States. The young blood begins to move. The question depending is—are the slaveholders or the free States henceforth to govern the Union. If the free States are united, their success certain. Be on your guard. The slaveholders have governed this Union almost uninterruptedly for fifty years, by two arts—by buying in the free State what was corrupt, by dividing them in what would. Be on your guard. There is no intension in their cunning. Pay no regard to names influences. Whoever is put up in opposition to Fremont and Dayton, is put up in conjunction with the slaveholders. The object will be to divide the free States, to throw the final question from the people into Congress, where the slaveholders are masters. Be firm and united. "Now is the time, now or never." The events of the time cannot be misunderstood. The slaveholders mean to continue to govern this Union hereafter, as they have done heretofore—by dividing and corrupting. If they succeed after the demonstration they have given of character and purposes, the free States are slaves, and deserve to be, to the worst of all possible masters—Heaven never fails to punish with severe retribution a people who are negligent or faithless to the opportunities it puts into their hands. God and you country are with you, my young friends. Both will bless you.
Yours,
JOSIAH QUINCY.

From the same source. The following is the preamble

The following is a telegraphic dispatch from Chicago to the Associated Press of this city:

The Tribune has advices from Leavenworth to the 11th inst. Gen. Persifer Smith had arrived there. A deputation of citizens waited upon him, asking protection of their lives and property against armed marauders from the South on the different river towns. He replied that he had no authority; that the armed bands were regularly enrolled militia, acting under the color of the law, and that there was no redress except by civil law.

The above accords with our previous understanding of the facts, and with the statements of our own correspondents, in another column of this paper. Gen. Smith is a Pro-Slavery man, but he is, above all, a military officer, and the first rule of his profession is to "obey orders." He can do nothing for Kansas that Col. Sumner has not done, and we shall be glad to find him as fair and impartial as Col. S. has usually been. But neither of them, nor any other military commandant in the Territory, can afford any substantial and lasting relief to the Free-State settlers from the wrongs and woes of their present lot, so long as Pierce sits in the White House, Jeff. Davis in the War Department, with Shannon in the Territory as Governor, Leecompte as Chief Justice, and Donaldson as Marshal. Congress might do some little good by nullifying the Border-Ruffian laws; but to nullify a few of the worst of their provisions, leaving all the rest not only in force but, by clear implication, sanctioned and affirmed, would be a very dubious good. Any act of Congress which sanctions and legalizes the Border-Ruffian frauds by which the election of March 30, 1855, was swamped, and the pretended legislation based thereon, will do the settlers more harm than good.

If Congress would just sweep that whole bogus code out of existence, branding its authors as impudent pretenders to legislative power, it would begin at the right end. But the present Senate will agree to nothing of the sort.

We say, then, that there is no hope of any substantial relief for the oppressed people of Kansas but in a radical change at Washington—one that will hurl their oppressors from power and install their defenders instead. With a President in the White House who would appoint Charles Robinson Governor and J. A. Wakefield, or some other honest and capable Free-State man, Chief Justice, following these up by kindred appointments throughout and orders to watch, we might rejoice in the glorious knowledge that the sufferings of the Freedmen of Kansas are very near their end. But to hope for any beneficial change from the substitution of Smith for Sumner, or any such shuffle, is to build on a most sandy and treacherous foundation.

KANSAS. 1856. THE LEGISLATIVE CONVENTION.

From Our Special Correspondent.

GARVEY HOUSE, TOPEKA, STATE OF KANSAS, Saturday, July 5, 1856.

Yesterday evening the Convention, assembled at this place, adjourned after a prolonged session interspersed with incidents of no common character. While the sentiment that animated the great mass was one that was unmistakable and not easy to be perverted, there was unquestionably a little of that political speculation which was observable here at the Constitutional Convention last Fall, and which was influenced by similar motives and men. The Buchanan party in Washington had their emissaries here, and intended to make capital for themselves, though in so doing they should effect the ruin of Free Kansas. Strong doubts of the political integrity of the Lieutenant-Governor of the State, W. J. Roberts, are freely expressed. It is supposed that the Buchanan men in Washington have made him a tool, and are using him to prejudice the interest of the Free-State cause.

If this was the design, it has miserably failed, and all these efforts to injure our cause have failed in spite of the exertions of an indurios class of wire-workers, as will be seen by reference to the resolutions. Yesterday forenoon was spent in discussing the resolutions, and the Convention was so engaged when Postscript Donaldson, in company with Judge Elmore, came up and read, first the proclamation issued by President Pierce in February last, then the last proclamation of the Governor, issued a month ago, and on the heels of these and under their authority, a proclamation from Secretary Woodson, acting Governor of the Territory which orders the Legislature to disperse, under the authority of Franklin Pierce, and declaring that, if it did not, the military force should be used to drive it out. Appended to Woodson's proclamation was a note from Col. Sumner, informing the Legislature that if they did not comply he would use all his force to make them. After this interruption, which was listened to respectfully, (Elmore and Donaldson being invited on the stand to read the proclamations,) the meeting proceeded with its business until the interruption described elsewhere, when one of the most startling scenes ever presented to the civilized world took place. In the afternoon, the Convention proceeded in its work, disposing of the resolutions, perfecting an Executive Council Committee to manage the concerns and interests of Kansas, to take general cognizance of its interests, pecuniary and otherwise. They are to appoint local subordinate committees. The members of this Central Executive Committee are Messrs Wm. Hutchinson and James Bland of Lawrence; Alfred Curtis, District No 2; G. S. Hillier of Ninth District; Dr. Marvin of Topeka; Dr Root of Waubona; S. B. McKenzie of District No 11; H. Miles More of Leavenworth; M. Adair, 11th District; G. S. Donaldson, Strager's Creek; F. G. Jamison, Doniphan; Mr. Winchell, Council City; Mr. Dow of the Neosho. Such are the members of this important Committee. I will give a further account of it as soon as they have perfected their organization. The following Committee was appointed to memorialize Congress: Judge Wakefield of Bloomington; Dr. Root, Waubona; John Hutchinson, Lawrence; Mr H. M. Moore, Leavenworth; Col. Bland of Lawrence. Just before the close of the Convention, Mr. Emery arrived, having come through Iowa, and addressed the assemblage. A letter from Gov. Robinson and the other prisoners a Leecompton, which is hereto appended, was read. It was received with a sad enthusiasm, which mingled the feeling it inspired with the reflection of the startling and important scene which had just been witnessed, when the Representatives of a free people were driven out by soldiery from the duties they were called on to perform. Throughout its long session, the Convention manifested a deep interest in the important matters they had assembled to consider and act upon. It adjourned on the evening of the Fourth.

The following Declaration was promulgated by the Convention:

We, the people of Kansas, in Mass Convention assembled, in favor of preserving forever the Freedom of the Territory and State, and the total exclusion of the institution of Slavery, do herein distinctly state our position and our cause, that our fellow-citizens in the North and the South, at the East and the West, as well as the Government of the United States, may rightly appreciate our motives and our conduct:

First: We do solemnly declare before God and our fellow men that we have asked no more than an impartial vote—a free vote—on the part of the citizens of this Territory—whether Slavery should or should not be established in the Territory.

Second: We do most solemnly declare to the world that our Territorial elections have been invaded and controlled by those who have no residence nor interest in Kansas.

Third: That armed bands from the slaveholding States have swarmed into our Territory, been received by Government officials, armed with Government arms, and, unmolested by any regularly constituted authorities, have searched, seized and burned our dwellings, broken and destroyed our presses, and without any authority have invaded the sanctity of the homes of our citizens, and fired upon, robbed and murdered them by force, whenever their lawless passions directed.

That our towns now swarm with these reckless desperadoes who, under the very eyes of Government officials, stalk among our free citizens armed to the teeth with bowie-knife and revolver. That the Government officials, on the one hand, invade and receive and are a

encourage the hirings of the slave power as they swarm in our Territory; while on the other hand, Government officials nor Government troops, but these same hiring marauders, take it upon themselves, unmolested, to step the ingress into our Territory of peaceable migrants from the Free States, who, they have reason to believe, sympathize with the downtrodden and oppressed people of Kansas.

We now call upon the Government of the United States to respect the rights of the majority in Kansas, as well as the views and ambitious designs of Southern slaveholders and politicians, and should we fail in this we will then appeal to the free-men of the nation for aid and support; and, relying upon Almighty God and the justice of our cause, will take up arms in our own defense, and solemnly pledging ourselves to each other that so long as a free man stands erect upon the soil of Kansas we will never yield, though the slaveholders of the South should deluge our fair land with their living tides.

We deprecate alike the evil influence of fanaticism, in whatever party and in whatever section it may be exhibited. We do not seek to interfere with the institution of Slavery in any of the States where it now exists; and, above all, we do not design that the people of the States where it does exist shall interfere with the people of Kansas in the decision which they have made of the great question whether they will or not establish Slavery in this State.

We proclaim to the world that we have all the elements of a great and powerful State. Our hills abound with coal and minerals, our lands are rich and fertile; our climate all that could be desired; and here we have all the elements of a happy home for freemen.

It is in thus inviting all parties to join us, we make no religious or political tests but we call upon all the citizens of our common country, without distinction of party or creed, whether native or foreign-born, who desire to see freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and free institutions, established in our Territory and State, to unite with us in this great and holy work.

That we adhere to and will maintain our present Constitution and State Government until the majority of the people of Kansas shall determine otherwise.

That having hitherto invariably acted in accordance with the spirit of the American Constitution, and having

framed by our delegates, regularly elected, a State Constitution, and believing that the only measure by which peace can be secured to this section of our Republic, and justice done to ourselves and posterity, is the immediate admission of Kansas into the Union, under our present Constitution, we earnestly call upon our friends in the national House of Representatives to stop all supplies, until the Senate and Executive are compelled to admit us.

Resolved, That Gov. Charles Robinson, G. W. Dietzler, G. W. Brown, J. Jenkins, G. W. Smith, John Brown, Jr., and W. H. Williams and others, being our deepest sympathies as martyrs of liberty; that we are still convinced of the justice of the cause in which they suffer, and that we are ready to suffer with them.

We further declare that there is not now, nor has there ever been, any organized armed body of Free-Statesmen to resist the execution of the laws; that there never has existed any disposition other than to submit to all legal requirements, and at all times to demean ourselves as good citizens and an order-loving community.

Note, Therefore, That the foregoing sentiments may be diffused abroad, as the principles upon which we act be it.

Resolved, That this declaration be printed, and a copy thereof be forwarded to the President of the United States to each member of the Senate and House of Representatives, to the Governors of the several States, and the various presses throughout the country.

The following preamble and resolutions were also offered and adopted:

Whereas, The Government of the United States is a Government of the people, and whereas, the laws of our Government have wisely provided ample means of removing from office any person holding office under the laws of the United States who shall be guilty of any misdemeanor or malpractice in office; and whereas, Judge Leecompte has been guilty of high misdemeanor in office, as Judge of the First Judicial District of Kansas Territory, such as ought not to be suffered by a free people; therefore

Resolved, That this mass meeting of the people of Kansas Territory appoint a committee of five to draw up a memorial to the House of Representatives of the United States, well authenticated by affidavits, charging the said Judge Leecompte with high misdemeanors in office, and request that the House of Representatives prefer articles of impeachment to the Honorable the Senate of the United States against the said Judge Leecompte, for his removal from a office as Judge of the First Judicial District of the Territory of Kansas.

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed to collect moneys and construct a passable wagon-road from Nebraska City to some available point on the Kansas River, for the purpose of arranging and extending the travel of emigrants into the State, of Kansas.

PROCLAMATION OF THE FREE-STATE GOVERNOR.

The subjoined document was issued by John Curtis, the Acting Governor of the State of Kansas, on the 21 of July, the day before the meeting of the Legislature:

PROCLAMATION.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, TOPEKA, July 2, 1856.

Whereas, I am in possession of reliable information that certain portions of our State are infested with parties of freebooters, robbing our citizens, burning houses, and stealing and destroying property, and murdering innocent men, and believing that some of

will be upon us, to burn our houses and invade the sanctity of our homes, and sack this town; and whereas, The law fails to defend us with proper authority to provide means of defense against such invasions: Now, therefore, I, John Curtis, Acting Governor of the State of Kansas, feel it to be my imperative duty to call the General Assembly immediately together, that they may in their wisdom enact such law as the exigencies of the case demand. The Members of both Houses are hereby directed to meet at 9 o'clock a. m. of the 3d inst., at the Council Rooms, Topeka.

Given under my hand and seal, this 2d day of July, 1856.
JOHN CURTIS, Acting Governor of the State of Kansas.
PHILIP G. SCHUYLER, Secretary of State.

COL. SUMNER'S LETTER.

The following is a copy of the letter sent by Col. Sumner to the people assembled at Topeka through the Committee appointed to confer with him:

HEADQUARTERS 1ST CAVALRY, }
CAMP AT TOPEKA, K. T., July 3, 1856. }
GENTLEMEN: In relation to the assembling of the Topeka Legislature the subject of our conversation (last night), the more I reflect on it the more I am convinced that the peace of the country will be greatly endangered by your persistence in this measure. Under these circumstances, I would ask you and your friends to take the matter into grave consideration. It will certainly be much better that you should act voluntarily in this matter, from a sense of prudence and patriotism, at this moment of high excitement throughout the country, than that the authority of the General Government should be compelled to use coercive measures to prevent the assembling of that Legislature. I am, Gentlemen, very respectfully, your obedient servant,
E. V. SUMNER,
Col. 1st Cavalry Commanding.

ANOTHER FREE-STATE MAN SHOT.

From Our Special Correspondent.
BIG SPRING, July 6, 1856.
Yesterday a Free-State man named Hudson, a Quaker, who lived a few miles from Leecompton, while returning from the Convention at Topeka, was met near some by three Pro-Slavery men, who sprang up in the grass and shot at him. He was severely wounded and thrown by his frightened horse, but succeeded in getting on his horse and getting home. Col. Sumner, at the request of Free-State men, rode into Leecompton to see about it. I have heard nothing further. The man will probably recover.
I have just seen a man who escaped from another company taken on the Missouri River. There were a me seventeen emigrants with him who were plundered and sent back. He escaped to another boat and came on. The plunder taken from some of these emigrants is placed in the store of Majors & Russell, Leavenworth, the agents of the Southern Society.
The troops have left Topeka and the people gone home.

THE EVENING POST.

THURSDAY EVENING, JULY 17.

The Kansas Committees.

The chairman of the Kansas Aid Committee in this city is Thaddeus Hyatt, Esq., whose address is No. 120 Bowersy.
Mr. Hyatt is also a member of the committee appointed by the Kansas Aid Convention held at Buffalo. His name is erroneously printed Thos. Hyatt, in some of the accounts of the proceedings of that convention.
The appointment of that committee, we take for granted, will lead to immediate measures for sending forward the sums collected in this city and other places, for the relief of the distressed inhabitants of the territory. We have just seen a gentleman who was at Topeka on the 4th instant, when Colonel Sumner, by order of President Pierce, declared the territorial legislature dissolved at the point of the bayonet. He represents the condition of many of the inhabitants as exceedingly destitute. They had, at that time, received nothing of all the collections which had been made for their benefit. Some of the colonists were selling out their claims and returning to the states, having no prospect before them but starvation. Others were returning to the states with the intention of returning when the present distress shall be over.

We give place again in our columns to the Platform of the Philadelphia Convention, correctly printed. In many papers it has been printed with so many errors, more or less important, that it has been difficult to make sense of some of the resolutions. As given below, it expresses, we believe, the exact sense of the Committee which reported, and of the Convention which adopted it:

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN PLATFORM ADOPTED AT PHILADELPHIA, JUNE 18, 1856.

"The Hon. David Wilmont, of Pennsylvania, Chairman of the Committee on Platform, announced that the committee were ready to report.
"The announcement was received with loud cheers.
"Mr. Wilmont then submitted the following report, which was read, and unanimously adopted:

"THE PLATFORM."

"This Convention of Delegates, assembled in pursuance of a call, addressed to the people of the United States, without regard to past political differences or divisions, who are opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise; to the policy of the present administration and to the extension of slavery into free territory; who are in favor of the admission of Kansas as a free state; of restoring the action of the federal government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson; and who purpose to unite in presenting candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President, do

"1. Resolved, That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the federal constitution, is essential to the preservation of our republican institutions; and that the federal constitution, the rights of the states, and the union of the states, shall be preserved.

"2. Resolved, That with our republican fathers we hold it to be a self-evident truth that all men are endowed with unalienable rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and that the primary object and ulterior design of our federal government were to secure those rights to all persons within its exclusive jurisdiction; that, as our republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all our national territory, ordained that no person should be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, it becomes our duty to maintain this provision of the constitution against all attempts to violate it, for the purpose of establishing slavery in any territory of the United States, by positive legislation prohibiting its existence or extension therein; and we deny the authority of Congress, of a territorial legislature, of any individual or any association of individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any territory of the United States, while the present constitution shall be maintained.

"3. Resolved, That the constitution confers upon Congress sovereign power over the territories of the United States for their government, and that in the exercise of this power it is both the right and the duty of Congress to prohibit in the territories those twin relics of barbarism—polygamy and slavery.

"4. Resolved, That while the constitution of the United States was ordained and established by the people in order to 'form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, and secure the blessings of Liberty,' and contains ample provisions for the protection of the life, liberty and property of every citizen, the dearest constitutional rights of the people of Kansas have been fraudulently and violently taken from them;

"Their territory has been invaded by an armed force;
"Spurious and pretended legislative, judicial and executive officers have been set over them, by whose usurped authority, sustained by the military power of the government, tyrannical and unconstitutional laws have been enacted and enforced;

"The rights of the people to keep and bear arms have been infringed;

"Test-oaths, of an extraordinary and entangling nature, have been imposed as a condition of exercising the right of suffrage and holding office;

"The right of an accused person to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury has been denied;

"The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures, has been violated;

"They have been deprived of life, liberty and property without due process of law;

"The freedom of speech and of the press has been abridged;

"The right to choose their representatives has been made of no effect;

"Murders, robberies, and arsons have been instigated and encouraged, and the offenders have been allowed to go unpunished;

"That all these things have been done with the knowledge, sanction, and procurement of the present Administration, and that for this high crime against the constitution, and the Union, and humanity, we arraign that Administration, the President, his advisers, agents, supporters, apologists and accessories either before or after the facts—before the country and before the world; and that it is our fixed purpose to bring the actual perpetrators of these atrocious outrages and their accomplices, to a sure and condign punishment.

"5. Resolved, That Kansas should be immediately admitted as a State of the Union, with her present free constitution, as at once the most effectual way of securing to her citizens the enjoyment of the rights and privileges to which they are entitled and of ending the civil strife now raging in her territory.

"6. Resolved, That the highwayman's plea that 'might makes right,' embodied in the Ostend Circular, was in every respect unworthy of American diplomacy, and would bring shame and dishonor upon any government and people that should give it sanction.

"7. Resolved, That a railroad to the Pacific Ocean, by the most central and practicable route, is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country, and that the federal government ought to render immediate and efficient aid to its construction, and as an auxiliary thereto, promote the immediate con-

struction of an emigrant route on the line of the railroad.
"8. Resolved, That appropriations by Congress for the improvement of rivers and harbors of a national character, required for the accommodation and security of our existing commerce, are authorized by the constitution, and justified by the obligation of the government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.
"9. Resolved, That we invite the affiliation and co-operation of men of all parties, however differing from us in other respects, in support of the principles herein declared, and believing that the spirit of our institutions, as well as the constitution of our country, guarantees liberty of conscience, and equality of rights among citizens, oppose all legislation impairing their security."

KANSAS.

The following letter, from Governor Robinson and those imprisoned with him, was sent to the free-state legislature just previous to its meeting at Topeka:

CAMP NEAR LECOMPTON, Kansas, July 1, 1856.
To the friends of "Law and Order," convened at Topeka.

The undersigned desire to say a word to their friends in regard to the present aspect of affairs in Kansas.

It is highly important at this time, that the oppressed people of Kansas should occupy a tenable position, one which the country and the world will sustain. There is, it seems to us, a position which we can occupy and be triumphant, whether overcome by numbers or not; while there is another position which, if taken, would prejudice our cause and might lead to defeat, and weaken the confidence and support of our friends in the country.

The first and true position is, *defence of the state organization.* You have a constitutional right to meet as a legislature, complete the state organization, and pass all laws necessary to the successful administration of justice, and the federal government has no authority to interfere with you in the exercise of this right; should it do so, it becomes justifiable self-defence.

The second and untenable position is, resistance to a federal officer in the service of a legal process, when the defence of the state organization is not involved. Should a collision occur under such circumstances, it would be most unfortunate, and should be avoided if possible. If an attempt, however, is made to arrest the members of the state organization *secretly* because they are such, with a view to disable it, that resistance becomes defence of the state organization, and is manifestly justifiable.

Accordingly, all persons against whom indictments are known to be pending, for any other charge than that of being a member of the state organization, should not be found at the Capital, as that might involve the people in his case. We feel that our hope of success in this important crisis depends, first, upon a right position, and second, upon calm and unflinching firmness.

You have met for the purpose of doing what other new states have done, and what you have a constitutional right to do, and no man or class of men have a right to interfere, not excepting even the President of the United States.

Our desire to be with you in this crowning emergency is almost irresistible, and nothing but the fear that your position might be changed from a defence of the state organization to a resistance to our earnest can reconcile us to this absence. As it is, you have our earnest solicitude and fervent prayers that all may go well with you, and that you may earn, as you will, if every step is judiciously and firmly taken, the gratitude of millions of your fellow-men and the approbation of the God of Justice and Humanity.

GEO. W. SMITH, CHAS. ROBINSON, GAINES JENKINS,
G. W. DRITZLER, HENRY H. WILLIAMS, JOHN BROWN, JR.

The above letter was read during the Convention at Topeka on the 4th.

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 the land and 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 hands of the assassins. Those who have been guilty of these outrages—which are without parallel in the history of nations—either go unpunished 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 organized armies, with ammunition, arms, provisions, equipage, cannon, music and banners, took possession of the polls, driving, 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, and 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 formed 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, and, after effecting its organization, 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.

Now therefore, we, the People of Kansas territory, greatly desirous of promoting the public good; of restoring peace and good order to this long distracted and harassed land; and fully believing that we possess the inherent and constitutional right to erect a government of our own; that our population is sufficient to entitle Kansas to the right and dignity of a sovereign state; that we have the means and ability to sustain such government, and that it is the only method by which our rights can be vindicated and justice obtained; respectfully but earnestly petition your Honorable Bodies to admit Kansas into the Union as an independent and sovereign state under our present Constitution.

And your petitioners will ever pray.

PROCLAMATION

By the Acting Governor of the Territory of Kansas.

Whereas, we have been reliably informed that a number of persons claiming legislative powers and authority over the people of the territory of Kansas, are about to assemble in the town of Topeka, for the purpose of adopting a code of laws, or of exercising other legislative functions in violation of the act of Congress organizing the territory, and of the laws adopted in pursuance thereof; and it now appearing that a military organization exists in this territory for the purpose of sustaining this unlawful legislative movement, and "thus in effect to subvert by violence all present constitutional and legal authority;" and, whereas, the President of the United States has, by proclamation, bearing date the 11th February, 1856, declared that any "such plan for the determination of the future institutions of the territory, if carried into action, will constitute the fact of insurrection;" and therein commanded "all persons engaged in such unlawful combinations against the constituted authority of the territory of Kansas or the United States, to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective abodes;" and, whereas, satisfactory evidence exists, that said proclamation of the President has been and is about to be disregarded by the persons or combinations above referred to; now, therefore, I, Daniel Woodson, Acting Governor of the territory of Kansas, by virtue of authority vested in me by law, and in pursuance of the proclamation of the President of the United States, and to the end of upholding the legal and constitutional authorities of the territory, and of preserving the public peace and tranquillity, do issue this my proclamation, forbidding all persons claiming legislative powers and authority as aforesaid, from assembling, organizing, or attempting to organize or act in any way—The capacity whatever, under the penalties attached to all willful violations of the law and disturbers of the peace and tranquillity of the country.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto caused to be affixed the seal of this territory, on this 4th day of July, in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and fifty-six, and of the Independence of the United States the eighth.

D. WOODSON,
Acting Governor.

The Proclamation of the President, and the orders under it, requires me to sustain the executive of this territory in executing the laws, and preserving the peace. I therefore hereby announce that I shall maintain this proclamation at all hazards.

E. V. SUMNER,
Col. 1st Cavalry Commanding.

The Independent.

NEW-YORK, JULY 17, 1856.

A Sad Picture.—The Kansas correspondent of the Democratic Press wrote from Shawnee Mission, June 12th:

"This day I saw some companies of Missourians returning. They looked liked men who had been stealing sheep, only worse. They report having left two men hanging on the same tree by the neck, and saw many more dead in other places. Another said he saw four men hanging by the neck on Bull Creek. They said they were driven back by the troops. They curse Sumner and threaten to hang him. They also report that the Free State men were coming down from Iowa, and that a company of troops had gone up to head them. They appear to have plunder enough to make it pay. These guerrillas support themselves by pillage. They never think of being condemned, and the Blue Lodge or Border-League and the territorial officers are pledged to protect them. We have no government. There is no protection for American citizens against domestic violence. We want a new vocabulary to express the condition of things. Liberty, security and freedom are destroyed and crushed by party strife."

Another correspondent of the same paper wrote from Leecompton, June 30th:

"I had an instance of the most ruthless and unfeeling cruelty detailed to me a few days ago, by a respectable pro-slavery man. It happened down on the Santa Fe Road, about ten days ago, and before the Buford companies had left that part of the territory. A poor man and his family were coming up into the territory. He had come from Illinois, with his family and household effects in a two horse wagon. He had succeeded in getting into Kansas, but the first day he touched its soil he was taken prisoner by the ruffians. In spite of the presence of his helpless family they plundered him of all he had, and as he had endeavored to resent this treatment and to get his team away, and admitted that he was a Free State man, they deliberately hanged him before the eyes of his wife and children. These latter fled back to Kansas City, and by the courtesy of a few sympathizing persons got off down the river."

The Iowa Route.—The Cincinnati Gazette says there is a line of stages established by a responsible company, with a heavy capital, from Iowa City, the present terminus of the railroad, to Dayton, on the Missouri river, opposite to Nebraska City. This carries the line to the south-western corner of Iowa. From Nebraska City, another line is 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.

COUNCIL CITY, KANSAS.

JUNE 15, 1856.

DEAR —: You want news; what shall I write? Shall I dip my pen in blood to tell you all the horrors with which we are surrounded? You read the Tribune and Times; one of the correspondents of the latter paper resides here—"Literal," or Col. Winchell. From these papers you get all the detailed accounts of the war; I will therefore confine myself to incidents occurring around here. We have not yet been attacked, though we are in hourly expectation of it; this keeps us in constant alarm. I never before knew what was meant by a "reign of terror;" it extends throughout the whole State. We have not known peace since Col. Buford's men arrived; they were joined at once by the Border Ruffians in great numbers, and then under the guidance of the United States officer proceeded to arrest our most prominent men, among whom is our beloved Gov. Robinson. They have about forty in prison. There are several reasons why I think we have not been attacked in this place. We are on the great Santa Fe road, which runs through the center of the State. We are fifty miles by road, and thirty-five by going across the prairies, from Lawrence, south-west; the same distance from Osawatomie, north-west. To attack us they must leave these places in their rear. At Hickory Point the road runs within eight miles of Lawrence; this would be running a great risk, while we would receive aid from Topeka, twenty-five miles north of us,

and from the Neosho and Cottonwood settlements, for miles south-west of us.

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I think this is the reason, though they are constantly boasting what they will do. We do not think they will come, although eight miles east of us. At Hundred and Ten Creek is a great rendezvous of pro-slavery men; one of the celebrated McGee's lives there; another brother lives here; and it shows how peaceful the citizens are when I tell you that I have not even heard a threat against them.

There were only two days that we really thought we should be attacked. On the receipt of the news of the affair at Lawrence, we held a public meeting and appointed a Committee of Safety (I was one of the Committee part of the time), reorganized our military companies, arranged signals to arouse the citizens in case of danger, and during the time we were expecting an attack we had scouts out. By-the-by, scouts are going continually from one part of the State to the other. We are surrounded by spies. One of the most daring spies was Dr. Sloss, one of Col. Buford's party; he came here pretending that he had lost confidence in Col. Buford and that he was disgusted with the pro-slavery party, said that it had been misrepresented to him, and that for the future he was a Free State man. He was a man of education, and proposed to open a school here. Some of the citizens even began to subscribe towards building a school-house for him. He spoke at one meeting, but still a good many of us were shy of him, myself among the number. Once I provoked him; I was the chairman of the meeting, and was obliged to call him to order. That he was a spy I argued from the fact that he came independently of Col. Buford; he engaged himself to them as their doctor; being an educated man, he must be conversant with the state of the country; and again, while in Westport, Mo. (where the citizens here say the Devil has laid a claim and stocked it with his imps), he made a great pro-slavery speech, declaring his intention of aiding to root out the Free State men from the Territory. Full of this he came here, and all at once became a Free State man. Was it reasonable? I could not swallow it, and his subsequent conduct shows that I was right. Having seen and heard all he wanted, he suddenly left and went to Hundred and Ten Creek, where were gathered quite a number of Border Ruffians and a plan was concerted to attack this place. A gentleman of Lawrence, a scout, came among them and passed himself for a Border Ruffian, and obtained from them all the details of their plan. He persuaded them to wait, as he was an old Border Ruffian, and he came up here and ascertained how the houses were situated, to which they agreed. He came up here and gave us all the details. It seem they thought they could destroy the houses on the road before an alarm could be given to the rest of the settlement. There are ten houses near the crossing of the creek. The following gentlemen were to be hung at once: Gen. Schuyler, Col. Winchell, and Mr. Jones, one of the most prominent members of the Safety Committee. His house is the first after crossing the creek; he was to be murdered, his wife to be silenced, understand that word any way you like. Then they were to proceed to the houses of Messrs. Schuyler, Titus, Hoover, Bratter, Lord, Drew, Polly, and the store, murder all who resisted, rob, pillage and then burn the houses. As yet, however, they have not come. We keep our rifles loaded and sleep with pistols at the head of our beds, but they have taken a new turn now. They intend to starve us out; but I think they will be disappointed in that; they have blockaded the road. (You will understand this when I inform you that we have to get our provisions from Kansas City and Westport, Mo.) They have congregated near Westport, ninety miles east from here, and detain all the wagons. There are several wagons from here detained; they ought to have arrived here ten days ago; this has deterred others from going until there are not provisions enough in the place to last more than another week. We have determined, however, to send a number of wagons across the prairie to Fort Leavenworth. I think I shall go with them; we will all go armed (it will take about seven days to go and return). By-the-way, we shall escape the blockade, and be also strong enough to defend ourselves from the guerrilla parties that are scouring the country in every direction; so that it is not safe for

Free State men to travel alone. To show you what I mean, Mr. Johnson, the Librarian of our Sabbath-school, one of our scouts, while coming from Lawrence a few days ago, was stopped and robbed of all his money; he was afterwards stopped by a large party near Hundred and Ten Creek; they inquired what we were doing in Council City. He told them, planting corn. But they wanted to know about the military company here, and whether we would fight; but he was a K. N. on all these points. They threatened to hang him, and were going to do it. He told them he was ready, and they might hang, shoot, or cut his throat. But after some deliberation they let him off again. He was fired at by another party, the bullet passed through his coat and took his front suspender button off, but he escaped out of their hands. Another young man, named Simon, belonging to this place, while on the road, was fired at, but the gun missed fire, when he stopped, and then they told him he was not the man they thought he was. A gentleman came in here a few days ago; says, while passing through Cedar Creek he heard some person call out, "Oh God! Oh God!" Soon after, he saw three men coming out of the wood; he went in and there found one of the citizens living near there, wailing in his blood, shot by the Border Ruffians. And so throughout the State. It is nothing but robbing, burning, murder, sucking tories, &c., &c. And now I suppose you want to know what I think of these things. Did you ever read Kosuth's opinion of the Emperor of Austria? So we regard the President and Government of the United States. The former a bloodthirsty tyrant, and the Government one of the most tyrannical on earth. Whenever or wherever have you read of Government officers destroying printing presses, bombarding hotels, burning the houses of private citizens, ravishing women, etc., etc.? Perhaps in Naples, Austria, or Spain; certainly not in America. But alas! now you need not go so far; come to this beautiful portion of your own country, and you will see it all. Come along with me; I will show you a ravine, and who is she? The wife of the murdered Brown. No, not murdered, but literally chopped to pieces. Do you want another case? Let us look into the cabin of the murdered Barker and see his wretched family. And who killed him? An officer of the United States. Is he arrested? No; his conduct is approved by the tyrant at Washington, and he continues in office in the Territory. I could tell you of others: men lying unburied on the road; the shrieks of ravished women, the shrieks of orphaned children. And then need you ask me what we think about these things, and what is our opinion of the present Government of the United States?

Yours, &c.

MINISTERS AND POLITICS.

There is a general outcry at present from pro-slavery politicians against ministers of the Gospel having anything to do with politics. Since the violent and abusive philippic of Senator Douglas against the three thousand clergymen of New-England who signed a dignified protest against the Kansas and Nebraska Act, innumerable echoes have been returned to it from those who sympathize with his spirit and his purposes. These denouncers of free speech among the clergy are somewhat inconsistent, we fear, with themselves. Did we not hear the same voices a few years since commending those clergymen who spoke out in behalf of the fugitive slave law? Perhaps, however, we should understand them only to condemn all action and utterances of the clergy which are not fitted to promote their views.

Now there are two things to be said about this matter. The first is, that a man does not forfeit his citizenship when he enters into the ministry. He has as much right to be interested in the political welfare of his country as any other man; and to utter his sentiments as freely, at all proper times and places; controlled only by the laws of Christian courtesy and judgment. The second is, that his profession does not tend to unfit him for the exercise of these rights. He is not likely to be a worse patriot either because of his intellectual training, or because of the influences

which flow from his peculiar studies and duties. His political views, other things being equal, are far less liable to be perverted than those of the professed politician. All the sources of reliable information which are open to others are open to him; and he is more favorably placed to form a disinterested and right judgment of important political measures than almost any other person. What bars him from correct views of life, in its narrower or in its wider relations? Who studies it more, or more carefully than he? Who searches more honestly and patiently for its motives? Who thinks out more anxiously the far-reaching effects of its opinions, and actions, and changes? And upon whose mind does the true welfare of our country rest more habitually?

The clergy of our nation have done more to form its better character than any other class of men. They have done more for its liberties; for its intelligence; for its morality. They have been, and are, the chosen educators of our youth. They are elected by the people to be the advocates of virtue. They are the originators and upholders of our most blessed charities. Why should they be silenced? and silenced now, when the tyrants of a barbarous institution are trampling upon our most cherished rights with brutal fury and violence? There are a set of politicians, in a two-fold sense representatives, who lately in a body voted against any investigation, and thus against any punishment of a savage assault committed in the very Senate chamber, upon one of the finest scholars, and most polished gentlemen, and most pure minded men that ever sat in our legislative halls; an assault at once cowardly, and brutal, and "unconstitutional," made "for words spoken in debate," which had fallen unchecked upon the ears of excited, and watchful enemies.

These very men voted also against any investigation of the unconstitutional wrongs perpetrated in Kansas. They knew that armed hordes of men had entered that territory, with no purpose of settling there; that they had swept away as by a torrent the rights of the much vaunted popular sovereignty; filling the ballot-boxes with illegal votes; threatening the rightful voters with violence and death; electing their own candidates; making laws in defiance of the constitution; and subsidizing all resources, sectional and national, of the bully, and the assassin, the incendiary, and the mob, to put them into execution. These politicians of whom we speak uphold the lawless invaders of Kansas against its lawful settlers. They blow aside as lightest chaff all that they have said about "squatter sovereignty," though for that chaff they paid down with alacrity a nation's faith and a nation's peace. And for all this they hold up as their only excuse—yes, flimsy as it, it is their all—the fact that men have emigrated from the free States, in a lawful and unconstitutional manner, to secure to Kansas the benefits of freedom; armed, as the Constitution permits them to be, against lawless violence. These politicians know the evils of slavery. They know it is an institution opposed to God's law of love, and man's sense of right. They know it is a blight to every State which cherishes it. They know it as a curse, not less to the master and his family than to his slaves. That it degrades labor; begets indolence; fosters violence; and drags down society towards a permanent barbarism. They know that from the first it has been, and that until it is removed it will be, a cause of dissension, and strife, and practical disunion in our land. But they are politicians; they have political aspirations; the South votes as a unit, and only for the men who rivet their souls to slavery. Therefore they cry, all of them, to this hideous evil, "Be thou our God!" and bow down to it, and worship it, and obey its mandates, and defend and advance its interests, with a more than religious zeal. These are the men who would silence ministers, and have all political affairs resigned to themselves. Is the welfare of our country so very safe in their hands? Are they such reliable defenders of the constitution? Yea, of one clause of it! This they raise from its obscurity and enthrone it; and then, as of old when an Asiatic prince assumed the purple his brethren were hunted down and slaughtered, so they sacrifice to this usurping clause the dearest privileges and rights which the constitution contains.

Not to these men, not to those who like sheep—led by them whithersoever they will, can we surrender the great questions which agitate the public mind. There is a necessity just now for every true lover of his country to be watchful, and alert, and outspoken. The clergy should be encouraged to speak. They are the men we want to hear. Now is the time for them to draw closer the ties which bind them to the free people of a nation whose boast is liberty, whose reproach is slavery. We are bold to affirm that there has not been a body of men more intelligent, more high-minded, more pure, and more disinterested, as a class, in any country, or at any time, than the clergy of the United States. We do not wonder that at this particular juncture there are some who dread their influence, and would have them disfranchised for silence. Their voices are raised too decisively for justice, truth, and a rightful peace.

"But what right have they to bring politics into our pulpits?" We are not surprised that this question is exhorted from them. Why, we heard to-day that a Right Rev. Bishop of the Episcopal Church had been, as they would say, guilty of the offense. He never had committed it before, but now he felt it to be his duty to speak, and speak plainly and freely; he could restrain himself no longer. And he has reason. Religion is not merely a system of doctrines. It is the application of these doctrines; and this to all the affairs of life which involve a moral question; social or political, individual or national. It is the science of a right life, toward God not only, but toward man also. If politicians attempt to protect any iniquity they must expect the opposition of Christ's ministers. They have enlisted to war against sin wherever they find it; and no alliances can or should shield it from their assaults. We never heard the tariff discussed in the pulpit; nor internal improvements; nor the disposal of the public lands; nor any other political question into which the moral element does not enter. But ah, sirs! if you take any worker of evil to the souls of men—whether it be intemperance, slavery, or any other, into your party lines, and close around it to defend it, and bear it onward in its desolating triumphs, do not think to silence God's messengers when they rise up to expose it and denounce it. "Politics" shall be no city of refuge to it. It is the part of soldiers, who are not the less wise because they are valiant, to act only when there is a possibility of success; and thus only restrained, the men of God, since the days of the prophets, and Christ, and the apostles, have assaulted moral evil, in public and private, by strong argument, and glowing invective, and solemn warnings. They have boldly fronted and denounced it, though sanctioned and cherished in high places, and covered by theegis of authority. He who does not know this knows little of history, whether sacred or secular, European or American. On what is the demand of these innovators based? Has there been such a moral purifying of our politicians as to warrant the charge they advocate? Let the pulpit speak. Let its voice be heard as in the days of our fathers; that it may aid us in carrying out our new Declaration of Independence; and it will then give another impulse to practical Christianity. O.

Kansas Bulletin.

FREE KANSAS CONVENTION AT BUFFALO.

A body of very respectable and truly reliable friends of Free Kansas met, on the 9th, at Kremlin Hall, Buffalo. Eleven Free States were represented by able and true men. The stated object of the Convention to secure, as far as possible, unity and efficiency of action throughout the country in behalf of freedom for Kansas. Gov. Reeder, of Kansas, was called to the chair. A committee of one from each State represented, was appointed to prepare some resolutions for the Convention. This committee presented the following, which was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That we will proceed to appoint a National Kansas Committee of wise and upright men, to whose discretion the whole conduct of our sacred cause shall be intrusted; that said Committee shall be composed

of one person from each State, so far as there are States in which a suitable person can be found, and that five additional members shall be put upon the Committee, who are to reside in the city of Chicago, and that three shall constitute a quorum, and Chicago be the usual place of meeting of the Committee.

The leading features of the plan contemplate a central committee of five at Chicago, with an additional member in each State, to correspond and cooperate with them, and to sit as one of them whenever he can be present. But as three constitute a quorum, the residents will be always able to dispatch business. This committee have unlimited discretion to do whatever they judge best to be done for the cause, with the means that may be at their disposal; to take all measures for procuring aid, and for applying it to the best advantage.

The resolutions call for contributions of at least \$100,000 per month, beginning with July.

Committee.

G. W. Dole, J. D. Webster, H. B. Hurd, J. Y. Scammon and J. N. Arnold, Chicago; G. R. Russell, Boston, Mass.; W. H. Russell, New-Haven, Conn.; Thaddeus Hyatt, New-York City; Neville B. Craig, Pittsburgh, Pa.; John W. Wright, Logansport, Ia.; Abram Lincoln, Springfield, Ill.; Eber B. Ward, Detroit, Mich.; J. H. Tweedy, Milwaukee, Wis.; Gov. Hopkins, Providence, R. I.; W. H. Stanley, Cleveland, O.; F. A. Hunt, St. Louis, Mo.; S. W. Eldridge, Lawrence, Kansas.

The plan originally contemplated ten resident members at Chicago, with seven for a quorum; but the inconvenience of working so large a body was made so manifest, that the smaller numbers were substituted. The five will naturally have the principal management of the details of business; and the convention selected the gentlemen named, as among the best citizens of Chicago, well known for their large hearts and wise heads, and long experience, and their sympathy and zeal for Free Kansas. It was understood that the advice received at Chicago which sent three successive companies of emigrants into the midst of the pirates on the Missouri, to be abused and plundered, insulted and turned back, did not come from these gentlemen. A general and deep feeling was expressed that future emigrants should go through Iowa.

The plan of organizing State, County, and Town associations in aid of Free Kansas will require time to perfect it; whereas the exigencies of Kansas are present and urgent, and require IMMEDIATE relief, or the work will be greatly hindered and put back. The work for this year has to be done chiefly in the ensuing ninety days. It is of the utmost importance that the National Committee should be furnished with ample means immediately.

We earnestly urge all who have moneys collected and not appropriated, or who are waiting themselves to see the proper opportunity and channel to give their money, to send it on immediately to George W. Dole, Esq., Chicago, Ill.

Mr. Gerrit SMITH introduced a series of resolutions designed to set forth the principles on which the struggle is to be conducted for freedom in Kansas. They were deemed of too despondent and revolutionary a stamp for the convention. Gov. Reeder also introduced a series of resolutions, and Mr. Page, of Cleveland, another. After debate they were all referred to a committee, who out of the whole prepared a short series, which were adopted without debate:

Resolved, That the Federal Administration, instead of protecting Kansas, is a great upholder of the oppressions and outrages which she suffers.

Resolved, That the attempt to force slavery upon Kansas must, at whatever cost, be defeated, and that too whether the Federal Administration shall or shall not continue to favor the notorious attempt.

Resolved, That the Kansas bill just passed the Senate is deceptive and fraudulent, inasmuch as it sustains the validity of the government imposed upon the people by an armed invasion, and leaves the great wrongs of Kansas unredressed—with liberty crushed out—her prominent men imprisoned, or hunted as fugitives on false and ridiculous charges—the mass of the bona fide settlers subdued, plundered, disheartened, and many of them driven out—the national thoroughfares blockaded by an armed force against all the Free-State emigrants—and that the passage therefore of the bill into an act of Congress would be adding mockery to wrong, and make of Kansas a Slave State.

The fourth resolution exhorts the Free State men of Kansas not to despair of seeing Kansas a Free State.

The fifth resolution pledges to increased exertion until Kansas is made a place for free men, free speech and a free press.

The sixth resolution resolves that the State Constitution of Kansas is the work of a clear majority of the people of the Territory, and that as the States of Maine, Vermont, Kentucky, Iowa, Florida, Tennessee, Arkansas, Michigan and California were admitted into the Union with constitutions formed simply by the spontaneous action of the people in ordinary assemblies; and that as the States of Florida, Mississippi, Alabama and Louisiana were all admitted with less than a Congressional ratio of population; and that as the Kansas bill has abandoned all objections on the score of population, no good reason can be urged why her wrongs shall not be so far redressed, her criminal invaders rebuked and the existing dangerous agitation be quieted by her instant admission into the Union.

Resolved, That however long or stern may be the struggle against the slave power, yet, knowing that our cause is intrinsically just and assured of the sympathy and aid of the Almighty God, our hope of ultimate success can never falter.

We regret that we have no room for even a brief sketch of the able debate which took place. The question was raised whether the time had come for the citizens in their primary capacity to declare for a general and armed resistance to the Government. Gov. Reeder, by his earnest eloquence and sound logic, evidently satisfied all minds that lawful acts were better than unlawful words. He represented the Free State men of Kansas, who take the ground that they will exhaust all peaceful remedies, and that done they will resist to the death, and pile the soil the Constitution no longer protects with heaps of their oppressors.

Some very satisfactory statements, touching the constitutional rights of the people, were presented by Professor Tyltning, of New Haven, of which we may state the material points:

"Every company hitherto emigrating to Kansas has taken arms (unless by inadvertence or from pecuniary inability), and it is universally known that every company hereafter will take them, and has that right explicitly granted by the Constitution, and, of course, the right to bear arms presupposes a right to employ them in lawful self-defence, and a due legal resistance to violence. But it is one thing to supply men with arms, needful to them as citizens and for the purposes contemplated by the Constitution, and quite another thing to enlist men as soldiers and send them as our troops to regulate the affairs of Kansas. By the latter course we should constitute ourselves an independent power, having, like the U. S. Government, our regiments, our banners, and our arms. A resolution to that effect would be, in a manner, a declaration of war. For such purposes we are not assembled. Besides, if that dreadful day had arrived, when we as a people, in our primary capacity, were driven to exercise the acknowledged political right of revolution, it would be distracting and self-contradictory to appoint a national committee to consult and act for us, and forthwith to take into our own decision the most important of all the determinations to which such a national committee could be called, even if it were constituted for any such purpose. Our committee, however, has no such purpose, but is the organ of a pacific although a determined body, exercising only the powers and privileges of citizens under the Federal Constitution."

The happy result, in harmonizing all views in the resolution, was highly gratifying, and is an omen for good. We have now a Central Committee, conveniently located at Chicago, composed of devoted and capable men, chosen by a harmonious action of the friends of Free Kansas, perfectly impartial and independent, unconnected with any personal or local interest or controversy, and deserving the utmost confidence from all.

A collection was taken after a large part of the members had gone home. Mr. Gerrit Smith testified in behalf of Free Kansas, and his cordial satisfaction in the doings of the convention, by a subscription of fifteen hundred dollars a month during the war. He drew a check on the State Bank at Albany for the July installment. That is the lead; let other rich men follow.

Statement of Mr. Whitman.—During the sittings of the Kansas Convention at Buffalo, a statement was called forth from Mr. Whitman, of Kansas, a well known scholar, and a gentleman highly esteemed in Eastern Massachusetts, where he was for many years head of the Hopkins Endowed School in Cambridge. He gave an account of the late sack of Lawrence which was calculated to remove many of the current

misrepresentations. He said that the people of Kan-

relies on the appointment of the Congressional Committee to give them at least a respite of peace, for they thought the ruffians would be on their good behavior.

At any rate, they were resolved to bear anything, rather than have the Committee broken up or driven out of the territory. It is now charged that the doings of the Committee were the cause of the outbreak, whereas the Committee had not been in Lawrence thirty minutes before Jones commenced his operations which led to the sack. There was no resistance offered to Jones at either of his visits. When he arrested the young men by help of the dragoons, he would easily have returned to Leocompton the same night, but he chose to keep them in a tent at Lawrence evidently for the purpose of affording the citizens an opportunity to rescue them, but the citizens were too

wise to fall into the trap, and therefore did not even go near the tent. Mr. W. believed that Jones was shot by a pro-slavery man on purpose to create an outcry. Only small shot were used, which made no dangerous wound. They then tried to provoke us in many ways, to drive us to some act of violence, but the people would do nothing to interfere with their proceedings, because they were resolved not to afford any pretext for interrupting the Committee. Buford's men were required to sign an agreement to remain one year under his command; but some refused, and came to us to be hired. I hired one of them, who was an honest man. The rest were then taken into the service of the United States, with others who came from Missouri and other States, and Uncle Sam fed them. They soon began to steal and shoot our cattle, and to top and ill-treat travelers. No man could ride across the prairies without being arrested and compelled to give an account of himself and his principles. One Free State man was let go, with the charge that "You are not to express your sentiments, nor vote, nor do any other act against slavery, for this territory belongs to us, and we mean to hold it; we have come to make another Mormon affair of it against the abolitionists; and we mean to drive out or hang every one of them, and destroy their settlements, and appropriate their claims."

Mr. W. described the various measures taken by the people of Lawrence for personal protection. They resolved not to contend against the dragoons. But nothing would do; the destruction was attended with all the circumstances of lawless violence, though done by order of Judge Leocompte. The people left the town mostly with nothing but what they carried in their arms or on their backs. The ruffians broke into the houses and stores, and pillaged almost without exception. In one house, thirteen trunks were broken open. The ruffians were loaded with plunder when they retired. The outrages committed are beyond belief.

The Position of Kansas.—It is evident that the Free State men of Kansas are in the depth of a great crisis. By the diabolical ingenuity of the Administration, carried out with the wealth of the treasury and the force of the army of the United States, they have been deprived of their leaders, distracted in their counsels, broken down in their defences, their towns sacked, their houses plundered and burnt, their women abused, their cattle stolen or killed, their associates hanged, the shot, or driven out, the lines guarded that no Free State men may enter, the national highway of the Missouri beset with bands of armed pirates, who are sheltered and subsisted and armed by a sovereign state, themselves disarmed by the dragoons of the United States, and their peaceable assembly invaded and dispersed at the point of the bayonet, by order of the President of the United States, in direct violation of his oath of office to support the Constitution of the United States, which guarantees the right of the people to be restrained consultation on public affairs. In a word, they are at this moment a conquered people, subjugated by an overwhelming force, directed by an authority regardless of the laws of nature and of nations, as of oaths and the constitution of the country, or of the dictates of justice and humanity. It is enough to make the rocks weep for the misery there inflicted, and more for the dishonor of the Republic. We trust it

20
is that dark hour which precedes the dawning of day.
It would be atheistic to believe that such wickedness
can triumph for ever.

DAILY GAZETTE.
Cincinnati - July 17, 1858.
Proprietors.
Office - No. 14 North and Vine Sts

Interesting from Kansas.

**PROCEEDINGS
Of the Territorial Conventions.**

Horrible Outrage.

Correspondence of the Cincinnati Daily Gazette.
GARVEY HOUSE, TOPEKA, July 2.

The events of the past few days are of such an exciting nature and of such importance that make their publication peculiarly interesting at the present time. The feeling of the people, terribly aroused and excited by the numerous outrages that have been perpetrated upon the Free State citizens of this Territory by bands of armed ruffians from the border counties of Missouri, and from other portions of the South, assisted and incited by such men as Atchinson, Stringfellow & Co., have found vent, and in my humble judgment the proceedings of to-day and to-morrow will be marked with a determination and a firmness of purpose that bodes no good to the other party, should these outrages be repeated. The Free State people cannot be blamed, should they be driven to retaliate fearfully upon their oppressors. They have been treated like slaves—aye, worse than slaves, and if perchance one among them should assert his right to freedom of speech and freedom of opinion, he is a marked man, and a system of outrages inflicted upon him, which only a mind full of the blackest malice could suggest. The Free State men have heretofore been quiet and peaceable, but are now fast becoming desperate, and if the protection of the General Government is not soon extended over them, they will, of necessity, be compelled to protect themselves.

This system of outrages carried on under the direction of the United States Marshal, and with the knowledge of Gov. Shannon, are too grievous to be born, and must eventually result in civil war in Kansas, if not throughout the entire Union. But to the Convention and its proceedings. The Convention of the second of July, was composed of delegates from every portion of the Territory, and was called for the purpose of devising action, and preparing business for the Mass Convention of the third. It was largely attended, there being over two hundred delegates present, among them many members of the Legislature. Judge Philip C. Schuyler, of Council City, presided, assisted by a large number of Vice Presidents. The session was harmonious, and a union of purpose exhibited, that was highly gratifying. As the action of the Convention was to prepare business for the Mass Convention of the third, I forbear giving you its proceedings.

The feelings of the delegates seemed to be, that no resistance should be made to the execution of the United States Laws, but only the enactments of the bogus Legislature, as it is now generally called. Previous to the assembling of the Convention, word was brought that Col. Sumner, with his regiment of Cavalry, consisting of about five hundred men, had arrived, and that he had announced his intention of dispersing, not only the Legislature, but the Convention. The report caused great excitement, and a feeling of resistance to the authority of the General Government was, for a few hours, apparent. But this feeling was soon partially, but not wholly, allayed by the report of a Committee, consisting of Gen. HOLLIDAY, Dr. ROOT, and Judge SCHUYLER, to the effect that Col. SUMNER had no intention of interfering with the Convention, but should carry out his orders to the letter, and disperse the Legislature, should it meet as per adjournment, on the Fourth. This had been expected, and therefore caused no excitement. The members had called a meeting and had resolved to meet and give the Col. an opportunity to disperse them, but not in any manner to resist the United States authorities. This course was deemed a prudent one by

the friends of the cause here, though a very different course would have been pursued had the feelings of the members, not their judgments, been consulted. But the matter is best as it is. I suppose it will tend to show the people of the Union that the citizens of Kansas are not rebels, as the Pro-Slavery press throughout the country would make them appear.

I heard to-day of an outrage which exceeds any that I have heard of during the Kansas troubles. A man by the name of Richards, formerly of Ohio, residing on Potawatonic creek in the southern portion of the Territory, having occasion to go to Westport, left home on Thurs last, with the understanding that he would be back in four days. During the first day of his absence, two men came to the house and enquired for him: finding that he was not at home they left, saying that they would call when he returned, his wife inviting them to do so, stating that he would be home in a day or two. About ten o'clock that night, after the family had retired, a knock was heard at the door, Mrs. Richards asked what was wanted, the reply was, we want to see Mr. Richards. She replied that he was not at home. They then demanded Mrs. Richards to open the door. He is a G—D—d Abolitionist, we must have him. She again replied, he is not at home, and refused to open the door. It was then broken open, and seven or eight men entered the room and commenced searching it for Richards. Not finding him, they accused Mrs. Richards and her daughter, an intelligent young lady about nineteen year old, of screening him. The ladies, completely bewildered by terror, protested that they had told the truth, and that they had not secreted him—that he was really gone to Westport. One of their men then replied, "Then God—n you, we want you," and dragged the laughter from the bed, and from the house into the bushes close by, and there proceeded deliberately, to violate her person. Her mother, Mrs. Richards, was treated in the same manner, and both left for dead. How long they remained in the bush, they were unable to tell, but she managed finally, to reach the house where they were found by one of the neighbors the next morning, who, after providing for their personal comfort, immediately started to raise a company to pursue the villains. In an hour a company of terribly excited men were raised, numbering about thirty, who, under the command of a Mr. Smith, started on the trail. They traced them to a camp of about one hundred men, situated in a deep ravine some distance from the creek. Finding that they were not strong enough to fight, some of the company started for assistance, while others remained to watch their proceedings. The watchers were, however, unfortunately discovered, and consequently had to leave, and by the time their comrades returned, the camp had been moved, and the ruffians escaped.

This affair has caused great excitement throughout the Territory, and is almost too horrible to believe. I had the facts from Mr. Richards himself, who has been to acting Gov. Woodson, to endeavor to get justice done, but without avail, and has come to Topeka to get the citizens to help him to arrest and obtain the perpetrators of this most diabolical outrage. It has since been ascertained that the scoundrels were part of Buford's men, who are armed with United States muskets, and in the pay of the United States Marshal.

This is but a single one of the many outrages that are daily being perpetrated upon the Free State people of Kansas. People of the North! will you permit this longer to continue? Will you longer allow the hired ruffians and tools of the Blue Lodge of Missouri to commit these diabolical outrages upon your sisters and friends in Kansas? Do you blame the Free State people for endeavoring to protect themselves and their children from violence like this? If you do not, then try, by your presence here and your influence at home, to hasten the time when the oppressed Free State people of Kansas can be guaranteed protection and safety from her murderous attacks.

joined extract from a private letter, says the New York Courier and Enquirer, written by a most reliable citizen of the Keystone State, gives a cheering view of the prospects of Fremont, peace and freedom, in the home of Mr. Buchanan:

LANCASTER CITY, July 4.
I have traveled through Delaware county, Chester county, and a part of Lancaster county, since the National Republican Convention, and will give you in all sincerity the result of my observations. I will preface by saying that in nearly every instance, Judge McLean was the first choice of the opponents of the Administration. Delaware county, last year gave a majority for the Democratic ticket. This was owing to the temperance movement in part, but chiefly to the opposition to Know-Nothingism. Our friends there are now fighting on the platform and they will carry the county by a eight hundred majority for Fremont. That is the opinion of careful and prudent men of the county. Chester county is a large one, and gave a majority for the Whigs ranging from 600 to 1,000. Now, let me say, and you may most confidently rely upon it, it will give not less than 1,500, and may reach 2,000 majority for Fremont. Lancaster county is the home of Mr. Buchanan. His farm, where he resides, is one mile from this place. One month ago his chances for carrying this county was good; he so now, for he is losing votes every day. Not so will receive the vote of some Whigs on personal grounds; but more Democrats will vote for Fremont, than you can find Whigs to vote for Buchanan. Fremont will lead him 3,000 votes in the county—and if an arrangement can be made to unite the opposition, Buchanan will be beaten 5,000 votes in his own county.—Our friends are all at work, with a will to succeed.
J. A. M.

The following is from the Vermont Journal:
We chanced to meet, the other day, the venerable William C. Braley, of Westminster. This gentleman is now, probably, the most remarkable man in the State. In 1813-15, and in 1823-27, he was a member of Congress. At those early periods he was a distinguished champion in the political school of Jefferson. In subsequent years, during the successive administrations of Jackson, Van Buren, Harrison and Polk, he stood at the head of the Democratic party in Vermont. In still later years he has taken no active part in politics, but has paid more attention to the legal profession, of which he has been a chief ornament. We found him feeling a keen solicitude for the success of Fremont and the Republican cause. He was congratulating us on the position taken by Judge Kellogg, and other prominent Democrats, on the side of Freedom and Fremont, when he remarked: "I told my friends they hadn't turned their coats, but had only unbuttoned them. They had long felt a pressure within, and now that they had unbuttoned their coats, they felt better, and breathe freer." The assault on Sumner had aroused them, and the tierce Chief Justice Reelfield, published in the Journal, was the tocsin that sounded the alarm.—Ever since that event the process of unbuttoning Democratic coats has been going on.

The Washington correspondent of the Philadelphia North American Independent says:
The report of Mr. Oliver, from the minority of the Kansas Investigating Committee, will make little public impression. Dealing in barren generalities, and discarding facts, proven beyond all controversy, and not impeached at the time or since, it can only be regarded as a one-sided effort to bolster up outrages without parallel, and to sustain a sectional cause, which has its advocates in violence and crime. Mr. Oliver himself was in a measure a party to these aggressions, and was even charged—though apparently without sufficient reason—with having voted in Kansas. He represents constituents who were known to be implicated, and therefore his defence is that of an interested advocate. No wonder he supports the "fight of Whiffled to his sea", since the very men who sent him here also contributed to send the sitting delegate from Kansas. The testimony is conclusive on this point, and no attempt is made to extenuate the offence, but a perversion of facts, which only renders it more palpable and damning.

At a Kansas meeting held in Beauport District, South Carolina, on the 7th inst., the following resolutions were passed:
Whereas it is of the first importance to the South that Kansas should become a slaveholding State; we are urgently called upon by considerations of honor, as well as of interest, to do everything in our power to sustain our Southern brethren in Kansas: Therefore

- Resolved, 1. That we will contribute money and send men to establish the institution of slavery in that Territory.
- 2. That a committee of six from each Parish in this District, be appointed by the Chair to receive contributions of money and the names of men who are willing to go to Kansas.
- Col. Richardson, the candidate of the bogus Democrats, for Governor of Illinois, after finding how the land lays, proposes to swap himself off for Buchanan votes. He advised his friends to drop him if by so doing, they could get any votes for Buchanan.

THURSDAY, JULY 17, 1856.

The following lines are the production of a young girl, of this city, of only fourteen years.—The address in our issue of Monday to 'our Chief,' perhaps suggested this song to our flag:

Our National Ensign.

Flag of the planet gems,
Whose sapphire—circled diadems
Stud ev'ry sea, and shore and sky—
Oh! can thy children gaze
Upon thy silver blaze,
Nor kindle at thy rays,
Which led the brave of old to die?
Thou banner! beautiful and grand,
Float thou forever o'er our land.
Flag of the stripes of fire!
Long as the bard his lofty lyre
Can strike, thou shalt inspire our song—
We'll sing thee round the hearth;
We'll sing thee on strange earth:
We'll sing thee when we forth
To battle go with clarion tongue!
Flag of the free and brave in blood,
For 'sye be thou the best of God!
Flag of the bird of Jove!
Who left his home, the clouds above,
To point the hero's lightning path—
Around thee will we stand,
With glittering sword in hand,
And swear to guard the land.
Which quell'd the British lion's wrath,
Flag of the West! be thou unfurled,
Till the last trump, arouse the world!
Flag of two ocean shores,
Whose everlasting thunder roars
From deep to deep, in storm and foam—
Though with the sun's red set,
Thou sink'st, to slumber, yet
With him in glory great,
Thou risest and shall share his tomb!
Thou banner! beautiful and grand,
Float thou forever o'er our land.
New Orleans, July 15th 1856.

CHARLESTON

Thursday Morning, July 17, 1856.

THE MERCURY.

BY HEART & TABER.

What our Enemies are Doing.

GERRIT SMITH, the Abolitionist, has just pledged himself to give \$1,500 a month for the next twelve months, to aid in establishing Freedom in Kansas. He gave, but a short time since, at the Kansas relief meeting in Albany, \$3,000. Prior to that, he had sent about \$1,000 to the Boston Emigrant Committee. Out of his own funds, he subsequently equipped a Madison County Company, of one hundred picked men, and paid their expenses to Kansas. At Syracuse he subscribed \$10,000 for Abolition purposes, so that his entire contributions amount to at least \$40,000. This is the tribute of one man's mere hostility to the spread of Southern institutions.

We wish we could point to a Southern man who, recognising Kansas as the battle-ground of the South—as the place where, of all others, we are to determine whether we will hold our position by power or henceforth exist by the mercy of our enemies—we wish we could name a Southern man who had given as much for the safety of his section as this fanatic for the triumph of his.

TESTIMONY OF A "FREE STATE" MAN.—The Herkimer county (N. Y.) American contains a long letter from an anti-slavery man in Kansas. After giving some account of the outrages by the Abolitionists, he says:

"I am not a pro-slavery man, but I do despise, most heartily, this hot-headed, meddlesome spirit, which so extensively exists in our country. I honestly believe that the abolitionists of the Territory are the aggressors in nearly every case of difficulty which has occurred here—at least so far as my humble knowledge extends this is positively true. I go about my own business, and have no fears of being molested: nor do I think there is the least danger of

any person being... to have peace. It is the lawless of both parties that fear danger. I hesitate not to avow my principles (which are no slaves and no free negroes in Kansas) even to Missourians, who pass my house almost daily, and they say that every man has a right, in this country, to his own views, and they have no disposition to interfere with any man's rights, &c. They seem friendly and well disposed, but despise highway robberies and Abolitionists."

State Register.

SPRINGFIELD:

THURSDAY, JULY 17, 1856.

The Bribery and Corruption Fund.

The black republican convention at Buffalo, on the motion of Gerritt Smith, agreed to raise a fund of \$100,000 a month until the presidential election, under guise of furthering the cause of "freedom" in Kansas. This fund instead is to be used in electing the candidates of the jobbers in congressional claims. We have hitherto furnished our readers with an outline of the plan of these conspirators, in the name of "free Kansas," to obtain the control of the purse-strings of the nation. This Buffalo project is a part of the scheme. Fremont is expected to contribute largely to this fund, through his immense wealth derived from his Mariposa grant, and travelling agents are now scouring all the northern states, for the purpose of raising funds. They pretend to be raising money for the purpose of sending 'emigrants to Kansas.' Over fifty per cent of this money is to be used as an electioneering fund in the free states. But little of the money subscribed for the purpose of sending emigrants to Kansas has been used for that object, and most of it is now in the hands of black republican leaders and demagogues, who selecting a number of pliant and plausible tools, in every county, pay them so much for their time, and allow them so much for every vote they procure for Fremont! If there ever was a bolder, baser game played in this country, it has yet to be developed!

John P. Hale's Testimony—The Senate Kansas Bill.

On the day previous to the passage of the senate Kansas bill, John P. Hale said of it, in the senate:

I take this occasion to say, that the bill, as a whole, does great credit to the magnanimity, to the patriotism and to the sense of justice of the honorable senator (Mr. Douglas) who introduced it. It is a much fairer bill than I expected from that latitude. I say so because I am always willing and determined, when I have occasion to speak anything, to do ample justice. I THINK THE BILL IS ALMOST UNEXCEPTIONABLE.

The only objection which Mr. Hale made to the bill was, that under its provisions the president might appoint such commissioners as would use their power to make Kansas a slave state. To this objection Senator Cass replied as follows:

I feel authorized to say that the selection of commissioners under this bill by the executive will not be a local or party question. I feel myself at liberty to say that, if the commissioners are selected under the bill by the executive, they will be selected impartially from the different shades of party, in the country, and the best men that can be got.

Yet in view of this state of facts, the black republican press, including the Journal, unblushingly stigmatize this bill as intended to make a slave state of Kansas. "The magnanimity, patriotism and sense of justice" which induced its passage have no place in the hearts of these demagogues. The passage of the bill would deprive them of their petted capital in outrages, and the means of playing upon sectional prejudice. We believe that the "patriotism" and the "sense of justice" of the country will yet force the house of representatives to pass this measure of pacification.

Pacific Railroad Packet Line.

We would call the attention of passengers for the Missouri river to this route, which is rapidly increasing in popularity, and only needs being known to insure its complete success. The favorite railroad packet F. X. Aubry, Capt. Benj. V. Glime, will leave Jefferson City tonight on the arrival of the cars, putting passengers through to Kansas in forty-eight hours.

More about those Cannon.

PLATTE CITY, Mo, July 8th, 1856.

To the Editor of the Missouri Democrat:

I wish to make an inquiry through your paper. If volunteer military companies are organized in this State, and furnished with arms and cannon by Gov. Sterling Price, is it legal for those cannon, thus furnished, to be sent over to Kansas Territory, and there used to reduce to the ground the town of Lawrence? My reason for making this inquiry is, that the cannon furnished to a company at this place by the State, were sent from here over to Kansas just before the destruction of Lawrence.

I am a pro-slavery man, but a lover of peace and good order, and cannot see how our State can have peace or good order if this be in accordance with law and good citizenship.

Very respectfully, KENTUCKY.

The Kansas Bill at the South.

Will those of our political opponents who are playing a tune upon the Kansas bill as though it were "a harp of a thousand strings," take a glance at this *variation*? The Charleston Mercury, a supporter of Mr. Douglas before the late Cincinnati convention, says:

Senator Douglas has added much to his previous reputation, by his reports and speeches, this session, on Kansas affairs. He has been bold, able, and consistent, in his vindication of the principles of the Nebraska-Kansas bill.—But the fates have been against him. His great measure, which was to settle forever the question of slavery in the territories, remove agitation from the floors of Congress, and give peace to the whole country, has disappointed the expectations of its friends. Upon all these points, the Nebraska-Kansas bill, so far as Kansas is concerned, has proved a failure—a failure in all that could give it practical value.—The question of slavery in the territories is as far from solution in theory now as it was ten years ago, while practically it is complicated by the intensest excitement on both sides, and by violence and blood. We have before us the startling anomaly of a party actually rejecting all overtures of peace, and staking its success in the presidential election upon the continuance of the civil war in Kansas.

Nor is this all. The Kansas-Nebraska bill is not only a practical failure, but Senator Douglas is himself forced to confess 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 nothing but "intervention by Congress"—the very evil which Mr. Douglas has so 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.

South Carolinians for Kansas.

The steamer Moderator, Captain O'Neal, brought up a company of twenty-six South Carolinians from Paducah to St. Louis. They came down the Cumberland, are young men, and as the saying goes, are "all armed to the teeth." They are commanded by a gentleman who is recognized as General L. M. Ayres.

These men are similar in character and bearing to those who preceded them from the South to Kansas, to which they are also bound, and where they express a desire of arriving speedily. In order to take a hand in voting at the next

election. They make no scruple of expressing a singular fondness for the elective franchise, and to judge from their conversation, if they don't soon get a chance at a fight too, they will "spile." Their words as reported are, "we want to be in time to vote, or to fight if necessary."

We have expressed too often our views in regard to these aimed companies of young men whether coming from the north or south, who go to Kansas with no industrial pursuits in view, but merely to "vote and fight" in a sectional quarrel generated by demagogues and kept alive by fanatics. But of course these men will be stopped at Lexington in the same manner in which the Chiragoans were. Such even handed justice is known to prevail there, that the Lexington "boys" will not think of permitting one party to pass, and stopping another. We shall see.

THE DAILY SENTINEL.

RUFUS KING & WM. H. WATSON,
PROPRIETORS.

Under the Name and Firm of Rufus King & Co.

MILWAUKEE:

Friday Morning, July 18.

The New Despotism over Kansas.

The last Douglas-Kansas bill to which the Pierce-Buchanan party is committed, 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, admits the state into the Union "on an equal footing with the original states," and makes action of that convention a finality, and denies to the people the invaluable privilege of voting upon the organic law of the new state.

Now we ask every Freeman of Wisconsin whether you would submit to have a convention called, even when a Territory, and the acts of that convention to be your constitution without a vote of the people on the same. This is the new despotism over the people of Kansas to which the Pierce-Buchanan party are pledged and bound. When you adopted the constitution of Wisconsin, you voted on it—after the convention had framed it. And yet that privilege is denied to the settlers of Kansas under the Toombs-Douglas bill, and that denial is endorsed by the Buchanan party which asks your suffrage in order to consummate this new form of the despotism of Slavery.—Wisconsin.

These objections to the Know-Nothing bill for making Kansas a Slave State are well taken.—Another of not less weight must be borne in mind. Under the original Kansas-Nebraska bill, the right of suffrage was granted to emigrants from the Old World, who had declared their intentions to become citizens. A large number of Germans, Irish and others, of foreign birth, have sought homes in Kansas, trusting to this provision to secure the right of citizenship. But they are doomed to disappointments. The Sham Democracy have discovered that the German and other foreign-born settlers in Kansas are for FREE LABOR and a FREE STATE. Hence, their recent move in the U. S. Senate, to disfranchise this class of voters, and thus give slavery a better chance. The bill for that purpose passed the Senate by the combined vote of the Know-Nothings and Democrats against the united opposition of the Republican ranks. And all the organs of the Sham Democracy, in the field and elsewhere, approve of this measure for excluding foreign-born settlers in Kansas from the right of suffrage and thus indirectly aiding the Pro-Slavery party in that Territory to carry their point!

The Republican.

T. J. PICKETT, C. W. WAITE, Editors.

PEORIA:

FRIDAY MORNING, JULY 18, 1856.

An extract from a letter from an actual settler in Kansas, formerly of this county, says: "These Ruffians from South Carolina, Georgia and Missouri muster once a week; they are armed with United States rifles, furnished by Governor Shannon. They are hired by the month by Col. Buford, Atchison and Stringfellow, as agents for the Slavery fund from the South for making Kansas a Slave State.—Many of them would leave if they had funds to do so, but they say they have never had any money. Buford told them they should be paid monthly, but they have had no money since they have been in the Territory, and hard fare. New recruits are coming in every day, armed by the Governor. Here this is no secret. If we had some help from the Free States they would return to their plantations and use their authority over people of another color."

An old Peorian thus writes us on the kind of civil war:

LAWRENCE, KANSAS TERRITORY,
July 6, 1856.

Being yet undetermined on what course we will make for from here, I have concluded to keep you posted up in regard to our whereabouts, as much as possible, and if it should so happen that we become involved in any difficulty you may be enabled to obtain trace of us should it prove necessary. There are indeed perilous times here. No one knows when he is safe from being met by a band of guerrillas, robbed of every thing he may possess, or obliged to engage in a deadly conflict to protect himself and property. Night after night have Mr. Moffit and myself passed without sleep, expecting momentarily a band of the deperadoes to make a descent upon us; but by the goodness of Providence we have evaded all such difficulties thus far, while those before and after us on the same road have had to fight, and some of them have been overpowered and plundered beside. A Free State man was shot near the Big Springs, yesterday, by three men being wounded seriously. He was but a short distance before us. A continuation of the difficulties are looked for, and they cannot be entirely stopped while the Missourians are permitted to organize bands to come over and harass the settlers. The President not being satisfied with the outrages that the Missourians were enabled to commit upon the Free State men, his officials issued orders to Col. Sumner to disperse the Legislature which was about to assemble to make laws at Topeka, on the 4th inst, which he did by surrounding the State House one hour before they were to meet with 200 cavalry and holding back a reserve of 300 infantry and artillery within gun-shot distance. Hence you see what respect the Administration have for the people of the territory, and how carefully they guard their sacred rights and permit them to make laws for themselves, &c.—Popular sovereignty! popular sovereignty! where is its realities, as promised by Douglas & Co.? If we have a sample of it here, we are ahead of Turkey, Austria, and a little ahead of France, in establishing despotism. But it is the universal praver among the Free State men

that Pierce's race will soon end, and that one who is unwilling to stand on the same platform will relieve them of the leechers they have now to rule and domineer over them.

We think of going from here direct to Leavenworth, and talk some of going down on the Neosho river, but have not fully determined what we shall do. HENRY W. McFADDEN.

OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE KANSAS OUTRAGES.

The published report of the Select Committee of the House of Representatives, appointed for the purpose of investigating into the alleged election frauds and outrages in Kansas, has come to hand. It appears *in extenso* in the New York Tribune of Wednesday, in which paper it occupies over seventeen columns.

In the very outset of their report, the Committee state that it has been proven by the testimony taken by them, that had the condition of Kansas as a free territory been left undisturbed by Congress, its settlement would have been rapid, peaceful and prosperous, and none of the troubles which have since sprung up, would have occurred between the Missourians and the settlers of the Territory. Not until the slavery-prohibition of the Missouri Compromise was removed by Douglas' Nebraska-Kansas bill, did the Missourians show any disposition to interfere in the affairs of Kansas, nor would they have done so. But as soon as the slavery-restriction was abrogated by Congress, the agitation commenced, and the leading Missourians entered the Territory to control its affairs and to shape its institutions. "This unlawful interference," says the report, "has been continued in every important event in the history of the territory; every election has been controlled not by the actual settlers, but by the citizens of Missouri, and as a consequence, every officer in the territory, from constables to legislators, except those appointed by the President, owe their positions to non-resident voters. None have been elected by the settlers, and your committee have been unable to find that any political power whatever, however unimportant, has been exercised by the people of the Territory."

The fact of the existence of a Secret Society in the border counties of Missouri, for the invasion and control of the affairs of the territory, is firmly established by the testimony taken. The avowed purpose of this organization was to establish slavery in Kansas and other territories. It was by this Secret League that the election frauds, and all other outrages were perpetrated. The almost incredible reports which have heretofore been published relative to the interference, fraud and violence by the Missourians in the elections, are more than confirmed. The committee give a detailed account of the proceedings at every election.

It is a most damning record. It is too voluminous for us to publish.

The charges that have been brought against the Free State men, the Emigrant Aid Societies and Gov. Reeder, which have been made the pretexts of the Missourians for their course of conduct, are not sustained by proof. No unlawful or undue course was pursued by the Free State men, to populate and control the Territory. The committee are satisfied that "these charges were made the mere pretexts to induce an armed invasion into the territory, as a means to control elections and establish Slavery there."

The acts of outrage are enumerated, and the history of all the movements of both parties in the territory, the election and acts of the Bogus Legislature, the Topeka Free State Convention, and other matters which are familiar to the public, and which in the Committee's report do not vary in any essential particular from the previously published unofficial accounts of them, are fully detailed. The report concludes as follows:

Your Committee did not deem it within their power or duty to take testimony as to events which have transpired since the date of their appointments.

Hon. Adam Beatty, of Mason county Ky., has written a letter deprecating the renewal of the slavery agitation and denouncing the outrage on Mr. Sumner.—We quote one paragraph from his letter:

"In my judgment the best means of securing the peace of the country and quieting agitation on the subject of slavery will be to admit Kansas as a Free state, according to the spirit of the Missouri Compromise, and reinstating that Compromise, extending the line 36 30 to the Pacific Ocean."

...ould have the effect of the doubt. But here are laws plainly and clearly unconstitutional; laws stigmatized by the President's own friends as "disgraceful to the age in which we live," but which he declares he will enforce with all the power of the federal government, and for disobeying which the people of Kansas are branded as traitors.

It is true that the "Democratic" leaders have lately expressed their willingness to repeal the worst of those laws, and a bill to that effect, introduced by them, has lately passed the Senate. But why this sudden willingness? Is it not because they fear that the popular indignation which their outrageous conduct has aroused, will sweep their party from power? When the bill was under consideration, Mr. BRIGIT, the President of the Senate, left his seat and went down on to the floor, where he made a speech beseeching the Southern Senators not to vote down the amendment repealing the odious laws, unless they wished to see "Northern parties" occupy the seats he and his colleagues now held.—How long is it since President PIERCE declared that those "disgraceful" laws must be obeyed, and brought eternal infamy upon his name by pledging himself to their enforcement? How long is it since STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS added insult to injury, by saying, that "if they (the people of Kansas) desire to have any of the laws repealed, let them try to carry their point at the polls, and let the majority decide that question." Now he acknowledges the falsity of his reasoning by advocating a bill which repeals some of those laws, thereby acknowledging the necessity of Congressional interference. But it is all a sham. These men have no more regard for human rights, than the British ministers who oppressed our forefathers; as the occasion requires, they will either crush them or proclaim them, whichever course will best accomplish their base and ignoble ends. The British ministry, awed by the popular clamor, repealed the stamp act, but at the first opportunity they renewed their attacks upon Freedom. Have we not every reason to suppose that the tyrants of our day will do the same?

The very speeches on which the eloquent speakers of the revolution, describing the affairs at those times, aroused their countrymen to battle and to victory, can be applied to the condition of the men in Kansas now. We could suppose one of their orators, addressing them almost in the very words which Josiah Quincy used to defend the cause of '76. He would tell them "not to be deceived," to "believe not those venal hirelings, when they would cajole them by their subtleties into submission, or frighten them by their vapourings into compliances." He would answer their enemies that "in defence of their civil and religious rights, they dare oppose the world." He would then go on with the patriotic Quincy to use these words, which, as trials for treason are now pending in Kansas, would be especially applicable:

"Blandishments will not fascinate us, nor will threats of a "halter" intimidate. For, under God, we are determined, that whosoever, whensoever, or howsoever we shall be called to make our exit we will die freemen."

* * * * *
"Who has the front to ask, wherefore do you complain? Who dares assert, that everything worth living for is not lost, when a nation is enslaved? * * Does not every eastern gale waft us some new insect even of that

devouring kind, which eat up every green thing? Is not the bread taken out of the children's mouth and put into the dog's? * Are not our lives put into the hands of those whose tender mercies are cruelties." * * *

"Were a tyrant to conquer us, the chains of slavery, when opposition should become useless, might be supportable; but to be shackled by Englishmen [Americans]—by our equals—is not to be borne."

"By the sweat of our brow we earn the little we possess; from nature we derive the common rights of man; and by charter [the Constitution] we claim the liberties of Britons [Americans]. Shall we, dare we, pusillanimously surrender our birthright." * * *

"Oh! my countrymen! if we have any respect for things sacred, any regard to the dearest treasure on earth; if we have one tender sentiment for posterity; if we would not be despised by the whole world;—let us, in the most open solemn manner, and with determined fortitude, swear—we will die, if we cannot live freemen."

"While we have equity, justice, and God on our side, tyranny, spiritual or temporal, shall never ride triumphant in a land inhabited by Englishmen [Americans]." X.

Grand Rapids Eagle.

CITY OF GRAND RAPIDS:
FRIDAY MORNING, JULY 18, 1856.

The Parallel.

The great object for which the Revolution was fought was the establishment of this principle: that government is not a thing of Divine origin, but a contract between the people and their rulers, and that when those rulers violate that contract the people have the right to throw off their allegiance; or, in other words, that no one is bound to obey a clearly unconstitutional law. This principle, and this only, can justify the course of our Revolutionary fathers, and it justifies it fully.—They claimed that the measures which King George tried to enforce were a complete violation of the free spirit of the British constitution, which throws its mantle over Englishmen everywhere. But the English Ministry despised their constitutional objections, and despised their constitutional rights: the result is before the world.

We need not go out of our own borders to find a parallel; and a more complete one could hardly be found. The President of the United States has trodden under foot the constitutional rights of the people of Kansas; he has spurned their prayers for relief, and he is now subjugating them by the might of arms. What more did George the third attempt?—Tyranny then took the form of law as it does now; "Law and Order" was the cloak for British outrage then, as it is for Border Ruffian outrage now. John Hancock and Samuel Adams in the eyes of their oppressors were guilty of treason then, as Robinson and his fellow sufferers are now. Yet those are exalted as patriots, and they are condemned as rebels. The very men who sing psalms of praise on the patriotism of '76 spurn and spit at the patriotism of '56. In utter contempt of consistency, and without a blush, they bear the name and eulogise the principles of Democracy, while they repress its noblest modern manifestation.

From the able speech of Mr. Colfax of Indiana on the "Laws of Kansas," (a document which ought to be in the hands of every one,) we learn that there are in the code of the bogus Legislature "no less than seven palpable violations of the organic law of the Territory (the Nebraska bill), and five equally direct and open violations of the Constitution of the United States." The chief accusation made against James II. was that he had "violated the fundamental law of the Kingdom," and for this reason the people held themselves justified in deposing their faithless king.—Shall we not allow the people of Kansas the same privileges which the subjects of Charles and James claimed and enforced? Shall we deny to them the rights for which our fathers fought? We know that sometimes the constitutionality of a law may be merely doubtful, and it may be proper that the government

The Daily Journal.

Indianapolis, Ind.

FRIDAY MORNING, JULY 18 1856

Letter from Peter Pringle.

PRINGLE TOWNSHIP, Pottsimon Co., }
July 15, 1856.

Dear Bill Brown:—I take my pen in hand to inform you that I am well and hope these few lines may find you enjoying the same great blessing.

Dear Bill, what I am about to relate to you is a profound secret. Don't let it get out for it would ruin our party.

Well, I felt so bad about the prospects of our party that I just packed up for Washington while the cursed abolitionist were making such a fuss about satisfying the nomination of Fremont. I had not been there an hour till our beloved Jesse D. and Judge Douglas called on me and desired me to meet some of the friends at Douglas's room in an hour to consult on the State of the party. Well I went and there were twenty or thirty of our friends waiting for my arrival. Douglas called on me (after swearing all to secrecy, i. e. to keep our doings from the abolitionists, and that is the reason I want you to be sure to say nothing about it) to state what the prospects were in Indiana for our party. Well, I told the meeting how the people were cursing about this Kansas matter and the bogus laws, as the Black Republicans called them, and were going over to Fremont, &c. I wound up by saying something must be done speedily or the party was lost intirely. Then Captain Fillbuster who had been traveling in the State Pennsylvania, was called upon for a statement of the prospects in that State. He said: "What Mr Pringle had said about Indiana was applicable to Pennsylvania. The truth is Western Pennsylvania is on fire for free soil, free speech, and Fremont, and something ought to be done soon." I observed that when I was up I had forgot to say that the Dutch were leaving us. Said Douglas, don't the Dutch—I ask pardon, gentlemen—every one of them who leaves our party ought to be disfranchised, and wear a collar with the word "slave" engraved on it." "But, gentlemen," continued he, "I desire to make some suggestions." We all cried out Douglas! Douglas! hear him! "My suggestion," continued he, "is this: (it is the only

thing to carry the election and make Kansas a slave State,) that we introduce and carry through the Senate a bill plausible on its face, and seemingly to those not into the mysteries of politics, a fair proposition to settle the Kansas difficulty. Let the bill repudiate these laws that the Black Republicans have raised such a fuss about, and allow the settlers there now to frame a constitution and make provisions for a commission to be sent on to Kansas by the President to keep everything in order. You know, Mr. Toombs, and other gentlemen of the South, that Pierce will do as he has done—appoint pro-slavery men on the commission. Such a bill the Abolitionists of the House may muster strength enough to defeat. If they can we have them on the hip, for they will have to refuse what will appear to the uninstructed a fair proposition. On the other hand if it becomes a law we are safe, (to this point let me beg the particular attention of my southern hearer-) for our friends have possession of the Missouri river and will keep the abolitionists out. They have already run off so many, and with the course of intimidation which our friends will pursue there can be no danger of there being a majority of abolitionists at the polls in the election of delegates under the bill. Well, can any one doubt, after all he has done for Slavery, that President Pierce will appoint true pro-slavery men on that commission? Then, gentlemen, the commission and the whole election machinery will be in our hands, and I must say, that we are not very adroit politicians if we cannot, with such advantages, carry the State for Slavery, and at the same time make the boys in the North throw up their caps and shout for Squatter Sovereignty all the time and not only Squatter Sovereignty, but swear it is justice and the will of heaven, too. It is easy to manage this thing. Let some of our friends whom Atchison, Stringfellow, Jones & Co. have confidence in inform them of the game we are about to play, so they shall not flare up, and tell them to watch the river and keep up some bullying so as to scare the timid off. Now gentlemen of the South, you have heard what Mr. Pringle and Capt. Fillbuster have said, and Mr. Bright has told you that something must be done or his place will be filled with an abolitionist and also the vacancy from his State. Now select your course. Give us of the North a chance to do something for you or take the consequences of your stubbornness. Will you use a little policy and save the party and save Kansas to the South, or will you go on till your Northern friends are overwhelmed and the Government rested from you, and Kansas made free?

Mr. Toombs said "the course pointed out by Mr. Douglas was undoubtedly the true policy under the emergency of the case," and proffered to lead off. Said "the South would not be unreasonable. All it wanted was to be assured that Kansas would come in with a Slave Constitution. The South was not particular what the operation of making it a Slave State was called. Gen. Cass and his admirers may call it Squatter Sovereignty if they please. Give us the assurance that Slavery will not be excluded from Kansas and we will not clamor about the course you think it policy to pursue. I can assure the South. It knows I am true to slavery, and desirous of its extension till I call the roll of my negroes in the shade of Bunker's Hill monument."

The suggestions of Mr. Douglas were put to vote whether they should be the policy of the party, and carried by a unanimous vote.

The next proposition was to court the Fill more men, and Douglas was to sleep with Dunn a few times just to strengthen the party. Scott Harrison and such Know Nothings are to be puffed for their nationality, so as to keep them from the Fremont ranks. Most any of our boys can stuff Scott Harrison, but it takes a sharp fellow to do it to Geo. G. Dunn, but we think Douglas will be equal to the occasion.

Yours to the party bonds,
PETER PRINGLE, Esq.,

DEMOCRATIC PRESS

CITY OF CHICAGO.

FRIDAY MORNING, JULY 18, 1856.

Condition of Affairs in Kansas.

MISSOURI RIVER, June 27, 1856

To the Editors of the Democratic Press:
We are anxious to hear what action the State of Illinois will take to protect her citizens emigrating to the Territories of the United States.

The Governor of Missouri has furnished the Anti-Benton Nullifiers with muskets and cannon, and companies are mustering and organizing for war in Western Missouri. They now openly declare that no more emigrants from the Free States shall be allowed to enter the Territory, and suit the action to the word, while companies from the South, armed to the teeth, arrive and proceed directly into the Territory, and contributions are made for their support. Gov. Shannon was chosen President of one of the Aid Societies at Leocompton. He said some time since that "the North could not send men up the Missouri River, while the South could charter forty steamboats and send supplies of men at once to Kansas." The Pro-Slavery League have decreed that Kansas shall be a Slave State at all hazards. Their strikers have already commenced the war. The most sacred rights of Northern men have been outraged. The officers of law are corrupt men. At this moment citizens of Kansas who rose to defend their homes and their lives from the crowds of Southern Fillbusters who were sacking the country are being seized and tried for treason by the Federal officers of the Territory, while Southern murderers are shielded from arrest and rewarded for their acts. Crimes have been committed under color of law that make the blood curdle in the veins of Freemen. Will the North submit? Stringfellow thinks they will. The Pro-Slavery League tenders the conditions—"submission, or war and disunion;" and then they coolly tell the North that if dissolution and civil war take place, they will be the cause of it.

"We don't want you here" is the reason given for driving citizens of the Free States out of the Territory. After hundreds had been driven out by force, a dispatch was sent with the speed of lightning over the line to the Cincinnati Convention, of the following import: "Pro-Slavery party victorious. Free State men leaving Kansas. Will be a Slave State." It was shown to the Missouri Nullifiers by the operators while passing to their brother Nullifiers at the Convention. The Nullifiers are themselves astonished that the country permits their lawless acts. Will Illinois quietly look on and see her citizens outraged on the public highways of the nation? Can she permit armed bands of fillbusters to pass along her borders to harass, plunder and hang her disarmed citizens who have emigrated to Kansas? Humanity demands, till other measures of redress can be obtained, that your Governor send arms to Chester, Cairo, and other points on the Mississippi, and disarm and send back the Southern fillbusters. It is time to act—war actually exists. Apparent quiet only obtains by the present submission of Kansas to her oppressors. Her citizens, like the patriots of the Revolution, will use every effort to obtain justice from the government of their country before proceeding to extreme measures. Deceive not yourselves; if justice is not speedily meted out to this suffering people, the plains of Kansas will be deluged with blood. The cup of oppression is full. We know there is an avenging God.

But hark! we hear the lull of syren song, sweeping over the land from Washington. "With much fair speech the serpent beguiled Eve." Justice is now to be done to Kansas. Stephen A. Douglas, finding his territorial report, which embodied a mass of falsehood, compiled from the Missouri *Republican* and other debauched presses under the control of the secret Pro-Slavery League, which had been heralded forth by secret agents to give false coloring and corrupt and distract public opinion, would not stand in an honest community, tacks sheet and changes colors. No principle is in the way. He knows no criterion but success. With the advice of agents of the secret Pro-Slavery League and other southern friends, he is prepared no doubt to bring in a bill having the show of fairness, but the coils of the serpent are hidden.

The first step toward justice will be to restore the presses destroyed, pay them for their losses, and return the citizens to the Territory that have been driven out. Give them officers of the law that will execute impartial justice, and protect and guarantee their rights. Then, and not till then, will both parties have the equal chance

to which they are entitled. Again, the secret Pro-Slavery League are beginning to be willing to have a State Government, thinking that the Free State party are weaker now than they ever will be again. An unusual activity has been observed of late among the secret leaders in getting up emigrant companies to go to Kansas at a moment's warning. They are going over, taking claims, camping on them, and then returning home. Some are taking over stock preparing to date their residence at any time to suit the bill. They have abundant witnesses to prove all this, if necessary; and if Douglas' last bill should pass, there will be enough there, while the census is taken and voting done, to carry the elections, all in accordance with Douglas' bill. They are law and order men. Of this fact the citizens of Kansas have sad experience. We have seen no signs of repentance, but preparations are making to renew every outrage. There is no hope but in pouring in a massive column of Free State settlers into the Territory.

The Daily Democrat.

ROCHESTER, N. Y.

FRIDAY MORNING, JULY 18, 1856.

From the Montgomery (Ala.) Journal.
FROM KANSAS.—We give the following extract from a letter received by one of our compositors from a relative who went out to Kansas with Maj. Buford's company.

FOUR MILES SOUTH OF KANSAS CITY, MO. }
July 22, 1856. }

I have been through the "wars" in Kansas Territory, and am now perfectly tired out. I have been in one battle and several skirmishes, without receiving any personal injury, except a slight bruise received from my horse falling on me when he was killed from under me; but I received three bullet holes through my hat and had a "tub full" of Sharpe's balls to whiz around me. I have killed two of the "dogs," and Cosgrove one.

The United States troops will not permit us to enter the Territory armed, any more, and hence "Othello's occupation's gone." I am coming South just as soon as I can make a "raise."

Buford's expedition has been unfortunate. His men are scattered all along the frontier, trying to make money enough to "carry them back to Old Virginia."

This is undoubtedly the finest country in the world, without any exception; and if some of our wealthy slave-holders were to visit it once, they would emigrate with all their household.

The South ought to send 20,000 men here this Fall, well armed and provisioned. If she don't begin to stir her "stumps" Kansas will be a free state, sure. J. F. S.

There is sufficient in this letter, whose genuineness no one will dispute when told that it comes to us through the Journal of Commerce, to establish all the charges of murder and ruffianism made against these Southern marauders.—While these scoundrels are trying to "make a raise" by robbing the settlers, they are allowed to go about as enrolled militia, and Gen. SMITH, just sent out by PIERCE, refuses to interfere with their operations. In no other civilized country, have such atrocities been permitted for so long a period. And yet, with evidences of them from every quarter, there are those who try to ease their consciences by pretending not to believe them.

The Courant.

HARTFORD:
FRIDAY MORNING, JULY 18, 1856.

FROM THE "CURRENT RECORDER."

An Appeal to the Women of America, in Behalf of Kansas.

The great and stirring events which are now thrilling the hearts of all lovers of liberty and justice, have been talked about and commented upon much by almost every one. Earnest appeals have frequently been made in the public prints to the "men

of the North," with a view to arouse them to action; but I believe nothing has as yet been especially directed to the women of the North; and at all events, not by one belonging to their own sex. But have the women of America nothing to do with these great questions of the day? Is it nothing to you, my sisters, whether Kansas be devoted to Slavery or become free? Do you feel no interest in these things which ought to be the all absorbing theme of the nation? I know you have some, but I wish you had more. I am aware that many entertain the idea that women ought not to think of, or meddle with, politics in any shape or way; and I assure you I am the last one in the world to advocate anything like a departure from the true sphere of woman.

But this is something that affects every one, men and women both. Had you been in Kansas for the last year, as I have been, and there seen what I have seen, I think you would feel as I do, almost ready to return with rifles in your hands. But this I do not ask of you, there are men enough to go and fight, if they would but go; and you can do as much to aid Kansas by urging and persuading them to do their duty in this matter. My sisters, you have a great work to perform; see to it that it is not neglected. With you rests no small degree the future fate of Kansas, and indeed of this whole country. Now is the time to exercise all the influence you possess. There are many who would go to Kansas in a moment, if only their friends did not persuade them to remain where they are.

Oh! how can you look on and see the struggles of your brethren and sisters in that land, where deeds of fearful darkness and atrocity are becoming more and more frequent, without feeling your blood curdle with horror, and boil with indignation; without feeling that you would make almost any sacrifice, if you could alleviate their sufferings.—Every day, accounts are brought to us of some new and appalling outrage having been committed against the "Free State" settlers in Kansas. Every blow that is struck there ought to vibrate through the whole of the North, and rouse every man and woman to action; and I trust some are beginning to feel upon this subject. In several places men are volunteering to go and help, and money is being raised, in considerable amounts, to support and aid the sufferers,—sufferers through the black-hearted deeds of wicked men, who have fallen upon them like wild beasts of prey, and ransacked their houses, destroyed their crops, and in many cases taken the lives of those who attempted to resist.

Shall these things continue? Shall the most sacred rights of man be thus violated and trodden under foot by those miserable ruffians who act under the command of the General Government of these "United States," the Government of this land of boasted freedom and liberty; and yet all these, and even worse enormities are being carried on from day to day, while you lie passive, and either from ignorance as to the state of things; or from indifference, you allow them to go on without even exciting in your breasts a passing sympathy. How can you read the daily records which come to you, of horrible crimes committed in Kansas, without trembling for your country. But perhaps, you do not believe what is said in the newspapers in regard to these things, but think that most of the accounts are conjured up, merely for the sake of excitement. But I can testify to the truth of all, and even more than has appeared before the public. I can say without exaggeration, that the "half has not yet been told."

Oh! when I here of brave and noble men, (many of whom I am personally acquainted with,) being arrested, some cruelly tortured, others brutally murdered for no crime, but, because they entertain "Free State" principles; when I here of helpless women and children being insulted and driven from their homes into the wilderness; I feel almost tempted to exclaim, Surely the edict must have gone forth, the Lord must have said, "Let them alone; they are joined to their idols, let them alone!" Can it be that this enlightened country, this Rome of modern days, over which the "Flag of the Union" has so proudly waved ever since the days of '76,—can it be that this land will soon be given up to Slavery and oppression? No! it cannot, it must not be! My sisters, let me earnestly beseech of you, to do all in your power, to arrest the torrent of injustice and destruction that is now pouring over the land.

Do you ask what can be done by you in this crisis? You can do much in every community. If you will only try your strength you will find that you possess more power than you are aware of.—There are many ways in which you can assist in building up the "fast falling fortunes" of your country, and it is your duty to use all your energies in this struggle. Encourage and persuade your husbands and sons, your fathers and brothers, to cast their influence and their votes on the side of light and truth. Solicit subscriptions for the support of volunteers, and set them a cheering exam-

ple, by your bravery and readiness to give them up to their duty. How much you can do, if some of you can do but little else, you can pray, and this I trust many are doing. We know that earnest prayer availeth much.

Then let us pray sincerely, and from the heart, that God, in his mercy, will overrule all for good, and "make the wrath of man to praise him." But we must act as well as pray, we must use the means, and pray that they may be blessed. Then, and not till then, can we expect the darkness of the thick cloud, which is now over-shadowing us, to pass away, and reveal the too long concealed brightness of the day. I have much more that I could say upon this important question, but I find I have already said more than will be read with interest. I have discharged a duty, which seemed laid upon my conscience to perform, and I should feel amply repaid, if, through this humble appeal, one person should be led to look more earnestly into these things.

EMILY ANN KNIGHT.

EASTHAMPTON, JUNE 25, 1855.

The Republican.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.
FRIDAY MORNING, JULY 18, 1856.

En Route for Kansas. Correspondence of the Republican.

MISSOURI RIVER,
Steamer F. X. Aubrey, July 6.

I left Springfield Tuesday noon last, bound for Kansas, was detained twelve hours in Detroit through failure of railroad connections, stopped twenty-four hours in St. Louis, and, border ruffianism permitting, shall be at Leavenworth tomorrow evening, July 7, virtually making the journey of 2,000 miles in less than five days. I probably shall not be molested by the pirates who infest this river, not because they are supposed to have any regard to the rights of American citizens, but simply because I shall not be recognized. I am well prepared for any ordinary scrutiny on the part of these self-constituted inquisitors. In fact the casual observer would not be likely to distinguish me from the veritable border ruffian himself, and therefore I am comparatively safe. Thus the appearance of border ruffianism is immunity from outrage. It is a writ of protection stronger than a passport from the president of the United States. Free state men traveling on the river, declaring their sentiments, are in danger of robbery or murder. Many have been forbidden by irresponsible persons to go into Kansas simply because they came from the North. What a mockery it is to thank God for American citizenship when outrages such as these are committed with perfect impunity!

In order to increase my chances of security, I have dispossessed myself of certain "incendiary publications" which I happened to have, one of which I parted from with reluctance—the admirable sermon of Theodore Parker on the 25th of May last touching the outrage upon Charles Sumner. I am consoled for my loss with the reflection that the sermon may be of great service where it is, for I quietly placed it in a store in one of these river towns. It is not often that such terrific language against slavery is read in Missouri. Perhaps the very boldness of the attack may arouse to consciousness some noble yet hitherto dormant soul whose efforts will hereafter be directed to the elevation of Missouri to a proper appreciation of the causes of its present degradation. Bread cast upon the waters shall be found after many days; so perhaps the fruit of this precious seed, chance sown, may be glorious for liberty. But I have some papers which I must carry along with me, and which, if examined, would at once identify me. These I have nicely placed under the cover of my Bible, and I venture to assert, they are safe from ruffian hands. The Bible, though perverted from its natural meaning into south side views, is still a terror to these barbarians. They are not likely to scrutinize it very closely. They dislike to touch it. You know the South gave only one Bible to Buford's whole company, numbering some four or five hundred men. I warrant not a man of them has ever read a word of it or seen it. These are the shifts to which peaceable men are compelled to resort in traveling the Missouri river.

I presume you have heard the particulars of the outrage committed upon Dr. Cutter and his party. I therefore shall not describe them. Suffice it to say that the facts in the case amply justify the surrender of the arms. Dr. Cutter was ready to run any hazard in order to save them, and as it was come very near losing his life. I

hope our friends in the East will not be discouraged by this unfortunate occurrence. The odds were too fearful to fight against. No prudent military leader, who has any regard for human life, its hopes and associations, can be found, who would not have advised a surrender in the circumstances of the case. Yet a mistake was committed—a very great mistake. The party never should have attempted to go through Missouri. Missouri is the enemy's country. The enemy are exasperated to madness in seeing bands of armed or unarmed free state men, especially as they are losing the last hope of bringing Kansas to the foul embrace of slavery. Let Missouri reap the consequences of her madness to the bitter end. She is already beginning to feel them. The travel of the Missouri river is depreciating. The captains of the steamers are complaining. Let them complain. I have heard their complaints before.

The emigrant aid company directly and indirectly have given these steamboats an annual trade of more than a million of dollars. Yet here is a party of seventy-five men who go to Kansas under their auspices, who are outrageously insulted, robbed of their property, and driven back from the place of their destination by a mob, and not an arm is lifted for their security by the captains of these boats. I say we have borne enough of this—forgiveness ceases to be a virtue. We generously offered this immense trade to Missouri. She greedily accepted it. She has reaped the benefit thereof. Now she refuses to grant the protection which common carriers are bound to provide for in all states where justice is administered. Let Missouri be hereafter avoided, at least until she does works meet for repentance. I know there are many noble men in Missouri, especially in St. Louis. But it is their misfortune to live in a slave state, and they have to suffer for the wickedness of others. I think it is due from these men to make a demonstration in favor of common right and justice. A noble stand on their part would have a good effect among the border ruffians.

I have reason to believe that the only danger now to free state men is in passing through Missouri, and that after they have arrived in the territory, protection will be afforded them by Gen. Persifer F. Smith, and the forces under his command, as indeed to all peaceable citizens of whatever class. Let none therefore be detained from going to Kansas by the rumors of war. If the free state path of Iowa is chosen, there will be no danger.

But I have got to the end of the sheet. I can say no more now than that the West is all on fire for Fremont. His name is immensely popular. It has the prestige of success. Men believe that no means earthly or infernal can prevent his election. I have heard pro-slavery men on this boat declare their share in this belief.

Yours,

PIONEER.

MORE TERRITORIAL DESPOTISM.—The present administration, starting with professions of giving the settlers in the territories enlarged civil rights, has enacted more despotism in its territorial governments than had been considered possible under our constitution. Witness Kansas. But it seems that Gov. Stevens of Washington territory has been trying his hand at the business, with more vigor and decision than the shabby governor of Kansas, but with equal disregard of law and the rights of the people. His imprisonment of a judge has been mentioned. The members of the bar in Pierce county, where the outrage occurred, have published a statement of the facts, which place the governor in a very bad position. He first caused the arrest of several individuals in Pierce county for treason, in inciting the Indians to hostilities, and was about to submit them to illegal trial by court martial. Hearing that Judge Lander was about to issue a writ of habeas corpus to take the men from the military court, he ordered the arrest of the judge and clerk of the court by a company of volunteers, placed them in confinement, and issued a proclamation declaring Pierce county in a state of insurrection and proclaiming martial law. The members of the bar unanimously protest against the acts of the governor as a usurpation of power, and have memorialized Congress and the president on the subject—the citizens of Pierce county in mass meeting having concurred in the memorial.

Douglas' Lament---(over the left.)

[From the Worcester Transcript.]

As I walked out the other night,
When all around was still,
I met a team, called "Buck and Ereck,"
A joggng down the hill;
Steve Douglas sat behind and drove,
A twinkle in his eye,
And sotto voce, thus he sang:
"Old Buck, you'd better cry;
Oh, Buchanan.

You'll see what you will see,
My passions swallowed you entire,
Your body, breeches, boots,
But there's no sort of consequence,
As 'twas with Mr. Tools;
The South don't more than half trust you,
The North your name will scout,
And like your Ostend Circular,
You're bound to fizzle out!
Oh, Buchanan,
I told you how 'twould be,
You'll break your neck, both Back and Breck,
And leave the track for me."

"That drop of Democratic blood,
You squeezed out of your veins,
Will hardly pay "ten cents a day";
And "gutta serena canes,"
Won't help to drive you round the course,
Your Southern wind's unsound;
I'll bet a "dime" the "Mustang" horse
Runs you "into the ground!"
Oh, Buchanan,
You will be blown sky high;
I'm going down to see the fun,
But 'tain't for me to cry."

"'Tis time you fogies were killed off,
'Tis time that General Pierce
Should pack his "duds" and fix himself,
To walk behind your hearse!
You scape goats carrying off my sins,
"Flang"—you travel slow;
But never mind, you're headed right,
You're going down below!"
Oh, Buchanan,
You needn't cry for me,
Oh, don't you wish you had a wife,
Like John Fremont—and me!

Thus Douglas to himself did sing,
Thinks I, you have told more
Of sober truth, than you have spoke
In twenty years before!
Fremont will be our President,
Fremont the brave and bold,
Old Breck, and you, and all your crew,
Will just be laid out cold!
Oh, Buchanan,
You'd better cry, you see,
FREMONT WILL BE THE PRESIDENT,
AND KANSAS WILL BE FREE.

THE LIBERATOR.

No Union with Slaveholders.

BOSTON, JULY 18, 1856.

For the Liberator.

A VOICE FROM NEW ENGLAND TO THE SETTLERS IN KANSAS.

BY J. COLLINS.

Freemen! shall the blighting curse
Slavery flings upon our land,
Doom to endless toil a race
Groaning 'neath th' oppressor's hand?

Shall each sunny hill and vale,
In the fair and fertile West,
Echo with the piercing wail,
Wrung from many a sable breast?

Shall the birth-right of the free,
Now in chains and fetters pine—
And from rolling sea to sea,
Tell Columbia's sad decline?

Hark! upon th' Atlantic shore,
Where the pilgrim feet once trod,
Rising, like the ocean roar,
Cries for freedom and for God!

• Plymouth rock may wear away,
Washed by the unceasing wave;
Bunker's pile to dust decay,
Slowly, o'er the martyr's grave;

• Every mount, and hill, and stream,
Hallowed in a nation's eyes,
Lie forgotten like a dream
When the morning beams arise;

• But the free-born spirit still
Breathes within our inmost veins—
Still asserts th' untrammell'd will,
Spite of Slavery's whips and chains.

• From our rude and rocky shore,
From each snow-crowned mountain height,
In their strength shall thousands pour
To maintain a nation's right.

• Though the tyrant-master bend
Down to earth the hopeless slave,
And his boasted right defend
From the cradle to the grave;

Though the statesmen of our age
Recreate prove to truth and fame,
Darkening our historic page
With the record of their shame;

• Let each true New England son
• Shout the watchword of the free—
Onward! till the fight be won!
Onward!—Death or Liberty!

• When, by Southern breezes fanned,
Words of proud and angry tone
Claim a wide-spread virgin land,
As a home for Slavery's own;

• Mid the threatenings of the storm,
Be it ours to ward the blow,
While from patriot bosoms warm,
Echoes wide the answer—NO!

From the Boston Daily Times.

SOWING THE WIND, AND REAPING THE WHIRLWIND.

CAMBRIDGE, July 4, 1856.

EDITOR OF THE TIMES:—One week ago I made the inquiry, through your columns, and of your hundred thousand readers, to learn if any editor of a religious newspaper in Boston had dared rebuke the anti-slavery agitators in the church; and more, I asked, is there any clergyman known to have taken an open, manly, independent, fearless stand in maintaining the Constitution of the United States inviolate, respecting the return of runaway slaves to their masters?

A week has passed, and not a man is yet heard from. This is a significant fact. It proves we are hostile, and ready to repudiate the Constitution of our Union, led on and supported by the clergy and a professedly religious press. Of such a state of things it is impossible for me to write or speak according to the enormity of the crime so clearly developed.

We read rumors and see whole pages of editorial trash in our local papers, deprecating the terrible outrages in Kansas. I have shown these identical "outrages" began among ourselves, and as we have been sowing to the wind, the result is seen in our reaping a Southern whirlwind.

Do we forget that it was indispensably necessary for the President to authorize the call on the military, to enforce a clause of the United States Constitution, in Boston? Do we forget that every means has been adopted to entice slaves to run away, and to steal them from their owners, whenever they have come within reach of our grip? Do we not know that our churches are to-day engaged in sending abolitionists to the South as missionaries, teachers, pedlers, &c., whose business it is to help run off the slaves by underground railroad? And when these religious scamps, male and female, have been caught in their crimes, who among us does not know that a regular system of begging has been adopted to raise money in the churches, for the purpose of defending, and clearing, if possible, these thieves and busy-bodies; and when sent to jail or the State Prison for their crimes, what a hullabaloo is kicked up all over *Yankeeedom*, because they have laws to punish thieves out South! This thing has been going on for twenty years past, and some of our Whig and Democratic papers have warned and warned, but warned in

vain. The religious frenzy of the people has led them to desperation, and we have seen three thousand clergymen in one batch heading this monstrous party, calling for a nullification of the United States Constitution, and preparing the way for the hostile *American* party, and the more dangerous anti-slavery fanatics, together with all the turmoil, hate and vindictiveness, growing out of attempts to enforce the anti-liquor laws. It would

take too much space to go over all these parties and cliques, and follow up their speeches, resolves and public acts, as they have been developed under our eyes, month after month, for so many years, until the time came for us to be so bold as to declare to the South what she should, and what she should not do! We told her that slavery must and should be abolished, cost what it would, and we now see petition calling for a dissolution of the Union, and headed by many of our clergy! Here are facts we cannot deny, or lie out of sight.

Well, we went to Kansas in this spirit of brag and boast. We declared that slavery should not exist in that territory! We made our folks believe that Massachusetts was the Union! and what we decreed, every body else was bound to obey! So we went to work, dare-devil like, and made every body think we were somebody for a little while, by building fortified hotels in Kansas, arming emigrants with Sharpe's rifles, and defying the South. Yes, sir, this is exactly what we have done, and the way we did it: and made our arrangements accordingly, expecting to have our own way as well as our own say in Kansas.

Thus we were going on conquering and to conquer, when, behold, a voice was heard coming from the South, calling for "organized resistance" of our pretensions; and did we heed the gathering tempest? No, sirs, not at all! On we rushed, like madmen, bent on mischief, determined to rule or ruin! But we soon found out we could n't do either: neither rule nor ruin! And after having ourselves been the aggressors, actually making the South believe we were determined to drive slavery out of Kansas at the point of the bayonet: having got a \$20,000,000 capital! and able to send 10,000 men into the Territory, armed and equipped as "settlers" of all disputes: most people thought all this "usurper talk" had a real foundation, until it was found out that people living two thousand miles distant concluded that this was a "game at brag," and thought they might "take a hand" in the game, and they did so.

The result is far different from what was expected. We aroused jealousy and anger and strife at the South, just as demagogues had created divisions and animosities here at home in religion and politics. Our fanatics thought, most likely, that the South would be divided, and distracted, and thrown into uproar and confusion, as we are boiling and raving all over New England. But no; our churches and demagogue clergy mistake their men. The South is united, and now boldly defy us in their turn! And driven to desperation by our acts and threats, we see the lawless and brutal acts committed in Kansas.

It is wrong, then, to say all these troubles and all these outrages come from the South. It is not so. We of New England began these outrages on the South, and have continued them for twenty years; and because the South demands expansion with her institutions equally with the North, and will fight for her rights, we seem to think she has no rights except such as we, in our marvellous condescension, shall see fit to vouchsafe! Here is the whole thing in one column of the *Boston Daily Times*, and it will require a *fourteenth* sermon from all the 3,000 clergy of the famous "clerical petition" to prevent any one, not an abolitionist, seeing through this ladder.

There are two sides and two parties here engaged; one demands to be let alone; the other refuses, and says no, we will not let you alone, unless you give up your slaves, and set them free: and the other says, we can't do it; and so we say, *you shall!* and go to work trying to stop niggers from having babies, and when old enough to work, to stop their moving away from home! This is our work, and this we call free soil! I hope some able man will yet arise to set the North right in this matter about Kansas and slavery. By right, I mean to tell the truth respecting our aggressive demeanor towards the South.

That we have men among us who would be ecstatic for joy could they by any possible means embroil this country and England in a war, few can doubt, as they would be the first to join the British forces, and lead the way South to destroy the slaveholder and free the slaves. Indeed, such a project has long been charged on the abolition party, that branch known as the Garrison scapegraces. These men have long been suspected of maturing plans for a dissolution of the Union, and they now openly avow it: because they know British gold, and British guns can be had the moment that the South shall strike the blow. It is a fearful sight to witness what is now passing among us, and what should arouse and alarm men; but the enormity of the guilt charged is so unspeakable, few among us appear to comprehend or believe it.

though every thing confirms it; and letters from England have declared that the abolition party there were sending gold here to furnish disturbances, and bring on a war. Such is our situation at the present time, and God only knows what is to be the end.

The Atlas.

FRIDAY MORNING, JULY 18, 1856.

GOVERNOR REEDER AND THE WASHINGTON AUTHORITIES.—It is stated by the Washington letter writers that a warrant for arrest of Governor Reeder has arrived in Washington from Kansas; that if he shows himself there, he will be made prisoner and be taken to Leecompton, to be tried before Judge Leecompte. If such is the fact, it is a little singular that the authorities do not execute the law, by taking him wherever he may be found. If he is guilty of any violation of law, it is due to the dignity of law to arrest him at Chicago, or Easton, or Boston, or anywhere, if he can be found.

The New York Post remarks as a reason why such a course is not taken, that "the attempt to arrest him in either of the places, would doubtless lead to unpleasant excitement."

We are inclined to think that if the Government should arrest him, they would be in a predicament like him who drew an elephant in a lottery; they would not know what to do with him. Governor Reeder is, without doubt, safe from arrest for the present.

GEMS FROM THE SOUTH.—The 4th of July was celebrated at Grahamville, South Carolina, in a patriotic manner. The following toasts were drunk:—

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.

Mr. Brooks, the South Carolina Champion—When next he defends the rights of the South, may he be armed with a Carolina hickory!

By Capt. Thomas Dawson—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.

The Constitution of the United States—The apple of discord between virtue and vice, reason and fanaticism.

Kansas—Her plains have been stained with the blood of Southern men, in support of Southern rights and equality. May their appeals for aid be generously and gallantly responded to by every Southern man.

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

Mr. Brooks—May the glorious example here set us in the chastisement 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.

Massachusetts—Truant to the sacred compact she has signed; recreant to every principle of honesty, truth and justice; polluted by fanatical doctrines; secularized by spiritualism, religious enthusiasm, and corrupt legislation. May her unfortunate degeneracy be deeply deplored; and since she is already past recovery, may an effectual check be placed upon her insolence, by repeated and vigorous blows of *gutta serena*.

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.

E CAMPAIGN POST.

REV. THEODORE PARKER.

All who were present at the Music Hall on last Lord's day will agree that the performance of this reverend pastor on that occasion, was, in many respects, the most unique and remarkable ever wit-

nessed on those "boards." If it did not stir a jubilee among the imps below, it is because they have been surfeited and sickened with too frequent banquets of the same style, served by the same distinguished caterer.

There was not the usual method in his madness. He was not in his usual good humor. He fretted and sputtered like the fishiest of fish-women. There was more of the hyena than the jackall. He almost swore; and doubtless would have felt relieved by the utterance of a few mild oaths. No class escaped his insensate and frothy denunciations. He did not even spare his supposed friends. 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 proclivity. 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 flight the "border ruffians" and the U. S. troops, and then, protected by women in front, women behind, and women in flank, all armed with dish-cloths and brooms, the men in the centre with their rifles might be taken through in safety. Said he, "Six half-horse, half-alligator men from Kentucky or Missouri will put to flight all the loud-talking, spread-eagle free-soilers and abolitionists of New England." (Sensation—some applause in the galleries.)

The reverend gentleman was undoubtedly correct in his estimate of the pluck of the canting, loud mouthed crew he vituperated. The fact is, they dare do anything that requires only noise; but it is rather amusing to hear a man whose whole reputation for bravery consists in frequent reference to his grandfather's musket, and in his having (first securing his own personal safety) aided the excitement which led a mob to the murder of a U. S. official, set himself up as a commentator on the quality of manly courage.

At the time, in this city, of the restoration of a fugitive from service to his legal protector, there were at least ten thousand (THIRTY, it was boasted) who armed themselves and pledged "their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor" to his rescue. The dealers were literally stripped of fire-arms by these high-sounding pledges were redeemed only by throwing a little vitriol and red-pepper upon the troops (a mere handful, in point of numbers, compared to the pledged and armed horde) from an upper story window.

In his harangue, on Sunday, after having drawn out from his somewhat copious vocabulary every term which could aid him in the expression of his hostility to the general, state and city governments; the U. S. and state courts, from the highest to lowest; nearly all the men of prominence connected with either of these branches of the public service; the whig central committee, especially, and everybody who had anything to do with celebrating the "Glorious Fourth," outside of Framingham Grove, where the Union-haters and God-defiers meet annually to burn the constitution of the United States, and indulge in similar harmless antics, he proceeded to intimate, very bravely, as is his wont, that after one more ineffectual attempt at the ballot-box to crush this somewhat formidable combination of "ruffians," there was but one alternative left. He is evidently in full communion and sympathy with the ridiculous old swaggerer of the N. Y. Enquirer. He thought the people would rise at once in their might, and, by such a revolution as was never before heard of, sweep the myrmidons of a corrupt oligarchy from power, by the strong arm of physical violence.

This was a little ridiculous, after so elaborate and studied an effort to prove that the whole people, not excepting a single class, were wholly given over to an idolatry of the worst conceivable character. He must count on a very sudden and miraculous re-

generation of the whole American people! 27

On the whole, the "lesson for the day" as read by Parker, affords the best attainable evidence that "the country's safe." **

THE KANSAS BILL.

Good citizen—national man—lover of fairness and honesty—true patriot—have you examined the Kansas bill? Have you considered its significance? Have you measured the full extent of its impartiality? If not we beg you to re-examine it. Think of the importance of the object it seeks to accomplish; to stop civil war in Kansas? Remember that this civil war might, by a possibility, even come home to each man's door! This is no exaggeration—this is reality—and this indicates its vast importance.

This bill is a peace measure to prevent this. Look at the guards it places around the ballot box. Were they ever exceeded even in the laws of the states? Look at its repeal of the obnoxious Kansas statutes, so disgraceful to the age; is not this mode of remedy the right mode? Is it not the only substitute for the fatal course of Beecher's Sharp's rifles? Look, too, at the men who passed this bill;—introduced by Mr Toombs, supported by Messrs Crittenden and Clayton, amended on motion of Mr Geyer, from Missouri. Mark this, so as to repeal odious Kansas laws; and only about a dozen senators voting against it out and out! Reasonable men consider, in the light of the lurid flame of civil war, such circumstances as these, indicating the desire of all to protect the actual settlers.

The house also has passed a bill for the admission of Kansas under the Topeka constitution, notwithstanding all the irregularity, illegality, and downright treason connected with it; a constitution which is not even accurately before congress, but portions of it are forgeries; a constitution framed certainly by a faction; voted for only by a fraction of the actual settlers; a constitution originating in bold defiance of the constituted authorities of the country. A bill of this sort, once defeated in the house—a mere contemptible electioneering movement—was only forced through at last by the most vigorous application of the black republican whip and spur ever seen, and then only by a bare majority. This bill received but a dozen votes in the senate. Hamlin could not vote for it; other opposition senators could not vote for it; and it can never pass that body. It is amazing that an honest man can defend such a bill. It has not, absolutely, one redeeming feature. It is all bad—it is as bad as bad can be. What sane man supposes this bill can ever become a law? Who supposes it to be anything more than a vile electioneering movement?

The true bill for Kansas is the bill that has passed the senate, and is now in the house. This body has a chance before it to repeal odious laws; to restore the regular action of government in Kansas; to purify and protect the ballot box; to give peace and prosperity to this territory. Yet the country sees the black republicans opposing such a bill, almost impartiality itself, with all the recklessness and the desperation of despair. What is the reason of this opposition? Well do they know that the rise of order in Kansas is the fall of their agitative operations; that what would be meat to Kansas would be poison to black republicanism; that healthy life to Kansas is certain death to their party. Suppose Kansas had no more troubles—that it was as quiet as Nebraska—where would be work for freedom's champions? How could Beecher shoot his rifle gospel? Where would be the cry of free Kansas by Fremont? What would become of their plans for this presidential campaign? That's the question with them! How could they fill such a gap as this would make? Kansas trouble is a necessity new for the Fremont party. Hence these black republicans fight this fair, impartial Kansas bill to the death.

But there are a few national men left in the house, who have not bowed the knee wholly to this black Baal. Let every friend of the rights of the actual

ers in Kansas hope that enough of such men may be found to rise above the black pressure; act like independent men; pass this bill at once, and restore peace to Kansas and relieve the country from peril.

Patriotic citizen! Honest sympathizers with Kansas! Shut your purses tight against demagogue appeals; open wide your eyes to demagogue movements; watch congress, and sustain the right!

HIGH-HANDED PROCEEDINGS IN KANSAS—REBUKE, REBELLION.

If good citizens mean to stand by the polity that has carried this country onward and upward to its noble plane of prosperity and glory, let them resolve to rebuke the revolutionary and anarchical course of the black republicans.

The proceedings in Kansas will attract the attention of the whole country. Let us look at their significance in the light of fidelity to the laws and the constitution.

Congress has established a territorial law for Kansas; identical with the organic law that gives peace, order and prosperity to Nebraska. According to all sound rules this government must continue in force until the supreme authority that established it abrogates it; for this law of congress has the same force as any other laws of the United States, and the President is bound to execute it as he is bound to execute other laws.

A portion of the people of Kansas, however, resolved to abrogate this law in their territory before congress abrogated it. And in pursuance of this purpose adopted a constitution; under it they elected officers; and have convened a legislature. That legislature by adjournment was to meet on the 4th of July. The President of the United States issued his proclamation, and the governor appointed under the authority of congress also issued a proclamation, forbidding a meeting; and a United States officer, Col. Sumner, on the eve of the meeting of the legislature, sent a note to the effect that he was ordered to disperse it. No heed was paid to these requests! It is the decision of the supreme court that all courts, all public bodies, all good citizens, are bound to recognize that government which the supreme political power of the nation recognizes; and every man in Kansas was bound, as a good citizen, to govern himself accordingly—to recognize the existing government in Kansas, which congress had established and the supreme political power recognized, until it was abrogated.

But what do we see? This black republican party go to Topeka armed, eight hundred strong. Armed for what purpose? It cannot with a shadow of the shade of truth be now pretended that these eight hundred men went to Topeka armed to resist Missouri invaders, for Col. Sumner had driven them out of the territory. What were they armed for? Who was their enemy? Who were they prepared to fight. Although we have cited the very words of these men avowing their purpose to make open resistance to law yet the people have been made to believe that this Robinson party in Kansas would never resist the United States authorities. But in this case, we press the question, what were these 800 armed men in Topeka for, if it was not to resist the United States troops? No other reason can be given.

Such action, too, has been urged by the black republican journals out of Kansas. It has been said for months that this legislature would meet on the fourth of July, in spite of the President's proclamation; would defy all resistance; and would exercise its functions. It has been said that any attempt to disperse it would be resisted; that a collision would certainly take place if the United States troops interfered. The meeting, it is true, did take place. The 800 armed men were there, and but 200 United States troops were there. The legislature did meet. And Col. Sumner, with admirable firmness and discretion, discharged his duty. Blood has not yet been shed. As yet the majesty of the United States law is preserved! As yet treason has not committed the overt act that consists in levying war on the United States. We

are glad to be able to write that the eight hundred armed men have not yet attacked the United States troops! No thanks for this to outside black republicanism.

Good citizen! of whatever party you may be, we most earnestly implore you to set your influence, your whole influence, against this anarchical and rebellious movement. Watch those who are for turning this noble land into an Aceldama—a field of blood and slaughter. This would be a monstrous crime. No crime can be like this crime. Denounce it! Denounce it in the workshops, that owe their splendid triumphs to the incalculable boon of security; at the fire-side, which owes its priceless blessing of protection to the constitution and laws of the land; at the mart of commerce, which would be struck as with the palsy of death at the coming of anarchy. Denounce it by all that is sacred in the past, and all that is valuable in the present, and all that is hopeful in the future. Now is the time, in this very case of Kansas, on this assemblage of eight hundred armed men to resist the GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES, to apply the words and solemn injunctions of the Father of his Country. "Respect for its authority," these are the words of Washington as to our government, "compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty." "All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive to this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force, to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation, the will of a party." The black republicans in and out of Kansas, beyond a question, are warring against the regular action of the government of the United States.

Law-abiding citizen! Re-examine this Kansas rebellious movement. See if—

1. It is not a sound position, that the territorial government established by congress for Kansas must continue until congress terminate it.
2. If an armed force of 800 men did not assemble in Topeka on the fourth of July to supersede and abrogate that government before congress acted.
3. Whether this is not treason to the laws and government of the country.
4. Whether such action is not, in the words of Washington, violative of the fundamental maxims of true liberty.

The maintenance of the laws and the constitution of this republic is a duty of paramount political importance. Law-abiding citizen! Rebuke the men, rebuke the party, who sustain such downright anarchy. It is of deadly enmity to the peace and prosperity of our country.

The convention of Kansas aid committees, in session at Buffalo, resolved to appoint "a national committee of wise men,"—one from each state, "so far as there are states in which a suitable person can be found."

HERALD. FIRST EDITION. FRIDAY MORNING, JULY 18

the circulation of the HERALD is double that of any other daily paper in Topeka.

my Kansas Expedition.

CITY OF LAWRENCE,
July 2—1856.

meitar Editor:—below is a verbatim copy of a letter wat i rote tu deakun fratingale, arter i Got the billet i sent Ye yesterday:—

"Lawrence,
July First, '56.

mistar fratingale:—about the fust Lesson i larned, wen i was A boy, was tu try tu Stick tite tu my own Business, & let alone that of other people's.

that Principal has karried me Thro' life, thus far, & if i Live, shall foller me Tu the grave.

therefore, if i & You, deakun, had Bin brot

leete more Koommon sense than to Have them such a non-sensical Billet, as yours of June 15.

wen i Undertook this krusade agin the slaveholders, & kum tu the determination that the fust nigger wat krowed into this territory, shud Travel over my Dead korper, oki on Top o' his'n (as The lase mit be,) i no more Thort of axin your Advice shudhand, than i thort of Konsalatin the town Clerk.

as regards old Joe brown and mrs. fratingale, i Don't care wan snap if they spend the hole Time a kuttin up Shines, that is Your luks out, deakun,—not Mine. (but i Will add, in parenthesis, that A man wat is karried Away by the attacks of a picktar such as mrs. fratingale. Presents, must bee hard Up for amusement.)

ari that Ye say about the fences round The honest: ad, i parse By as so much Idel Gabel, if the rails Are down, or the posts are Stared, how much more noborly if wud bee, my Gude man, tu up & fir 'Em with your own Hands and tools, rather Than kall on Har-on-les, (so tu Speak,) klear out here in kan-saw!

in konkluzhon, i Will remark that my Kom-mission is such that i Feel kompelled, for the time Bein, tu forsake the honestead, the Kattel, & even deborah, for The purpose of protekting The niggers, & seein that slavery ain't Brot into Territory Now free from the grate Kuree.

if i had Bee the humbel means of Reskain a singel kollored nigger from the bonds & shackles of Slavery, i will walk bare-foot, (& Without a hat or Ambrill,) from here to the Coast of Ireland, & pay The tolls, & awl travellin expenses Out o' my own Pookit!

so deakun, i Have only tu rekommend tu Ye tu bee karm & quiet till i git back. tell old Joe brown to live lite, but not tu bee afear'd of Wurk. i have known Men, (tell him,) as heavy As he, (old Tom Twist, in the other parish, weighed 300 & odd pounds, 2 weeks Afore he was take With the kolik,) wot fetched up in the Armehouse, as poor as krows, & As thin as shads.

ben Utcomb Wants ye to send His love tu deborah. the poor boy is having a dull time on't. there aint skerooly a minate wen i turn my back on Him, wat i don't Ketch Him a blubberin, like a newly fogged School Boy.

Jon Bass."

Boston Journal.

FRIDAY EVENING, JULY 18, 1856.

The seizure, robbery, and sending back of a company of Illinois emigrants, while on a Missouri steamer, a few weeks since, will be recollected by our readers. It now appears that Mr. Wm. Strawn, one of the most wealthy citizens of Illinois, agent for the company, and four others escaped and are in the territory. Mr. Strawn immediately set about reclaiming the plundered property. He proceeded to Leocompton and laid his case before Secretary Woodson, acting Governor, who told him his only remedy was a civil process, and he must get a writ from Judge Lecompte. Strawn told Woodson that he did not dare to travel in the neighborhood of Leavenworth, six miles from which place Lecompte has his residence. Woodson then granted him a requisition on Col. Sumner for an escort of troops. Strawn succeeded in reaching Fort Leavenworth, where he found Gen. Smith in command, to whom he presented the requisition, and his reply was as follows:

"Gen. Smith told him plainly that he could not obey a requisition of that nature; that the government troops would have little to do to occupying their time in escorting private citizens through the Territory. If he came to the Territory under such circumstances as would, in the perilous time existing, render it unsafe for him to travel, it could not be helped; he had better keep out of the Territory.

Gen. Smith was asked if he would state the extent and nature of his powers as Commander of the United States troops in the Territory. He replied that he was directed by the President to act in subordination to the civil authorities, to aid the Governor in enforcing the laws."

A mechanic, who left this vicinity a few weeks since for Kansas, and who has "seen the elephant" to his satisfaction, and gone to Nebraska, writes an interesting letter to a friend at home. We have been permitted to make the following extracts:

FLORENCE, N. T., June 30, 1856.

I had a very pleasant journey out to Kansas City, and arrived there just in time to go to war; and I can tell you I have been through the war in such shape that I do not wish to try it over again. I'm with a friend at or near Kansas City, and a mule and rode over the Territory of Kansas, more beautiful country the sun never shone up is beautiful beyond description, and I think I can

by say it is the best farming country in the United States, if not of the whole world. I was at Lawrence, that hot-bed of Free Soilism, on Sunday. The mob entered the next Wednesday. They were encamped around Lawrence when I was there, and I saw it was no place for me; so I mounted my mule about 10 o'clock Sunday morning, and left the doomed city for Fort Leavenworth. I crossed the Kansas river and rode about one mile from Lawrence, when I met a party of border ruffians, numbering about thirty men, armed to the teeth. They were encamped on the road, to prevent people from going in or out of Lawrence. You may depend upon it, I was in a tight place. They ordered me down, and asked me all sorts of questions, which I answered in as good nigger language as I could, but the Yankee would stick out of me through it all. Some of them were satisfied that I was all right, but others were for hanging me upon a limb of a tree, to dry. They finally took a vote to see whether I should go on or hang, and they passed me on by two votes. If this was done to frighten me, they fully succeeded, for I was mightily scared, and thought my time had come, sure. I made the best time I could out of the Territory, and have not been there since, and mean not to till the war is over, and the Lord only knows when that will be. They just shoot one another down like dogs at this time, which you Eastern people know nothing of. It is awful to think of it. The life of an Eastern man is thought no more of than that of a prairie wolf, and a Missourian would shoot one as soon as the other. You see I have gone up the river into Nebraska, where it is more peaceable.

Very respectfully,

B. R. L.

Portland Advertiser,

PUBLISHED DAILY, TRI-WEEKLY & WEEKLY

THE "PARTY" IN KANSAS.—The Argus is trying to delude its readers with the assertion that the Topeka Constitution is the work of a "party." Admitting that even, the choice of a State Constitution for Kansas must be made between the work of a "party" of actual settlers of the territory, and the work of Border Ruffians from a neighboring State. If popular sovereignty, then, is to prevail, we cannot have a moment's hesitation in deciding for the settlers. But the fact is, that "party" is the people of Kansas, and the Topeka Constitution embodies their only successful attempt to form a State government. The Border Ruffian code was made in defiance of their wishes and, as the Toombs bill now declares, to a great extent in defiance of the Constitution of the Union! We say, then, let the people have the rights which they were promised. That is the most just, safe and conciliatory course—any other sanctions ruffianism and is full of danger.

The Republican Journal.

BELFAST, FRIDAY, JULY 18, 1856.

Our Position on the Kansas Question,—Foreshadowing of Mr. Buchanan's Policy.

We have watched the course of political events with no ordinary interest since the proposed repeal of the Missouri compromise. As original friends of the principle of the Kansas-Nebraska law, we determined from the moment of its passage, to stand by it through evil and through good report. Duty to ourselves, to a vital principle of self-government, and the welfare of the country, demanded this at our hands. Accordingly we have defended this bill, as well from the indiscretion of its professed friends, as from the malevolence of its enemies. We have endeavored carefully to discriminate between the use and the abuse of a sound principle. We have not feared to follow where this principle led us, though we have occasionally been compelled to administer rebuke, where we would feign have avoided it.

The interference of the Emigrant Aid Society in the internal affairs of Kansas, and

the armed incursions of the Missourians to control its elections, called for our denunciations,—the former as ill-advised, and the latter as criminal,—while the conceived reluctance of the national executive "to see that the Kansas law was faithfully executed," elicited our public disapproval. We, indeed, invoked the interposition of the president, to repel the Missouri invaders, and preserve the purity of the ballot box in Kansas, long before any measures were taken in that direction, and while leading democratic journals were advocating the doctrine that "the president had exhausted his authority in the premises by appointing the officers required by the organic law of the territory." The actual interference of the president at length came, though not in the precise mode we would have desired, as we would never have predicated the action of the military upon the discretion of Gov. Shannon, who has shown himself, in our judgment, unfit to be governor of a free people. Even this objection seems now to be substantially removed in the recent orders given Gen. Smith and Col. Sumner.

In our discussions of the questions growing out of the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska act, we have been guided solely by a desire to secure the faithful application and free enjoyment of its organic principle to the actual residents of the territory. Regarding this principle as above all mere partizan considerations, we determined from the beginning that on no account whatever would we be deterred from a fearless advocacy and defence of it, in all its strictness, against its neglect, perversion, or abuse, at the hands of its friends, and the misrepresentations and attacks of its enemies. In reviewing these discussions we are not conscious that we have departed from this guiding star of duty, while we confess to no small degree of gratification at the prospect of a return to the policy we long since endeavored to indicate.

In all civil strifes, the first point to be secured is to stop the effusion of blood. We are gratified to learn that this object is in process of successful accomplishment. In immediate connection with this,—thanks to the patriotism of the democrats and national whigs in the United States Senate,—comes the senate bill for the pacification of Kansas, which is the great desideratum for the people of Kansas, because by its repeal of the odious acts of their so-called territorial legislature, by its suspension of all territorial legislation, by its well-appointed safeguards for the right of suffrage and the purity of the ballot box, and by its provisions for the early admission of Kansas into the Union as a state, it restores them to the position they occupied, and the rights they enjoyed before the late disturbances occurred, and gives them a new impulse in the career of self-government so plainly marked out in the organic law of the territory.

In this mode all the legal voters in the territory will have the privilege of voting for delegates to form a state constitution under the form of law, while the Topeka constitution is the work of only a part of the people, without the form of law. Had this bill been in force twelve months ago, there never would have

been occasion, real or imaginary, for the Topeka convention. All the legal voters having had the right under the forms of law to participate in the election of delegates to a state constitution, there will be less disposition to change it after its admission into the Union, than there would be in the case of their admission under the Topeka constitution. Besides, the population of Kansas has doubtless doubled since the election of the delegates to the Topeka convention. The Topeka constitution cannot properly be regarded as the work of more than one-third of the present legal voters of Kansas. In its present form, also, it is confessedly disfigured by interlineations and forgeries.

Whatever might have been the case seven months ago, it is plain that in the present state of affairs in Kansas, its admission as a state with the Topeka constitution would not be attended with that peace so essential to the prosperity of an infant colony. The danger is that it would be the signal for a more deadly strife. Is it, moreover, not altogether unimportant that a territory change its character to that of a state according to the forms of law. For these reasons we hope that the senate bill will pass the house, and that slavery agitation will be banished from the halls of congress.

Such is the era which the Kansas-Nebraska bill was designed to inaugurate, and such are, indeed, the hopeful foreshadowings of the incoming administration of Mr. BUCHANAN; for it is unnecessary to disguise or conceal the fact that the senate bill is in strict accordance with the principles and suggestions of Mr. BUCHANAN's letter of acceptance, and is the fruit of the recent efforts of his friends to restore free suffrage and peace to the people of Kansas. That Mr. BUCHANAN's election will secure these objects there cannot be the least doubt, if, indeed, the prestige of his nomination should not produce this effect, before the November election. Coming events cast their shadows before them; and we regard the senate bill as the precursor of that spirit of peace, conciliation, and justice, which are to characterize Mr. BUCHANAN's administration.

The Extension of Slavery.

The democratic party is accused of entertaining a settled purpose to extend slavery. This charge has been so often repeated by the sectional press, at the hustings and from the pulpit, that some credulous persons are half inclined to believe it. The unblushing effrontery, and mock sincerity of our accusers is taken in certain quarters for "confirmation strong as proofs of holy writ."

No proofs are cited, no reference is made to the past history of the democratic party, or to its legitimate principles. The charge is sweepingly made without qualification or proof. A more false, willful, and malicious calumny was never uttered. The democratic party is not a slavery extension party. It never has extended slavery over one inch of free territory, or reduced a single human being from freedom to bondage. On the contrary, to say nothing of the acquisition of Oregon, Washington, Minnesota and Nebraska, all of which

are confessedly free territories, the democratic party by its Mexican acquisitions have added more than six hundred thousand square miles to our national domain upon which slavery is unknown. It is owing exclusively to the masterly policy of the democratic party that all our acquisitions of free territory have been made. And yet in the very teeth of these facts, the democratic party is denounced as slavery propagandists! Men of unsullied reputation, born, bred, and educated upon free soil and in the midst of New England institutions, are stigmatized as pro-slavery men, simply because they will not join in a crusade against the south, and take incipient measures for the disruption of the Union. Just as temperance men were called "rummies" last year because they would not hurrah for the Maine law. By the very terms of the Kansas-Nebraska act, the congress of '54 disclaimed all right and intention "to legislate slavery into these territories," but left the actual settlers thereof "perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way," just as the people of Maine and all the old thirteen states did. That this law has been violated is no proof of its unsoundness, any more than the abuses practised in the name of religion are proofs against Divine revelation. The same outrages might have been perpetrated under the Missouri compromise. The treason of Arnold by no means tarnished, but rather added fresh lustre to the character of Washington. Shay's insurrection did not disgust our forefathers with the doctrine of self-government. The recent action of the senate attests the good faith of the authors of the Kansas-Nebraska act. The contest is between the right of the territories to rule themselves; and the right of congress to rule them, between popular sovereignty and congressional dictation. It is in effect the renewal of the old controversy between the colonies and the British parliament, the democratic party espousing the doctrines of the colonists, and the republicans those of George III. The democratic party maintain that sovereignty is a personal attribute which a man carries with him wherever he goes, while the republicans contend that it is a mere incident, dependent upon locality for its availability, good enough in Maine but good for nothing in Kansas.

This principle of the Nebraska-Kansas bill is identical with that of Utah and New Mexico, which was approved by both political parties in 1852. The repeal of the Missouri Compromise but restored to the citizens of Nebraska and Kansas the same freedom of choice, already enjoyed by the citizens of those territories. This legislation is but the application of the great principle of man's moral being, freedom of choice between right and wrong. To assert that it places freedom and slavery on the same footing is to charge the great Author of our being with equal favor for right and wrong, because he made us free to choose between them. To complain of this legislation on this account is by parity of reasoning to arraign the wisdom of the Almighty.

Nor does the Cincinnati platform contain the principle of "slavery extension." We defy our calumniators to point out a syllable of it there. That platform simply asserts the right of the people of the territories, like those of a state, to determine their own domestic institutions. If this be the "principle of slavery extension," then the constitution of every free state in the Union is a "slavery extension constitution," and the people of the north are all "slavery propagandists." Every northern state may at once establish slavery.

Both the history and the principles of the democratic party afford a triumphant refutation of this malicious charge. None know this better than those who make it. The recluse who thinks it, thinks a lie. The stump orator who speaks it, speaks a lie. The editor who publishes it, publishes a lie. The clergyman who preaches it, preaches a lie, and the deacon who prays it, prays a lie. All such may well claim direct lineage from a noted character often alluded to in the sacred scriptures, and properly characterized as the father of liars.

THE UNION AND EASTERN JOURNAL.

FRIDAY MORNING, JULY 18, 1856.

KANSAS.

REPORT

— OF THE —

Congressional Investigating Committee.

This report gives to the people of the United States, authentic official information of the unparalleled gigantic frauds and outrages which have been perpetrated in Kansas, upon the rights of the settlers of that territory, frauds and outrages which have either been winked at by the authorities of the United States, or been allowed to go on without a single act of the administration in season to prevent them. The imposture of the Kansas Nebraska Act, and the damning consequences that have flowed from it, are, by this report, placed before the country in appalling clearness. It is hardly conceivable that such infernal proceedings could have been transacted in our country, as are detailed by this committee, without having raised a physical revolution before which the guilty perpetrators, and those whose official conduct has given rise to them, would have been swept away as with the "bosom of destruction."

All of the accounts of the hellish proceedings of the Border Ruffians of Missouri are confirmed by the testimony of this report. The story of the wrongs and outrages which the people of Kansas have sustained as established by this report, will astonish the world. There is not a redeeming thing to palliate or excuse the Missourians for the accumulated outrages which they have been allowed, nay, stimulated to commit by the complicity of the administration, upon the defenceless settlers of Kansas.

The report, which is written in no spirit of prejudice or passion, is a calm, clear statement of facts, arranged so as to be easily understood, is very long, and would

occupy more space in our paper than it would be possible for us to give to publish it entire. We shall be obliged in consequence to give only some extracts, and to these we invite the attention of our readers.

Order Ruffianism Officially Exposed.

Do not fail to read attentively the Official Expose of Border Ruffianism, as detailed by the report of the Congressional Investigating Committee, lengthened extracts from which we publish in this paper. Every statement made by the Committee is overwhelmingly fortified with the testimony of witnesses, and this testimony accompanies the report. Strongly and deeply as has the country been stirred by the accounts that have been published from time to time of the outrages upon the people of Kansas, their publication in this official form will agitate still more the public heart. To force Slavery upon the people of Kansas, and for this avowed purpose the dearest rights of freemen have been crushed out, by the ruffians of Slavery from a border State. Arson and murder, robbery and destruction, have been committed upon a defenseless people—infamous laws have been passed, freedom of speech and of the press destroyed, and crimes of every hue have been perpetrated. We ask our readers to ponder over the facts—the record of the damnable atrocities. They are the legitimate fruits of the repeal of that time-honored Compromise—the Missouri Compromise. In them are to be seen the fruits of that specious doctrine—popular sovereignty. Read these records, every voter, and then remember that the influence of the present national administration was given, first to the measure of repeal, and then to shield and encourage the perpetrators of the outrages, and the party calling itself the democratic, (a false and foul libel on the principles of democracy to call it such.) has endorsed it all, and comes before the people, its hands dripping with the blood of the murdered in Kansas, and asks that its representative and exponent may be put into the Presidential Chair, and in doing this, thus consummate the great wrong of forcing Slavery into Kansas.

TWIN BORDER RUFFIANS. The Marshal Jones, whose "excruciating pain" so works upon the sympathizing nature of the Democrat, is the same Jones who headed the Missouri mob, when it invaded the ballot boxes at Bloomington, Kansas. See the account given of it in the Report of the Investigating Committee. One of his exploits on this occasion, is thus described:—

"A body of men, headed by Jones, rushed into the Judges' room, with cocked pistols and drawn bowie-knives in their hands, and approached Burson and Ramsay. Jones pulled out his watch, and said he would give them five minutes to resign, or die. When the five minutes had expired, and the Judges did not resign, Jones said he would give them another minute, and no more."

Another of his exploits, only a few weeks after his 'spine was paralyzed,' consisted in heading the mob that destroyed the Lawrence Hotel, and sacked the town of Lawrence. His character is summed up in a passage in the Report of the Committee, which will be found in this paper.

We do not wonder that such a paragon should work upon the sympathies of the

Editor of the Democrat. They are true border ruffians, alike in principle, and both aiming to force Slavery upon the people of Kansas.—the Editor of the Democrat, by advocating border ruffianism in his paper, and Marshal Jones, by practical specimens of it in Kansas. The sympathy which the Editor feels for his compeer in Missouri, is perfectly natural.

Whig and Courier.

Whisler & Lynde, Proprietors.

FRIDAY, JULY 18, 1856.

Obedience to a mob is Treason to freedom.

There will be no difficulty in Kansas, if people who go there will mind their own business and submit to the laws. This is the cry raised by the Buchananites. It was the staple of the speech of Gen. Moor, at the Buchanan Convention held in this city. It is employed generally by the Buchanan press. But what is meant and intended by this "submission to the laws" in Kansas? It means obedience to the enactments of the Border Ruffian meeting in Kansas, claiming to be the legislature of that territory. But it having been clearly proved before a Committee of Congress, that there never has been in session a Legislature elected by the people of Kansas, it follows, that the edicts put forth as Laws by the miserable tools of a Missouri mob—themselves the agents of a pro-slavery conspiracy to carry Slavery into the Territories in defiance of the plighted faith and the honor of the Nation—are no more entitled to their respect or obedience, than if they emanated from the Pope of Rome or the Sultan of Turkey. Resistance to those acts of Tyranny, is a solemn duty; and it matters not whether that resistance has to be directed against the Missouri mob, the tools of the Executive selected to do its bidding, or the armed soldiery of the Government itself. There are no Laws in Kansas which the General Government has any shadow of right to enforce, save those enacted by Congress. All good citizens should, and will bow submissively to them; but open and manful resistance to any and every attempt to enforce the edicts of the so-called Kansas Legislature, come from what quarter it may, is a virtue. Those edicts punish with imprisonment and even death, freedom of speech, freedom of action, and freedom of thought; and therefore should be resisted at all hazards, by honest men. But emanating as they do from a Legislature proved—officially proved—to have been elected by a robber band of lawless desperadoes from Missouri, the wretch who attempts to enforce them, merits death, and he who falls in resisting them, should be honored as a martyr in the cause of liberty.

What is the position then of the miserable, timid doughfaces, who prate about obeying such laws, and thus attempted to be imposed up a free people? The counsels of such creatures should be set at nought, and their giving aid and comfort to the lawless, reckless and abandoned ruffians of Missouri and the creatures of the slave power should be fully and thoroughly everywhere exposed. The Free State men in Kansas are and mean to be a law-abiding people, but they are and they ought to be unwilling to have infamous edicts thrust upon them by infamous men. Those who now, with the facts before them, sustain the ruffian legislature and their enactments, in this free North, merit the severest censure and condemnation of the people. They are traitors to freedom and to right. They are the craven and miserable tools of this slave power. They would sell the interest, freedom and virtue of their country, and all the rights of a free people for a mass of pot-

Watchman & State Journal.

BY R. P. WALTON.

MONTPELIER, JULY 18, 1856.

Aid for Kansas.

The Pioneer party from Vermont to settle in Kansas, will start on the 12th of August next. Persons wishing to join this party, or other parties to follow this, are requested to inform the undersigned by letter at St. Albans. And others willing to contribute in aid of this enterprise should forward their contributions to George Howes, Cashier of the Bank of Montpelier.

B. B. NEWTON, Agent for Vermont State Kansas Committee.
St. Albans, July 14th, 1856.

Their Capital for the Coming Presidential Election is Blood.—Douglas's last speech against the Republicans.

Precisely so, Mr. Douglas. The blood of assassinated emigrants in Kansas—the blood of a half murdered Senator, staining the floor of the Senate chamber. And with such capital, our triumph will be no mere party victory, but the avengement of a grievous wrong.

The Crowning Outrage.

The Legislature of the freemen of Kansas has been dispersed by force! by the federal army, and on the order of the federal President! It is an act of arbitrary power, and in violation of the Constitution. It is usurpation. It is tyranny in its worst form—under the color of law, but against all law:

"As when TYRANNICAL USURPATION
Invades the liberties of the nation,
The laws of the land, that were intended
To keep it out, are made DEFEND IT!"

The Buchanan Blackguards

Of the Patriot are down upon the REV. A. WEBSTER, asserting that he "was in Kansas taken as a green horn, and treated accordingly by all parties." Mr. Webster is an able and highly esteemed Methodist Minister, a faithful and very successful agent of the American Bible Society, and one of the very best specimens of the brave, true and shrewd Green Mountain Boys. Not one man in ten thousand could walk through the gang of Border Ruffians, stand two arrests, and come out unchanged, as he did.—The Patriot men are the "green horns." Let them "go to grass!"

VERMONT REPUBLICAN.

BRATTLEBORO, JULY 18, 1856.

The *New York Observer* is a conservative paper—very. It is greatly exercised, lest, the people should be deceived by exaggerated or incorrect reports of "Ruffian" doings in Kansas. It is so much afraid of contributing to increase public excitement at the North on account of the outrages of the "border ruffians" that it excludes from its columns, nearly all mention of them, and kindly warns its readers from week to week that many of the reports are unfounded. It greedily snatches up every paragraph, showing the falsity of any Kansas story, and the natural inference from its remarks would be that the reports of robberies and murders,

are all got up for effect, or that at any rate, the Free-State men are quite as much to blame as the ruffians. Indeed we should judge from the course of the *Observer* that, it has great doubts whether the stories of Kansas outrages were not all fancy sketches. We have not seen, that it has taken any notice of the robberies and sacking, and arsons and murders of the "border ruffians," nor of their nefarious, and piratical conduct in blockading the Missouri River. We have not seen in it, one word of rebuke or condemnation of those acts, and in fact it rather ignores their existence. Even the butchering of Brown, the tar and feathering of a peaceable Methodist minister, the sacking of Lawrence and other similar atrocities, have been scarcely, if at all alluded to, by that Journal. This is an extreme of conservatism, which may possibly be, according to the proprieties of a religious paper, but we are very sure it is not much in harmony with the throbbing pulse of the great heart of the people.

The following ode which we publish by request, was sung at the celebration in Guilford, on the Fourth. The last stanza was: composed by Hon. WILLIAM C. BRADLEY, of Westminster.

CELEBRATION ODE.

By J. GREENLEAF, ESQ.

Tune—"Heavenly Union"

On this great day of Jubilee!
Let every Patriot now agree,
To celebrate with fealty,
The birth-day of our Union!
The birth-day, &c.

And may all Freemen now unite,
To guard our Constitution bright;
And swear like heroes we will fight,
All to preserve the Union,
All to preserve, &c.

But those who make Nebraska laws
Are traitors to our glorious cause!
And should be served as Haman was!
All to preserve the Union.

When solemn compacts are annull'd
And northern "doughs" completely gull'd!
Then like Detroit, Sir, we are *Hull'd*!
And *humbug* is our union.

When Senators they are assailed,
And, in their seats, with clubs are whaled!
The *Prince of Darkness* hath prevail'd!
Who aims to crush our Union.

When Kansas houses oft are burn'd!
And out of doors their inmates turn'd!
While all entreaties have been spurn'd;
Distracted is our Union.

When Kansas brethren—wo! the day!
Are there shot down like beasts of prey!
"Oh! God, preserve us," let us pray—
Or sever'd is our Union.

Arise! ye freemen, in your might!
Rebuke such trampling on your rights!
And at the Ballot Box unite;
All to preserve the Union.

Throw party ties unto the wind,
And help turn out this "Man* of sin!"
And help to put "ABDIEL"† in,
To guard our blessed Union.

Let every son on Freedom's soil,
Nerve a strong arm, nor shrink from toil;
And soon the DEVIL we will foil!
And save our glorious Union.

And when 'tis saved, then we will meet,—
With cordial grasp, each other greet;
And, under Fremont, taste the sweet
Of Liberty and Union!

* The President.

† Quoted from Milton.

JULY 18, 1856.

Letter from Kansas.

The following was received last week by one of our citizens.

CIRCLE MOUNT, Osawatomie, K. T., July 1. I received your kind favor one week ago to-day with a good deal of pleasure I assure you. Our little town has become the seat of a good deal of war excitement since I wrote you. You have before this, probably, had the news that Osawatomie has been sacked and plundered: this took place the next week after I wrote you. Over 100 mounted and armed devils, from the border, rode into town about 4 o'clock, P. M. robbed the inhabitants of over 20 horses, and a very large amount of money. I was out on the prairies with others; was overtaken by the mob; our lives were threatened instantly if we did not give up our arms. But as good luck would have it our arms were where we most needed them. We told them we were Quakers—did not believe in fighting. They robbed me of \$105, then said if we would obey Judge Cato we were released. We told them we knew no such man as Cato. They gave us all sorts of abuse; took us as far as the Timber, one mile from the T. W., then set us at liberty, saying if you damned Abolitionist follow one more step we'll shoot you, &c. We turned back according to order; arrived safely home; found our guns all safely hid by our ever watchful housekeeper.

At the time the above happened our men were gone, and the troops that had been stationed here had left the morning previous. Twenty-one guns were stolen, the loss of which we severely feel. My own private loss, I assure you, I feel. The times look rather blue, sometimes even black; but I did not come here to run, I cannot stand that. There are but few real honest Free State men in the place who are willing to fight: those few are determined not to run, but to sell their lives as dear as possible. What few there are of us, twenty-six in all, are organized and well armed, all minute men, have our watchword and our pass. We keep a night watch, and scout out by day, and have an ordinary log house (two stories) for a place of defence. Our men can all be raised in less than ten minutes and be at the rendezvous. We are expecting to be attacked about the 4th, when the attention is generally called up to Topeka—about 50 miles North of this place. We are all tired out, and about half sick. Fare is hard—corn bread and bacon—out nights, either on the grass or in the saddle, constant excitement and in a climate, too, a good deal hotter than that of Vermont, will rather tend to make a man think of home. We don't expect to see the glorious fourth without a fight; but we do expect to see a more glorious time after it. But our success depends upon the North after all. We shall hold out as long as we live, but it longer or shorter.

Now a little about Kansas—Fair Kansas. The most beautiful prairie country, Osawatomie, is situated in the forks of the Osage and Potawatomie rivers. These rivers run nearly parallel for several miles previous to their junction, at a distance of two miles. The divide between these rivers, being elevated, forms a delightful site for a town. There is at present about 50 houses, 2 stores, one steam saw mill just completed, one school house and two churches.

The Wheat crop is all harvested. The Corn is over 7 feet high. The grass, in some places, is as high as my head when on horse back. The Prairies are grand beyond description: in many places high and rolling; in some places deep ravines, which afford abundant stock water. In my opinion this is the best place for a dairy man in the world: cheese 20c., Butter 15c., costs nothing for keeping summer, and in the winter they feed in the Timber.

As for the health of Kansas, I see nothing why it is not perfectly healthy: the atmosphere appears dry and bracing. There are a great many first rate springs, one or more, nearly, on every man's claim. One thing I can say, if I had been at home and exposed as I have been here, I am very sure I should have been sick.

I am in love with Kansas. This is the most delightful Country I ever saw. From one point, which we call Circle Mount, (from which place I date this letter, and wish to be addressed there) I can see the course of the Osage, Potawatomie and Big Bull rivers for the distance of over 30 miles. The high mounds, the timber, the broad flats, the rivers and the ten thousand sweet blossoms that appear at once before you, altogether, make this one of the most lovely sights I ever beheld. At the present time men have a great chance to select farms. Government surveys are being made in this town-ship this week. There are delightful places, within three miles of this place, and some overlooking the entire village, waiting for some one to say "this is mine," and build his cabin. These farms, if Kansas be free, are worth \$3,000 the very day they are in market. Yours truly,

D. F. FLETCHER.

Smith declares Jeff. Buford's cut throat band of robbers and assassins, the regularly enrolled militia would be sufficient to make every New England man hate the party that sent him there. Read this from the Providence Transcript of Wednesday:

"From a letter just received in this city from Blanton's Bridge, Kan. as, under date of July 1, we learn that Col. Topliff, 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 he did not leave him until they saw 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 despondent 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."

That tells the story—that is one of the acts of the regularly enrolled militia. Will any man in the Free States hesitate to act, and to vote for the Free State candidate after reading the two extracts we have given in this article.

The Mercury.

NEW BEDFORD.

FRIDAY MORNING JULY 18, 1856.

Executive Protection

That sort of favor, which Franklin Pierce has thus far afforded the people of Kansas is well known.—By a uniform course of inertness, by no definite and discernible act, has he in the least ever favored the Free State cause in Kansas, while whatever he may have done has been exerted in the opposing direction. If at any time, it was in his power to injure the Free State men, he did so, covertly but as securely as if he had gone directly to work for that end. Of late, a certain Persifer Smith was sent to this land of horror and confusion, for some reason not very evident till now, when it appears that he is another of Pierce's creatures, a thing of shreds and patches, who is to carry out the Pierce policy more effectually in the territory. We can hardly credit the monstrous, the unheard of barbarity contained in the following fragment from the telegraph, but it is no doubt, true though too infamously bad to believe. It runs thus:

Advices from Leavenworth of 11th inst., state that Gen. Persifer Smith had arrived. Next day a deputation of citizens waited upon him, asking protection for their lives and property, against the armed marauders from the South, at the various river towns.

Smith replied that he had no authority to grant such protection; that the armed bands alluded to were regularly enrolled militia, acting under color of the law, and that the people had no redress excepting from the civil law.

Yes, it is even so: Persifer Smith actually dubs Gen. Buford's South Carolina and Georgia chivalry, the vilest band of ruffians and scoundrels afloat, as the regularly enrolled militia, to whose robberies and murders and violence generally, the peaceful, lawful, industrious New-England settlers are to submit them and theirs. And James Buchanan, who is to succeed Franklin Pierce, and carry out more effectually his policy, as P. S. Brooks finely says, under the Cincinnati platform,—this James Buchanan proposes himself to the nation as the national candidate, not the sectional candidate, not the candidate of the slavery-extension party, but one who would make a fitting President for the whole united country. This Persifer Smith is a creature of Franklin Pierce, and goes out to supersede Colonel Sumner, who has proved himself but a moderate assistant in the desperate game played by Douglas, Toombs, Pierce, Brooks, Buchanan and company, for turning the great free West and Northwest into a slave mart.

Is there a man in New England, who has even the faintest trace of New England character in his bosom, who will vote for James Buchanan, the exponent of the Cincinnati platform? We answer, no! the thing is impossible. The one fact that Persifer

The Semi-Weekly Times.

July 18, 1856.

The Albany Atlas and Argus pursues with extraordinary pertinacity its purpose of fastening upon the TIMES a charge of inconsistency in regard to the admission of Kansas. In that paper of yesterday we find the following:

"The New-York TIMES is a paper of great versatility of talent. It changes positions with the agility and adroitness of a mountebank. Not long ago it was dead against Topeka, and it was for the admission of Kansas under DOUGLAS' bill, with some slight amendments."

Here are two bald misstatements of fact. THE TIMES was not "dead against Topeka,"—nor did it ever favor DOUGLAS' bill "with some slight amendments." On the contrary, it demanded that "full and satisfactory amendments" should be made to that bill before it could receive our support. The Atlas knows this, for it has more than once quoted our language. When it represents us, therefore, as asking only "some slight" amendments, it does us conscious and intentional injustice. Starting with this false accusation, the Atlas and Argus proceeds:

"Amendments making the bill absolutely unexceptionable to all honest men have been made, and now the TIMES dodges over to other ground."

This is particularly cool. The amendments made to the bill put into the hands of President PIERCE absolute power over the future destiny of Kansas. They authorize him to appoint five Commissioners, who are to hold the elections for a Constitutional Convention, and decide, without appeal, all questions that may arise in connection with them. These amendments are infinitely worse than anything in the original bill. Their direct purpose is to consummate the work commenced by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise,—to put into the hands of President Pierce the power to make Kansas a Slave State, and bring her into the Union as such. This bill, the Atlas and Argus charges us with inconsistency for not supporting. We are prepared for almost anything in the way of unfairness and unscrupulous misrepresentation from the ultra-partisan press:—but the Atlas goes so far as to make the whole thing ridiculous. It seems envious of the reputation the Express is winning by its falsehoods about Col. FREMONT's religion.

KANSAS.

The Dispersion of the Kansas Free-State Legislature—How it was done. From the Chicago Democratic Press. Kansas, K. T., July 6, 1856.

Yesterday was marked by one of the most outrageous occurrences that mark our national annals. FRANKLIN PIERCE, not content with all his previous infamy on Kansas affairs, consummated

tions. The Federal troops rode into town in battle array and dispersed the Legislature.

A great Mass Convention had been called to assemble at Topeka. Owing to the political troubles and insecurity in the Territory it was not so generally attended as persons had been expected, but there were about 1,000 persons, men and women, there.

Col. SUMNER had been collecting a large military force in the neighborhood of Topeka, and as it was reported that he intended to drive out the Legislature and disperse the people assembled, with his troops, considerable excitement prevailed. At 10 o'clock in the forenoon of yesterday, United States Marshal DONALDSON came into Topeka, accompanied by Judge ELMORE. He stated that he had a communication to make. The President of the Convention, Mr. CURRIER, of Leavenworth, invited them both to the stand, when DONALDSON said he had a proclamation to make, and got Judge ELMORE to read first a copy of the President's last February proclamation, then SHANNON'S June proclamation, which he read from a little piece of scissoring from a newspaper, and lastly the proclamation by the Acting Governor of Kansas, from Acting Governor WOODSON and Col. SUMNER.

Having read this to the Convention, the Marshal asked if they had any message to carry back to Col. SUMNER. The President of the Convention told him that this was not the Legislature, but a public Convention, and that they had no reply to make. The Marshal and Judge ELMORE departed.

It was nearly noon. The Convention was still busily at work. The hour for the meeting of the Legislature approached, and several of the members of the Legislature had entered the hall. The two military companies of Topeka, which had been on drill, were drawn up in front of the legislative hall to receive a banner from the ladies. A band of music was stationed at the end of the line, and was making the place echo with martial strains, when upwards of two hundred dragoons, under Col. SUMNER, galloped up, and entered the city in three squadrons, with drawn sabres and martial array, dashed up toward the legislative building, where the two companies were drawn up. The two companies nobly kept their ground, and the musicians were playing in the finest style, as the dragoons dashed upon them. The shrill voice of SUMNER was heard crying, "First squadron form into line," and as the troops under that and other orders formed into battle array around the hall, and along the street facing it, the crowds in the street, and those at the Convention, saw a couple of cannon posted up the street on a rise about one hundred yards off, where they had just been planted, with their muzzles pointing down the street, the gunners at their stations, and the slow matches lighted and burning. An army surgeon also came with them, his case of instruments open and ready for use. Three other companies of dragoons at the same time approached the town from the other side, and were only concealed while the force that entered came up, by the strip of timber along the valley of the Kansas.

Colonel SUMNER was evidently much agitated, but stern, and his soldiers all looked as if they expected terrible doings. Having got his force disposed as he wanted, Colonel SUMNER, seeing there was no appearance of either flight or resistance, dismounted from his horse. He was at once informed that the companies drawn up in front of the Hall were there merely to receive a banner from the ladies. He said that he did not wish to interfere with their assembling on the Fourth of July. Three cheers were given for Col. SUMNER; Mr. REDPATH shouted, "Three cheers for Gov. ROBINSON," which were given with a will; and someone else cried, "Three cheers for liberty," which was also heartily cheered. Col. SUMNER entered the hall of the Legislature, and the crowd rushed in behind him and soon filled it. The Speaker was absent, and Mr. S. F. TAPPAN, first Clerk, rose and called order by striking with the gavel on the desk. It was scarcely 12 o'clock, and the Legislature had not yet convened when SUMNER entered. He went up to the platform and they offered him a chair, which he pulled to one side, saying, "Do you want to make Speaker of me?" [Great laughter and shouts from the crowd.] Mr. TAPPAN, in a strong, sonorous voice, proceeded to call the roll, and as there was not a quorum, he called the Sergeant-at-Arms to bring in absentees. He again called the roll, and Mr. PRATT, Recording Clerk, then called it and marked absentees. Only seventeen answered to the call, although there were some thirty-three, more than a quorum, in or about the house. SUMNER, who is doubtless better versed in military than parliamentary tactics, thus permitted the Legislature to be convened under his nose, while DONALDSON, who had squeezed into the crowded hall, looked on. Several ladies were present.

Colonel SUMNER rose and said:

GENTLEMEN: I am called upon to-day to perform the most painful duty of my whole life. Under the authority of the President's proclamation, I am here to disperse this Legislature, and therefore inform you that you cannot meet. I, therefore, order you to disperse. God knows that I have no party feeling in this matter, and will have none so long as I hold my present position in Kansas.

I have just returned from the barracks, where I have been reading some consoling of Missourians, and I am ordered here to disperse you. Such are my orders, and you must disperse. I repeat that this is the most painful duty of my whole life.

Judge SCHUYLER, who was in the hall, asked the following question:

"Col. SUMNER, are we to understand that the Legislature are to be driven out at the point of the bayonet?"

Col. SUMNER said: "I shall use all the force in my command to carry out my orders."

The Legislature was thus dispersed, and the Colonel left the hall and got on his horse, and dismounted and returned, proceeding up stairs to the Senate Chamber, on learning that it was a distinct body.

Col. SUMNER entered the Senate Chamber. There was a quorum present; the hour for convening had arrived, but the President of the Senate had not convened it when SUMNER entered the hall. Orders had been issued the evening before to the doorkeeper to admit no visitors. The doorkeeper allowed Col. SUMNER to enter, but told Marshal DONALDSON he could not let him in. DONALDSON said he was United States Marshal, and had official business. The doorkeeper, Mr. FULLER, told him to "show his papers;" he exhibited his commission, and the doorkeeper let him pass.

Colonel SUMNER did not pause to inquire whether the Senate was or was not in session, but proceeded to tell them that by virtue of the orders of the President he was there to disperse them, and ordered them to disperse. Having said so, Col. SUMNER looked at them to see how they took his announcement. The members of the Senate were standing in a circle, looking at him respectfully, but they did not move. There was a long and disagreeable pause, which SUMNER broke by asking:

"Well, gentlemen, do you consider yourselves dispersed?"

Mr. THORNTON, President of the Senate, replied thus:

Col. SUMNER, the Senate is not in session and cannot make any reply to you; neither can any member of it.

Mr. THORNTON then asked if Col. SUMNER, after his orders to disperse, would permit them to convene, so as to receive any communication he might have to make.

The Colonel said—No; my orders are that you must not be permitted to meet, and I cannot allow you to do any business.

Marshal DONALDSON, beginning to think that some advantage was about to be taken of the "Law and Order Party," stepped up and spoke. He confronted the members of the Senate, and holding his hat in one hand, and raising the other, gesticulated with the point of his finger, as he said in a tremulous, squeaking voice: "Well, I want all o' you members to promise me that you won't meet here again any more, and if you won't"—and here J. B. D. shook his head—"I'll arrest every one of ye—every member." This was monstrously outrageous. It was had enough for the troops to break in with their cannon and sabres on the representatives of a free people, but for a miserable tool of the slaveocracy thus to menace and insult because he had some five hundred dragoons at his back, was monstrous. If he had a writ to serve against any man it was his business to serve it, no matter what they did, and if he had no writ—and he had none—it was a monstrous perversion of the office he disgraced. The Senate paid no attention to him.

One of the members of the Senate exhibited a little of the feeling that such trying circumstances may awaken, and said: "When my country calls me to disperse, by her troops, I yield to that authority."

Then Hon. Mr. PILLSBURY said: "Col. SUMNER, we are in no condition to resist the United States troops, and if you order us to disperse, of course we must disperse."

Col. ALLEN said that he would suggest to his brother Senators that Mr. PILLSBURY'S statement be considered the expression of the whole, which was assented to.

Col. SUMNER then left the hall. As he went down stairs, and just before he met the crowd that was anxiously waiting outside, Col. PHILLIPS, who had left the Senate chamber with him, said aloud, "Colonel, you have robbed OLIVER CROMWELL of his laurels." Col. SUMNER paused and regarded PHILLIPS with astonishment, as if he had for the first time realized the importance of what he had done.

When he got out on the street, he assured many of those who gathered around him that he did not wish to interfere with the Convention as then assembled there; that he had merely been sent to disperse the Legislature, and recognized their right to meet on the 4th of July. Three cheers were again proposed by some one, for Colonel SUMNER, and given. Three cheers for JOHN C. FREMONT were then given.

At this point the dragoons were filed off in marching order, when three cheers were given for "the Topeka Constitution and the State Legislature." Some of the Pro-Slavery officers looked round rather fiercely when this was given, but SUMNER'S sharp voice was heard giving the order, "Forward—march," and just as that military band who, under the American flag, which waved from the hall of the Legislature, had committed one of the most grievous outrages recorded in our history, spurred their horses to leave the streets of Topeka, three groans were given for FRANKLIN PIERCE, and so deep and loud that it startled the horses of the troopers, and made them break from line as they defiled past.

When they left, the Free-State Convention resumed business, and the volunteers paraded the streets.

The Dispersion of the Topeka Legislature.

OFFICIAL PROCLAMATION OF ACTING GOV. WOODSON.

Special Correspondence of the N. Y. Daily Times.

ALTON, Saturday, July 12, 1856.

I had intended to send you a telegraphic dispatch from this place, but as the most of my items have already been sent, I will condense a few for the mail.

Both Houses met at Topeka on the Fourth, at the hour, under the very wings of this military administration, and were dispersed by about 400 regulars, without resistance. One thousand Kansas citizens were in Topeka. Same night, a man named HONSON was shot by Pro Slavery men, but not fatally, near Leecompton.

On the 2d, twenty-seven ladies of Lawrence, armed with hatchets and axes, spilled all the liquor in town, and at the time I left a few whisky lovers were trying to get them all arrested, but the gallant United States officer sent them word not to be arrested as he did not want to take them. The dragoons at Lawrence have all been ordered to Cedar Creek, on the Shawnee Reserve. I saw about 100 ruffians, just in from the South, at the Baptist Mission, some of them using the Church for their quarters. They are even worse than the Buford men, and are there only for plunder. The following is the proclamation of Acting Gov. WOODSON, and the notes from SUMNER appended:

PACKET F. X. AUBRY, MISSOURI RIVER, Wednesday, July 9, 1856.

I left Lawrence yesterday morning, arrived at Kansas City same evening, and took passage in the Aubry, this morning, for St. Louis.

At Kansas City I found the people "under conviction," and they seemed especially anxious to inform me of their conservatism—that they had organized a military company of one hundred men, who acted as a watch or Vigilance Committee over the town—that all freight or persons could be landed there in future without molestation or insult; that no boats would be searched, or baggage broken open in future, &c. This was all well enough, but I told them that self-interest evidently prompted them to do or promise to do all this, and that it was not best to trust young converts too far, until we had taken them awhile on probation.

A new boat for the Kansas River is to leave Cincinnati on the 15th inst., under Capt. SUDDEX. She draws but nine inches light, and eighteen when loaded; and it is hoped the right boat is found at last for our river, as the only navigation there this season, thus far, has been one trip as far as Lawrence.

Items are not very numerous as I pass down the river. At Independence landing two cannon were placed upon the bank in a grove, and as we approached, one of them was discharged towards the river. We learned on landing, that a party of from one to two hundred were in the bushes near by, waiting for the *Keystone*, which had taken a lead of Abolitionists, they said, at Alton, and was expected there last night; but, as it had not yet arrived, the mob had retired back a little out of sight of the river. They are threatening to bring her in, and search her, capture and disarm the passengers, whenever she arrives.

There is nothing remarkable about the passengers on board, although Southern chivalry is well represented. Three or four are here who claim to have been participants in the sack of Lawrence, and judging from the good clothes they wear, I cannot doubt it. The gentleman who seemed foremost in claiming honors from the deeds of that occasion, went up ashore at Camden, and hired two boys to get up a "cock fight," agreeing to pay six bits for the winning cock, and four bits for the one that got whipped. The boys were ready, but the cocks were not, and when set on, would not fight. So the game ended, and the heroic Southerner came back to the boat disappointed of his fun, and to make it up in part, called for a double horn of whisky. There are several gentlemen aboard who are known here by a fictitious name, but I will never reflect thus severely upon my mother. When I cannot travel by such a name as was given me, I will stay at home.

At noon to-day we reached Lexington, that city famous for plundering boats and robbing men, in accordance with the "crushing-out" principle. I soon learned that the *galley* had been busy all day scouring and cleaning up their arms; and while we lay at her levee, about fifty men came running down with a six-pounder from the upper town. They said they were expecting the *Keystone* at 3 o'clock this afternoon, and would blow her to hell if she did not come ashore so they could search for alleged assassins and *Shawnee* rifles. Piracy seems to bear rule here now, and the excellent President thinks at it without a shudder. If Illinois should thus blockade the Mississippi above St. Louis, and prevent all emigration from the South, King FRANKLIN would move Heaven and earth to "crash out" the offenders faster. But the difference is the odds. Will there ever be a remedy?

I should have said before that I met Gov. SHANNON yesterday at the Mission on his return from St.

Louis. He says Gen. FRANKLIN SMITH has gone up the river to the fort, and the civil authorities will move here. The Lexington paper says he has sent here to prevent the emigration of Free-State men. Quite probable, for such is in keeping with the past.

We lay over to-night at Brunswick, and I improve the time by going out, twelve miles to Keytesville, to visit a friend. RANDOLPH.

THURSDAY, July 10.—My ride out to Keytesville and back, used up the night. I can read the institution upon the face of every thing pertaining to enterprise, and I am by no means pleased with this part of the State. Every town looks like a graveyard—every building like a fossil of indigence and sloth. To settle the query as to the cause of such general want of public energy, I inquired if they ever participated in the Kansas excitements at so great a distance from them. "O yes," was the reply, "Our road was filled with wagon loads and even whole trains, with flags flying, &c., for days. They all went up and voted who could, and returned in about two weeks." Such was their own language. This was at least 275 miles from Lawrence.

We have heard nothing of the *Keystone* to-day. Fillmore stock is good in Missouri, and it is possible that he will call at the city. A vote taken on board the *Subtry* to-day, stood FILLMORE, 46; BUCHANAN, 10; FREMONT, 10. If Missouri goes for FILLMORE, it will indirectly aid FREMONT.

We take the cars in the morning for St. Louis, and expect to arrive there at 1 P. M. I dislike to leave this cozy cabin for the dust and confusion of the rattling cars. RANDOLPH.

Arrest and Expulsion of Emigrants.—The Pro-Slavery Account.

From the *Weston (Mo.) Argus—Pro Slavery.*

The vanguard of the Northern Army, acting under the advice of the Northern Emigrant Aid Companies,—composed of about 80 men, rank and file, on board the steamer *Star of the West*, bound for Kansas Territory for the purpose of rekindling the flames of civil war and engaging in other treasonable acts, were arrested in Lexington this week, disarmed, and sent back to Alton whence they came.

These worthies were brought to this city, the destination of the steamer on Tuesday last, where our citizens had the exquisite pleasure of visiting the hissing traitors, the mercenaries of an ardent scoundrel in the North as ever cursed the soil, or contaminated the atmosphere of any country. This band of hired tools and outlaws of higher-law rebels of the North it seems, were hired and mustered into service in Chicago, under the auspices and advice of the *Tribune* of that city and other enemies of the peace and perpetuity of the Union. According to their own story, they were regularly organized into a military company, under the lead of Capt. A. H. ANDREWS of New York, and 80 men of the same State. They were strictly drilled, armed and equipped. Fearing that this bold and troublesome conduct might be checked by the government, they determined to abandon their military organization, and organized themselves into an emigration company, with the above-named gentlemen as President and Secretary, doubtless with the object of depriving the public authorities of the effect of their entrance into Kansas under false pretences. But in this they were mistaken. From Chicago they proceeded to Alton, and there took passage on board the *Star of the West*, where the company, turning themselves into a drunken rabble, began to bluster and brag about their object in going to Kansas, and what great things they were going to do after landing. Capt. C. B. Dyer, of Kentucky, advised them to prudence, and they proceeded on their journey. However, in the meantime, the conductor of these modern Arnolds had excited the suspicion of some Union, law-and-order men, who gave the alarm up the Missouri River, and caused their arrest as stated. We presume they are on their way back to Chicago, apparently with the expectation that they have been deceived, and that the Missourians are not such men as they have been represented to be.

A Call for Assistance upon the State of Georgia.

From the *Kansas City Enterprise.*

A meeting of the emigrants from Georgia, held on the 1st of July, near Kansas City, Missouri, was organized by electing Captain JOHN COUCH President, and Captain JOHN L. GRANT, Vice-President. A. S. HAMILTON was requested to act as Secretary. The object of the meeting being explained by Capt. COOK, the following preamble and resolutions were read and unanimously adopted:

Whereas, It is deemed necessary and highly important that a Colony of Georgians should be planted in the Territory of Kansas; and, whereas, there are many patriots of Georgia now in the Territory who have expended their means and labored with untiring energy in behalf of Southern rights, and who are now incumbered rendering further defence to the institution of Slavery without aid and assistance from their native State, whose interests they have been endeavoring to maintain, and who have gallantly and meritoriously stood to the standard of our rights when they were threatened with destruction by the base and unmanly conduct of the fanatics of the Territory,—whose wicked intentions are to drive from the Territory every Southerner who has dared to give publicity to his principles. Therefore be it

Resolved, 1st, That in consideration of the above related facts, we, as citizens of Georgia, do hereby organize ourselves into a colony, with the intention of becoming actual settlers and law-abiding citizens of Kansas Territory, and, furthermore, the representatives of Southern rights, institutions and interests in the same.

Resolved, 2d, That we have done all that our persons are able to do, and that, though our persons are worn and fatigued, we are still ready to discharge our duty as Southerners.

They feel disposed to MAKE: and know him—is a WASHINGTON the confidence of all who know him—has a disinterested Southern, and has hospitably received and heartily aided, to the extent of his means, all Southern men who have sought refuge in the Territory; and that we commend him to you as a man to whom you cannot see too much respect.

Resolved, 3th, That we came here to defend and further the institution of Slavery, and though Georgia prove recalcitrant in her duty as a Southern State, we will not prove recalcitrant in our duty as Southerners.

Resolved, 4th, That we look upon all Georgians as brothers in this struggle, and feel assured that they will continue to merit the distinguished position which they have heretofore occupied, as leading defenders of Southern rights, by giving us that aid which is necessary to success.

A. S. HAMILTON, Secretary.
Vigilant Committee.—G. Felt Dupree, R. R. Bates, Jesse Holmes, William Caruthers, Dr. J. E. Skaggs. On motion, the meeting adjourned.

Col. Buford Returning South Upon a Missionary Tour.

TO THE PUBLIC.

WESTPORT, Mo., June 25, 1856.

Commissioned to revisit the South for a short time I have appointed my friend THOMAS HINKLEY, Esq., of Lexington, General Agent and Attorney in fact, with full power and discretion to transact any business of mine and manage my property as his own till my return.

The public is cautioned against trading with any one except Mr. HINKLEY, for any horses or cattle branded with a B on the left shoulder. I also suggest to my Missouri friends the necessity of caution in furnishing supplies to persons representing that I had sent for them, as I know that some in that way have parted with provisions that never reached me, and that I have never sent for.

Mr. HINKLEY's address till my return will be at this place. J. BUFORD.

SEMI-WEEKLY TRIBUNE,
FRIDAY, JULY 18, 1856.

IMPORTANT FROM KANSAS.

MEETING OF THE LEGISLATURE.
From Our Special Correspondent.
GARVEY HOUSE, TOPEKA, K. T., July 3, 1856.

This morning a considerable number of the legislators of the State of Kansas had assembled at Topeka. Citizens had been gathering in for several days, and a considerable number came in to-day. These were mostly men, but I noticed several ladies among them. No intelligence of Lane, or the expected men, who were said to be on their way through Iowa, had been heard. Nearly a thousand men were gathered in and around Topeka to-day, but scarcely half of them were or could have been put under arms.

A deep interest pervaded the masses relative to the course to be pursued by the Legislature. It was feared by many that owing to the non-arrival of reinforcements and the comparatively small number of persons assembled that adjournment would be urged. Indeed, there was a few, a timid few, who, under the requests and menaces of Sumner, were prepared to adjourn the Legislature again until some relief might be afforded. The great mass, however, were utterly opposed to this. They were determined that the Legislature should meet, should go on with their business, and should only be driven from the hall at the point of the bayonet. On the evening of the 2d, the first assemblage of the popular Convention met here. It was in point of fact a public meeting and was adjourned until to-day. A considerable number of speeches were made. To-day the masses again convened. Mr. Currier of Leavenworth City was chosen President, and some seven or eight Vice-Presidents and three Secretaries were chosen. A Committee on platform and resolutions were appointed, and went to work, as also Committees to report organization for financial matters; and Territorial and Local Executive Committees, and other necessary Committees were chosen. During their absence Judge Schuyler of Council City was called, and delivered an address, in which, while urging the justice and necessity of the cause, he deplored and deprecated anything that would bring us into collision with the General Government. At the close of his remarks, Mr. Wm. Hutchinson offered the following resolution:

"Resolved, That the State Legislature of Kansas ought to assemble, according to adjournment, and proceed steadily to the discharge of their duties, and to form a code of laws for Kansas; and, ever deprecating and avoiding any measure that would bring them in collision with the Federal authorities, proceed, without reference to any opposition, to the fearless discharge of those duties for which their constituents would ever hold them responsible."

The resolution was received with tremendous cheers and enthusiasm. Mr. Hutchinson made some remarks in favor and explanation of his resolution. Mr. John Hutchinson, a member of the Legislature, was called on and delivered an address in favor of the resolution. He said that he would stay and discharge his duty and be driven out or arrested, as the case may be. He said that he was not in favor of the small number here standing in defense of the Legislature against the troops. Mr. Watson was called on next, as were many others. On getting the stand he opposed the reso-

lution, and spoke against any resistance to Federal authority that might be brought against the Legislature. He did not define his position very clearly, but appeared to be in favor of adjournment, or a yielding spirit to the force of Col. Sumner or Secretary Woodson. Mr. Phillips was called for and said that the resolution did not necessarily contemplate any resistance, organized or otherwise. That was a policy to be determined in itself. It merely amounted to the fact that the Legislature should proceed with their duties, and not be intimidated into yielding; but if they were to be driven out by force, to wait until they were driven out. Mr. Holliday next addressed the meeting against the resolution, or rather in favor of a yielding policy. Mr. Chapman delivered an address, declaring that he had been a member of the Democratic party, but was now a Democrat. Another member of the Legislature spoke. He was willing to risk the matter, but wished everything to be done very prudently. He took position that he would risk everything but life, and this evidently giving dissatisfaction, he said he was in favor of discharging their duty. There was some little further discussion when the assemblage adjourned. I have just heard that Mrs. Robinson and Mrs. Jenkins were removed from the prisoners near Leecompton and taken by the authorities to Leecompton.

From Our Special Correspondent.
TOPEKA, STATE OF KANSAS, }
SENATE CHAMBER, Thursday, July 3, 1856. }

The Senate having been called, Mr. Thornton of Topeka was elected President pro tem, and Senate was opened by prayer from the Chaplain. A Sergeant-at-Arms and Doorkeeper were elected. Mr. Allen offered a resolution that, the House concurring, the Senate should appoint a Committee of three and the House five, to memorialize Congress to accept Kansas under the Topeka Constitution. Agreed to—Messrs. Fuller, Allen and Dunn.

Some discussion ensued relative to adjournment. The threat of Col. Sumner was canvassed. Resolutions were offered to adjourn; but all of these were defeated, although sustained by some considerable number of members. One resolution was offered to make the adjournment temporary, and so that the Legislature could assemble as soon as the pressure of the United States authority should be removed. Mr. Allen offered it, and Mr. Uptograph sustained it. Mr. Pillsbury was in favor of completing the State organization, as the necessities of the Territory called for it. Mr. McKenzie objected to going on with the State organization until the action of Congress. He was opposed to the bogus laws, but should always yield to the Federal authority.

Mr. Hardinge offered a resolution informing the House that they were prepared to go into joint convention to receive instructions from the acting Governor. The House concurred and they were soon in joint session. Mr. Curtis delivered a message to them stating for what purpose they were convened. He recommended an adjournment. Joint session adjourned.

The House sent in a resolution memorializing Congress to accept Kansas under the Topeka Constitution, and stop supplies until it is admitted. On motion of Mr. McKenzie the resolution was concurred in. The President appointed Messrs. Uptograph, Allen, Pillsbury, Hardinge and McKenzie to memorialize in conjunction with the House Committee. Mr. Uptograph moved that the Codifying Committee report. Messrs. Allen and Hilliers of the Codifying Committee were called to report of their division of the Committee had been nearly finished, but all their papers had been destroyed by fire at Lawrence when that town was attacked by the Marshal's posse. They asked further time, which was granted.

Mr. Green offered a resolution that the National Executive be requested to remove the Territorial authorities they had sent to Kansas, as these had failed in bestowing justice and security. After some discussion and amendments it was put to vote. Several members had left owing to the extreme heat and closeness of the hall, and as the resolution was under the rules, the rules were suspended. A two thirds vote of all the members-elect being required, the roll was called, and it was found there was not a quorum present, (one less,) when the Senate adjourned.

From Our Special Correspondent.
GARVEY HOUSE, TOPEKA, State of Kansas, }
Morning, July 4, 1856. }

The morning of this glorious Fourth broke in a mottled, cloudy sky. The day was ushered in by a salute from the artillery of the troops stationed close by. Franklin Pierce was found hung in a effigy at the back of one of the outposts. This was a freak of a few of the boys, and attracted little notice, although the contempt thus shown was heartily felt by all.

We have just heard that Judges Lecompton and Cato are in the camp over the hill, together with

Secretary Woodson, postscript D. Waldson, and an indefinite number of deputies. Mischievous is meditated. The authorities are systematically at work to break up the Legislature—perhaps to indict and arrest those present.

I do not think there will be any fighting.

THE SUBJUGATION OF FREEDOM.

Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune.

LEAVENWORTH CITY, Friday, July 4, 1856.

I have seen it stated that the Free-State men in Leavenworth were in arms, threatening revenge for their wrongs and ordering their enemies from the Territory. There has been nothing like it. I tell you the Free-State men of Leavenworth have been for the last six weeks as completely under the subjection of armed tyranny as ever a people could be. The same armed band which imprisoned Parrott, Conway and others, and drove them from the Territory six weeks ago, have been here constantly, and have kept Free-State men completely in awe. They dare not hold a public meeting, they dare not express their sentiments in any public manner; scarcely dare they write a letter to a friend lest it should fall into the hands of men who would commit some outrage upon them.

We have no arms—we have never prepared for this state of things, and the whole force of the Slave power is concentrated upon the border here. Only last week there were not less than two hundred of their men here in town armed with United States muskets. In six hours time they could call five times that number of men from Missouri, and were the Free State men to offer resistance to their outrages it would avail nothing, and result in the useless sacrifice of life. This is the true condition of things here.

Free-State men in Leavenworth are business men, who came here to make their homes in peace; war is not their trade—they came without arms—they look upon their cause as the nation's cause, and they regard the outrages committed here as being committed against the rights of every Freeman in the nation, and they call upon such to rescue them from the galling tyranny which they feel is too hard for them to bear.

I have been disposed to condemn the inaction of our men here; the word cowardly has been on my lips more than once, but when I look at facts as I have stated them above, I am persuaded that there should be no hot-headedness here.

I cannot send you letters regularly, and with certainty of their reaching you. There are spies upon every act.

On last Sunday the steamboat Sultan came up with some forty prisoners, made so by the Slave men here, and sent back by them.

On Wednesday last the Arabia came up with about the same number from Illinois, who had mostly landed and had their goods conveyed to a warehouse before the Southern force were aware of their arrival, when they were seized, and with the most of their goods, put on board another boat and sent down the river. Word was sent to the Fort of what was going on, and the officer in command (Col. Sumner is away) immediately came down with a squad of dragoons, inquired of Capt. Clarkson (the leader of the Southerners) as to what had occurred, and, upon hearing Clarkson's version of it declared that what had been done was all right, and according to the President's proclamation; and having taken a drink with the Captain, he marched his men back.

Such occurrences are becoming common in Leavenworth. Can any one doubt that the guilt of these events is upon the Administration and its party, which indorses it, or rather upon the party which makes the President its tool?

Last week, on Wednesday, sixteen wagons of emigrants, quietly wending their way to Kansas across Missouri, were met two miles east of Platte City by an armed band, and turned back. They were emigrants who made no warlike demonstrations, and who came out under no impulse of excitement: they came with their teams and utensils to make their homes in Kansas; but they came from a Free State, therefore they must not be allowed to enter Kansas.

I have been informed that a boat was stopped by an armed force at Delaware, six miles below Leavenworth, last evening, and a demand made for Abolitionists on board, but none were found. The work is going on.

MISSOURI RIVER PIRACY—AND OTHER OUTRAGES.

From Our Special Correspondent.

LAWRENCE, K. T., Tuesday, July 8, 1856.

Missouri River piracy has reached a systematic refinement not equalled by Algiers, when corsairs were carried on by the government. Missouri, by her men who engage in it and her officers who tol-

erate it, has commenced a serious warfare on the national highway on the rights of American citizens. So thorough is this that I should not wonder if even the Pro-Slavery boat officers would speedily get tired of its annoyance. At Brunswick, Waverly, Lexington, Wayne City, Liberty Landing, Delaware and Leavenworth there are armed bands to watch the river and plunder Free-State emigrants. At nearly all of these places cannon are planted so as to command the river. At Lexington there is quite a strong battery. At Delaware City they have six cannons planted to command the river. There the Southerners have made a sort of military station, and are preparing themselves for the enterprises they doubtless contemplate against the Territory. That such a nuisance as that should exist in the Territory, is a significant fact relative to the efficiency and impartiality of dragoon government. There are some 200 young Southerners under arms. They permit no boat to pass without compelling her to round to and be searched. This "right of search" these Border Ruffians insist upon with more pertinacity than did the British; and no wonder, for it pays. The quantity of "pickings and stealings" is considerable. I have just conversed with a young man (Mr. Holmes) from New-York City, and who is just up the Missouri river. He was the only Free State man on the boat. The Ruffians who were on board first searched his trunk, telling him with the coolest assurance that it was for his own sake and in order to prevent the trunk from being broken open at the different landings. This was a very specious plea, but unfortunately it did not secure the proposed exemption. The boat was stopped at all the places I have enumerated, and searched. At Delaware the Captain did not want to stop. It is a small place, and has little or no business. It was ten at night when the boat got there, and when they hailed him the Captain shouted back that he "had no abolitionists on board," but they dragged him and told him they would sink his boat if he did not stop. Having got away from Delaware, the boat had to go through the same ordeal at Leavenworth City, and there the gentleman of whom I have spoke had to hide himself in the pilot house. He got off at the Fort.

I suppose you have the particulars of the plundering of a company of emigrants from Ottowa, Illinois. They were attacked in a warehouse in the City of Leavenworth within but a short distance of the Fort, and robbed, and most of them sent back down the river. The company who disarmed them were armed with United States arms. One of the company escaped and went to the troops for assistance. Capt. Wood came down, and finding Capt. Clarkson, the Border Ruffian captain who had command of the Southerners who committed the outrage, asked him his authority, when Clarkson showed him his commission from Gov. Shannon, "Territorial Militia," and the two officers went in and took a drink, after which Capt. Wood and his dragoons started back. The best part of the joke was that Mr. Hinman, the man who went after the troops, was taken prisoner by the Ruffians, on his return with them, and sent off down the river. Their goods, consisting of plows, scythes, clothing, and in fact articles of agriculture and domestic use of all kinds, together with arms, were taken, and are now lodged in Majors & Russell's warehouse, Leavenworth.

The warehouse of Majors & Russell, Leavenworth, is a general reeling shop of stolen goods. Many of the rifles taken at different points on the river, together with provisions, stores, agricultural implements, &c., taken from Free-State emigrants, are stored there. The firm is one of the most extensive in this locality. They are the agents of the Southern Aid Societies, and the money raised in the South is sent to them. Beside the arms and other goods they have stolen from Free-State emigrants, their warehouse has been made the depository of a large lumber—some five hundred stands—of public arms, guns and bayonets. The Territorial officials, not, as well have left them in Weston, Mo., in the care of Gen. Stringfellow. The plunder and the public arms are stored together.

Last night, after dark, a man named Loveland came into town. He had been overtaken near McGee's Crossing, at the Wake-rusa, by eight men, and attempted to escape by riding off. They rode after and overtook him, and plundered him of his horse, watch, revolver, and money. He escaped and got into Lawrence the best way he could on foot. A company of United States dragoons are stationed near the place, or within three miles of it. They have been applied to, but I expect no redress, much less that the property will be recovered. If the thing occurs again—and these rascals infer that quarter for that express purpose—we will attend to them ourselves. It is reported that ex-Deputy Sheriff Hancy is leading a band of Pro-Slavery men through the south part of the Territory, to drive out and plunder Free-State men.

We heard a report yesterday that a party of 100 men, supposed to be those from Westport, were near Osawatimie, but prevented from attacking it by the troops near town.

KANSAS OUTRAGE ON EMIGRANTS FROM ILLINOIS.

Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune.

LEAVENWORTH, Thursday, July 10, 1856.

I write you a few days since an account of the seizure, robbery and sending back of a company of Illinois emigrants who came up on the Arabia to this place. The company numbered seventeen. Mr. William Strawn, one of the most wealthy citizens of Illinois, agent for the company, and four others escaped, and are in the Territory.

Mr. Strawn, immediately upon the seizure went to the Fort, and upon his representation the officer in command came down with a force of dragoons, arriving before the Southerners had dispersed. These Southerners stationed here are a part of a regularly organized militia company, armed and mustered into the militia of the Territory by Gov. Shannon. They are mostly Buford's men. They are quartered in barracks here, and supported by "Southern Aid." They are commanded by Capt. Clarkson, who has a store in this place. Clarkson's house is their arsenal.

The officer in command of the dragoons merely inquired of Clarkson what had taken place in relation to the Arabia's passengers, and upon Clarkson's statement, declared that it was all right, and done according to proper authority.

But Mr. Strawn did not let the matter drop here. He determined to test every legal measure in his power to recover his property pilaged from him. He determined to do more; he resolved to ascertain if it be true that the power of the National and Territorial Government are combined in a conspiracy, as principal and agent in these wholesale acts of robbery committed on our National thoroughfares, and at our commercial depots. He proceeded secretly, for Clarkson's men were hunting him constantly from the moment he escaped their clutches at our wharf. He proceeded to Leocompte, and represented his case to Secretary Woodson, acting Governor—Shannon being absent from the Territory at the time—Woodson told him his only remedy was by civil process; he must get a writ from Judge Leocompte, for the arrest of the persons who had taken his property. Judge Leocompte was at his residence six miles from Leavenworth. Mr. Strawn told the Governor that he dare not travel in the neighborhood of Leavenworth, that the men who had robbed him were watching every approach to this town, in order to capture him, and that it would be impossible for him, without an escort, to procure an interview with Judge Leocompte. Woodson then granted him a requisition upon Col. Sumner for an escort of troops. Yesterday, Mr. Strawn succeeded in getting to the Fort with his requisition. A dozen of Clarkson's men were out, it is believed for the purpose of arresting him. He found Gen. Smith in command at Fort Leavenworth. He presented his requisition to Gen. Smith.

Gen. Smith told him plainly that he could not obey a requisition of that nature; that the Government troops would have little to do to be occupying their time in escorting private citizens through the Territory. If he came to the Territory under such circumstances as would, in the perilous time existing, render it unsafe for him to travel, it could not be helped; he had better keep out of the Territory.

Gen. Smith was asked if he would state the extent and nature of his powers as Commandant of the United States troops in the Territory. He replied that he was directed by the President to act in subordination to the civil authorities; to aid the Governor in enforcing the laws.

These statements may be relied on as strictly true. So much as relates to the requisition, and the interview between Mr. Strawn and Gen. Smith, I have from a gentleman who was present at the interview. The facts in relation to the seizure of the men and property were related to Gen. Smith. The property was stated to consist of farming utensils, carpenter's tools, trunks, clothing and household goods and furniture. They were taken from McCracken's warehouse by Clarkson's men, immediately after they were placed there, and conveyed to the warehouse of Majors & Russell, a wealthy firm here who are giving money and other aid without limit to the Pro-Slavery cause.

I would that it were in my power to present the facts transpiring in Kansas to the people of the free North, in the light in which they are now viewed by the Free-State men of this outraged Territory. Let the Douglas bill become a law and Slavery will curse Kansas as certainly as Franklin Pierce and his minions shall live to execute it. We read our fate in the past since the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill. What is there in the bill recently passed the Senate more fair, better

calculated to incorporate the will of the people of Kansas in her future institutions, than the popular sovereignty feature of the Kansas-Nebraska act? We are enslaved by the men appointed to execute the one, they will rivet our chains still tighter in the execution of the other.

THE MISSOURI RIVER PIRATES.

LEAVENWORTH CITY, Monday, July 7, 1856.

Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune.

The steamer Eoinburgh was stopped yesterday morning at Delaware by the Pro-Slavery force stationed there. The boat was passing near the landing. The men marched down, and their leader called to the officers of the boat to row to the boat. It was asked what was wanted. No explanations were given, but the men were commanded to prepare to fire, and the order to row was repeated. The boat then stopped and made the landing, when the men went on board and made their examination; upon finding no abolitionists they left, and the boat came on her way.

To day the Star of the West came up, having on board Gen. Persifer F. Smith. She was also hailed by the Delaware men with threats and with present arms, as usual. The boat partially stopped, but when she had neared the shore, and the armed men learned that Gen. Smith was on board they withdrew, and the boat was allowed to pass on.

These men at Delaware are a portion of Buford's forces. There is a squad of them still here at Leavenworth, and daily they commit outrages too grievous to be borne by freemen.

A Mr. Olds, a Free-State man, to-day put his trunk into his wagon, to take it out to his claim. The wagon was immediately surrounded, and the trunk opened and searched.

A lady passenger, who came up on the Star of the West, went with her children to Mr. Gould's boarding-house, taking with her two trunks and a box. Ten men very soon came down and demanded of the lady that she should open the trunks and let them examine them. This she did. Having found nothing but clothing, &c., they concluded not to open the box. There was a Sharp's rifle in the box, which the lady had brought out for a friend.

Gov. Shannon returned to the Territory to-day, on board the Star of the West.

A SPECIMEN OF DEMOCRATIC "LAW AND ORDER" SOUTH CAROLINA CHIVALRY.

Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune.

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

An most of the Free-State papers here have been destroyed, by the present Administration, and as there are thousands of little incidents of daily occurrence that do not find their way into any papers, I have taken this occasion to give you my readers a detailed account of the manner in which the South Carolina portion of the U S Marshal's posse did up a little "law and order" for Josiah Miller, Esq. Editor and Proprietor of The Kansas Free State, a paper recently destroyed in the cowardly attack on the town of Lawrence.

Mr. Miller, W. Y. Roberts, Lieut. Governor, and C. W. Babcock, Postmaster of this place, all regarded liberal men, Democrats, but not exactly of the Pierce, Douglas, and Buchanan school, were appointed a Committee by our citizens to go to Leecompton, on the 15th day of May, to confer with the Marshal, and learn why he was assembling so large a posse of reckless Southerners, who were threatening our town with destruction and committing many other depredations on our citizens, &c. They proceeded, and had an interview with the officials, and were about ready to return, when a young specimen of the chivalry stepped up to Mr. Miller, and said: "My name is Dault, from South Carolina, is your name Miller?" "Yes, sir," replied Miller. "Are you the Editor of a paper at Lawrence?" says Dault. "I have been," says Miller. "Well, Sir," says Dault, "I shall hold you personally responsible to me, Sir, for every thing you have said in that paper." "Very well," replied Miller, "if that is all, we can soon settle that matter." "But I shall not, however take advantage of your position here to-day, being surrounded by Southern men; I will meet you again, alone," says Dault. "Any time, at all, will suit me," says Miller, at the same time pretending to take out his revolver, when the chivalric Dault left in double-quick time.

Messrs. Roberts and Babcock being ready, waiting, then started with Mr. Miller for Lawrence. They had proceeded about one mile, when the heard horsemen coming behind, with a sharp command to "halt." They all stopped, and on looking around, they saw eight or ten men coming up with their revolvers all cocked. Roberts and Bab-

cock were entirely unarmed. One young man rode up along side of Roberts, and said he was Major Wilkes, of South Carolina, and asked if Miller was in the crowd. Roberts said he was, and pointed him out. Wilkes said: "You men have passes, I suppose?" "Yes," replied Roberts. "I," says Wilkes, "went to the U. S. Marshal, before I started after Miller, and told him that it made no manner of difference whether he had given Miller a pass or not; that we were bound to arrest him, as the South Carolinians had a little matter to settle with him, and that they might just as well attend to it now as at any other time." He then went on to make a little stump speech, in a very insulting and indignant way, stating that he was born on Carolina soil as well as Miller, and that he was a gentleman, &c. Miller inquired by what authority he arrested him. Wilkes said "it don't make a d-d bit of difference to you by what authority, all you have to know, sir, is, that you have to go with us." He then ordered Roberts and Babcock on to Lawrence, and put Miller in front of them, and they thus returned him, with their revolvers cocked, to the Carolina camp, 2 miles distant. After going a few yards, Miller wanted to know if they intended to butcher him as their party had done Brown; if so, they might just as well do it then, as there were enough of them; he had not yet given up his arms. They answered him that his life would be safe, and to go on. About this time Dault came up, and told Miller that "I intended you should get out of town a little." Miller told him that he did not expect an arrest, as he (Dault) had told him that he would not "take advantage of his position," &c. Dault said it was all right, just as he intended. Wilkes sent Miller on, strongly guarded, while he, so elated with glory, had to go into Leecompton, and tell the news. When he arrived there was a general yelling, like so many hellbombs, by the Pro-Slavery citizens and others assembled in honor of Wilkes, as an officer of the United States Marshal's posse, having illegally captured Miller, Editor of The Free State. After they took Miller to the camp they searched him, taking everything from him, and then placed him in a tent strongly guarded by six men, with orders to let no one speak to him, and to shoot him if he attempted to escape. They discussed the question as to whether they should hang him right up as a traitor or not, many being in favor of proceeding to do it, while others thought such summary method was not only inexpedient, but highly dangerous to them and the cause in which they were all engaged. Some suggested tar and feathers, and others mobbing, etc. Thus was the day passed. About dark he was taken to the officers' tent, where Dr. Stringfellow was seated with all the dignity of Judge Lynch, summoned by a Jury of twelve men. Wilkes arose and addressed the Court as prosecutor, stating several counts of an indictment; Mr. Miller was a South Carolinian; that he was the Editor of a Free-State paper; that in that paper he abused Southern men and Southern institutions; that he had pursued a liberal, insinuating course that was well calculated to bring over the liberal-minded men from the Slave-State to the Free-State side; that, in addition to this, he (Wilkes) had learned from good authority that Miller had done more to injure the Slave interest in Kansas than any other one man; and that owing to this he felt it his duty to arrest him for treason to the interests of the South, and have him tried before twelve of his native Carolinians, and abide the result. Stringfellow wanted to know if the prisoner had counsel? Miller wished to defend himself. This was refused, and he had to employ one of the men to defend him. After Stringfellow decided that Miller would have to prove that he was not at Leecompton as a spy, the trial proceeded, when a number of witnesses from South Carolina testified as to Miller's ancestors being Abolitionists, and that his father had been tarred and feathered for Anti-Slavery sentiments in South Carolina, and that the son was equally as bad as the father. Then witnesses from the Territory were introduced, who testified as to the course of The Free State, and the general conduct of Miller since he had been in Kansas, etc. Then Miller himself was examined at great length, when it was announced, about 12 o'clock at night, that two prisoners had been taken from Lawrence. These were two Pro-Slavery men, personal friends of Miller, who had come to intercede in his behalf, for when the news came to Lawrence many volunteered to go and rescue Miller. But leading men thought that some private individuals would be of more advantage to Miller at this time than any armed force. So the two Pro-Slavery men mentioned volunteered and went. They were put on the stand, and stated that Miller had pursued a high-minded, honorable course; though a strong Free-State man; that he had gained the respect of all honest men; that he never was known to be guilty of a mean act, and had strong personal friends among all parties, who would avenge any injury lot in accordance with justice. The attorneys spoke for and against, and after some con-

sultation of about one hour, the Jury brought in a verdict of "Not Guilty of Treason." It was now 3 o'clock a. m. Miller paid his Attorney \$10 for defending him. Then they returned all his effects but his revolver and horse, which I presume they retained as contraband of war. The revolver was a very fine one.

Miller was then told by one more human than the rest, that he would be safe after such a decision as that while he remained in the camp, but that his life would be in great danger if he left alone, intimating that some one would follow and shoot him. He then went on to Leecompton with his two Pro-Slavery friends. After sunrise he went to the United States Marshal and complained that he had been arrested, &c. They Marshal said he was very sorry indeed—that the moment he heard it he made out to the camp and did all he could, and that was simply getting a promise from them that they would inform him before they put any sentence into execution that they might pass. He had not power over them to get Miller released—could not even get the privilege of speaking with him in the tent. He assured Miller that he would have no more trouble, and went to see the Governor, and returned with a long pass, by means of which Miller was enabled, after being arrested several times to get back to Lawrence. This is the character of the "posse" the Marshal has had assembled for the purpose of "executing the laws"—a class of men over whom he has no control, but for whom he is the most abject slave. All that saved Mr. Miller from sharing the same fate with the gallant Brown of Kentucky, was the influence of personal friends among the Pro-Slavery party—matters of policy. Miller is an honest, high-minded, fearless, independent man, who thinks and acts as he pleases—holds himself alone responsible. He has been of infinite advantage to the Free-State cause as he understands the character of Southern men, and knows well how to deal with the moderate class from the Slave States, among whom he has great influence. He is quite a young man, not over 26 summers, and bids fair, if spared, to be one of the brightest stars of the great constellation of Free Kansas. Mr. Miller has now visited the States for the purpose of purchasing another office and bringing it on to Kansas immediately. He lost everything he had in the late attack on Lawrence—not less than \$5,000. He is too noble a man to ask any one to give him a dime, but I hope the friends of Free Kansas will not be backward in assisting him in reestablishing his paper, as he intends to publish it on the soil of Kansas with us, and here is where, of all other places, we need papers.

I have taken special pains to get a perfectly reliable account of Mr. Miller's arrest and trial, from Roberts and Babcock, and Pro-Slavery men who were present, and saw and heard the whole affair, and the above is the result, which shows how United States officers protect the rights of American Freemen in Kansas. Yours, in behalf of Free Kansas, FREMONT and DAXTON, D.

PROCLAMATION.

BY THE ACTING GOVERNOR OF KANSAS. Whereas, We have been reliably informed that a number of persons claiming legislative powers, are about to assemble in the town of Topeka for the purpose of adopting a code of laws, or of executing other legislative functions, in violation of the act of Congress organizing the Territory; and of the laws adopted in pursuance thereof; and it appearing that a military organization exists in this Territory for the purpose of violating this unlawful legislative movement, and this a threat to subvert, by violence, all present constitutional and legal authority; and whereas, the President of the United States has, by proclamation, bearing date 11th February, 1856 declared that any such plan for the determination of the future institutions of the Territory, if carried into action will constitute insurrection, and therein commanded all persons engaged in such unlawful combinations against the constituted authority of the Territory of Kansas, or of the United States, to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective places of abode; and whereas, satisfactory evidence exists that said proclamation of the President has been, and is about to be disregarded; now, therefore, I, Daniel Woodson, acting Governor of the Territory of Kansas, by virtue of the authority vested in me by law, and in pursuance of the aforesaid proclamation of the President of the United States, and to the end of upholding the legal and constituted authority of the Territory, and of preserving the public peace and tranquility, do issue this my proclamation, forbidding all persons claiming legislative powers and authority as aforesaid, from assembling, organizing, or attempting to organize, or act in any legislative capacity whatever, under the penalties attached to all unlawful violations of the law of the land, and disturbers of the peace and tranquility of the country.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto subscribed my hand and caused to be affixed the seal of the Territory, this 4th day of July, in the year of our Lord 1856, and of the Independence of the United States, the eightieth. [L. S.] DANIEL WOODSON, Acting Gov. of Kansas Territory.

The proclamation of the President and the orders under it, require me to sustain the Executive of this

Territory in executing the laws and preserving the peace. I, therefore, hereby announce that I shall maintain this proclamation at all hazards.

E. V. SUMNER,
Col. First Cavalry Com.

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 peopling 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.

African 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 organized armies, with ammunition, arms, provisions, equipage, cannon, music and banners, took possession of the polls, driving, 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 co-operation 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 Sept. 1855, to take the preliminary steps necessary to such a 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 formed 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 13th 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, and, after effecting its organization, proceeded to organize your Honorable Bodies upon the object of our State organization, and praying the admission of Kansas into the Union as a sovereign State.

Now therefore, we, the People of Kansas Territory, greatly desirous of promoting the public good; of restoring peace and good order to this long-troubled and harassed land; and fully believing that we possess the inherent and constitutional right to erect a Government of our own; that our population is sufficient to entitle Kansas to the rank and dignity of a sovereign State; that we have the means and ability to sustain such Government, and that it is the duty, method by which our rights can be vindicated and justice obtained; respectfully but earnestly petition your Honorable Bodies to admit Kansas into the Union as an independent and sovereign State under our present Constitution.

And your petitioners will ever pray.



NEW YORK, FRIDAY, JULY 18, 1856.

NO PACIFICATION.—If our Washington correspondent is correct, there is very little prospect of any measure being passed at the present session of Congress for the pacification of Kansas. The Bill which has passed the Senate, is so reasonable, so just, and provides so amply for the rights of the Free State settlers, even those who have temporarily left the Territory, that we could hardly believe it would fail to command the approbation of the House, and of the public generally. But it seems we were mistaken. The Republican papers denounce it as a most iniquitous measure, and it is evident that they mean to oppose it might and main. The form of their opposition, our correspondent thinks, will be, to engraft upon it an amendment for the restoration of the Missouri Compromise, or some other which they know it will be impossible for the Senate to concede. Thus, between the two Houses, it is to be feared that the Senate Bill will fall to the ground, and certainly the House Bill will, which provides for the admission of Kansas into the Union, with the Constitution adopted by the Topeka Convention! This, we are compelled to believe, is what the Republicans most want; for, if the Kansas question remains open until the next session, it will give them, until after the Presidential election, the full use of their capital, which is agitation, agitation, agitation. Whereas, if Kansas should be restored to order and peace, as it would be if the Senate bill should become a law, nothing would remain to them but certain defeat. We trust nothing else remains to them at any rate. An exclusively Northern party, with a Northern President and Vice-President, and a Northern Congress, would be a thing entirely unprecedented in our history, and ominous of the most deplorable results. For, a Government thus inaugurated, and a popular majority thus emboldened by success, would hardly stop at anything short of interference with slavery in the States, and this would be a signal for disruption and disruption would in all probability be soon followed by a bloody civil war, the end of which no mortal could foresee.

The majority in the House against the Senate bill is very small, but has been increased by the resignation of Messrs. Brooks and Keitt, of South Carolina, and may be further increased by the displacement of Mr. Allen, Dem., of Illinois, whose seat is claimed by Mr. Archer, Republican. But, after making these allowances, the majority in the House against the Senate bill can hardly exceed half a dozen, and may possibly be annihilated by concessions which the Senate can make without destroying the bill.

DAILY GAZETTE.
Cincinnati—July 18, 1856.

AN ADDRESS BY
HON. TIMOTHY C. DAY,
TO HIS CONSTITUENTS.

To the People of the First Congressional District of Ohio.

FELLOW CITIZENS: I have been blind to the fact, that we are now in the midst of a very exciting Presidential campaign. Past party lines are being rapidly obliterated, and a single issue—freedom for Kansas, or freedom for Slavery, is the only issue—freedom for Kansas. The leaders of what is called the Democratic party are giving warm welcomes to all applicants from the scattered West, who are being ignored the past for the benefit of the future; and, on the other hand, we see the party of Freedom marshalling its hosts for the contest. This violent disruption of party ties, while it gives assurance of the individuality of men, also betokens that a heated contest is before us. No title in behalf of Freedom was ever yet fought, without having a bold, unscrupulous foe in opposition; the cohorts of *Salus* Guards, and the many tramps of *Salus* Guards. The *Mis* of the Republican found this time at every step in their unprincipled struggle to be free; not only had their unprincipled oppressors to contend against, but their own mist, from those who said they had a right to expect, they received insults, injuries, and blows. So in the swift coming fight—a fight which cannot be avoided, and must be won—we must expect the opposition of *interest* and cowardice, for it is natural that they should be on the side of wrong. It takes true courage to defend the right, and the safest path for interest is the path purchased at the expense of self-respect. But let the result be as it may, for

one, I believe in the out of every citizen to take his position; and, in bold and frank terms, to give the reasons for the faith he professes.

It has been my good or bad fortune to be engaged in many heated political contests in "Old Hamilton," my native country—contests in which, I know, I sacrificed much of personal ease, for what I believe to be right; and now, in taking my position under the new arrangement of the hosts of the people, I shall have to part company with many who so friendship and support I have enjoyed in times past. But the skirmishes of partisan warfare of the past, dwarf before the giant contest of principle now seen in the close looming future, and I cannot hesitate as to the cause I shall pursue. I have never wavered on the issue now to be fought, and see greater cause than ever why my aid should be given on the side of right and justice. I cannot consent to falter, because, since the time with which I started to the field has started by the way-side, or sunk principle for the moment in the approaching struggle, I shall be bound to Freedom in Kansas; past, down-trodden, enslaved Kansas. Hence, whatever of influence, energy, or will I possess, shall be freely given to the election of the Republican nominees for President and Vice-President. In making this announcement, I shall be pardoned if I give you sketches of the peculiar line of assailing adopted by the opponents, to show how unreasonably they are led at the North, the servility of their party. I shall be brief as possible, and to be brief, covered by the ground I shall, plain and direct words will be used.

The great objection urged against the Republican movement, is that it is *sectional*. Puerile as this is, it is the most potent cry the Pro-Slavery party has in its arsenal of small artillery, and is used on all occasions where it is possible to bring it to light. How can it, conceding it to be a fact, that a party representing the spirit of our institutions is a *sectional* one? I was not sectional in the days of Washington, of Jefferson, of Monroe, and Madison. What is the cause of this sectional party rising upon the ruins of the two old national parties? The necessity must have existed that it should not be. Slavery was sectional, as sectional as salt, and to its attempt to nationalize our people, we attribute the present apparent sectional character of Freedom. The time was, in the history of the Republic, when South, as well as North, the good men of the Union felt it their duty to act against the extension of Slavery; and their testimony is to its evil influences. Slavery was then in the southern and from the national character of our Constitution. If Freedom is now sectional, and Slavery national, to whom or what cause must we attribute the partial and decided North, and the South cannot plead its own wrong in favor of a nation of the North in its duty. It is to the charge of sentiment at the South to the increase in the value of slave property, consequent upon the increased profits of its labor, on the miserable ambition of Northern politicians, to whom the White House was the Mecca of ambition, to gain which, hence itself was held as valueless, we are to attribute the present condition of public affairs.—The North is now standing upon the platform of the old fathers of our Union, before the present race of politicians are about to jungle the senses of the people, by their arts of eloquence and gross deception. They were no heroes, no Douglasses, no Lincolnians, in those days, to attempt a cheat by which Freedom was to be yielded, and Slavery enlarged. They were patriots, and in those days, and to their honest patriotism we owe the fair of great States, now teeming with life and prosperity, in the valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi. What Ohio, Indiana, Michigan and Wisconsin are, they owe to the wise foresight of a race of statesmen, who were not sectional in their habitations or views. They believed Freedom to be national, and they assiduously made it so. Virginia, at that time, the mother of States and statesmen, fostered the growth of Freedom by an extension of its area; now her representatives call the party engaged in the same cause as their fathers, a *sectional* party.

Tim, has brought with it great changes in the character and purposes of our people, but the most successful of all is the fact, that in the eighty-first year of our Republic, a man covered by the life of many an old soldier of the army of our Freedom Liberty has become *sectional*. The admission of a slave or by whatever name, is degrading to the fame and greatness of our Republic. It is the cry of small minds at the North, and the selfish muttering of ambitious schemers at the South. It is used upon the ignorant presumption that the North is stupid enough to be frightened from the performance of its duties, and the enjoyment of its rights. It is the ammunition of place-hunters, men whose only hope is in the prostitution of their patriotism, their self-respect and individuality, to the cause and purpose of a party. By the subscription of a platform, and the mean ambition of its leaders who, with specious platitudes, have discovered a fact, the North, in the defense of its rights, and the performance of its duties, has been driven to form what they now call a *sectional* party. And this state of affairs is the result of what the North has sought to avoid, trusting to the patriotism of the South only to be betrayed. Now, that contacts have been broken, and the North has sought to nationalize Slavery, and the North has been to nationalize Slavery, and the North has been to accept the issue as presented by a *sectional* party; having but a hypocritical



NEW YORK, FRIDAY, JULY 18, 1856.

NO PACIFICATION.—If our Washington correspondent is correct, there is very little prospect of any measure being passed at the present session of Congress for the pacification of Kansas. The Bill which has passed the Senate, is so reasonable, so just, and provides so amply for the rights of the Free State settlers, even those who have temporarily left the Territory, that we could hardly believe it would fail to command the approbation of the House, and of the public generally. But it seems we were mistaken. The Republican papers denounce it as a most iniquitous measure, and it is evident that they mean to oppose it might and main. The form of their opposition, our correspondent thinks, will be, to engraft upon it an amendment for the restoration of the Missouri Compromise, or some other which they know it will be impossible for the Senate to concede. Thus, between the two Houses, it is to be feared that the Senate Bill will fall to the ground, and certainly the House bill will, which provides for the admission of Kansas into the Union, with the Constitution adopted by the Topeka Convention! This, we are compelled to believe, is what the Republicans most want; for, if the Kansas question remains open until the next session, it will give them, until after the Presidential election, the full use of their capital, which is agitation, agitation, agitation. Whereas, if Kansas should be restored to order and peace, as it would be if the Senate bill should become a law, nothing would remain to them but certain defeat. We trust nothing else remains to them at any rate. An exclusively Northern party, with a Northern President and Vice-President, and a Northern Congress, would be a thing entirely unprecedented in our history, and ominous of the most deplorable results. For, a Government thus inaugurated, and a popular majority thus emboldened by success, would hardly stop at anything short of interference with slavery in the States, and this would be a signal for disruption, and disruption would in all probability be soon followed by a bloody civil war, the end of which no mortal could foresee.

The majority in the House against the Senate bill is very small, but has been increased by the resignation of Messrs. Brooks and Keitt, of South Carolina, and may be further increased by the displacement of Mr. Allen, Dem., of Illinois, whose seat is claimed by Mr. Archer, Republican. But, after making these allowances, the majority in the House against the Senate bill can hardly exceed half a dozen, and may possibly be annihilated by concessions which the Senate can make without destroying the bill.

DAILY GAZETTE.

AN ADDRESS BY HON. TIMOTHY C. DAY, TO HIS CONSTITUENTS.

To the People of the First Congressional District of Ohio.

FELLOW CITIZENS: No one can be blind to the fact, that we are now upon the eve of a very exciting Presidential campaign. Past party lines are being rapidly obliterated, and old antagonisms forgotten, under the pressure of a single issue—Freedom or Slavery for Kansas. The leaders of what is called the Democratic party are giving warm welcome to needed recruits from the scattered Whig party, willing to ignore the past for the benefit of the future; and, on the other hand, we see the party of Freedom marshalling its hosts for the contest. This violent disruption of party ties, while it gives assurance of the individuality of men, also betokens that a heated contest is before us. No battle in behalf of a bold, unscrupulous foe fought, without having a *Sicis Guards*, and the mercenary troops of power and position. The Men of the Revolution found this true at every step of their unparalleled struggle to be free; they not only had their hereditary oppressors to contend against, but in their own midst, from those whose aid they had a right to expect, they received insults, injuries, and blows. So in the swift-coming fight—a fight which cannot be avoided, and must be won—we must expect the opposition of interest and cowardice, for wrong. It takes true courage to defend the right, and the safest path for interest is the peace purchased at the expense of self-respect. But let the result be as it may, for

his position; and, in bold and frank terms, to give the reasons for the faith he professes.

It has been my good or bad fortune to be engaged in many heated political contests in "Old Hamilton." My native county—contests in which, I know, I sacrificed much of personal ease, for what I believe to be right; and now, in taking my position under the new arrangement of the hosts of the people, I shall have to part company with many who were friendship and support I have enjoyed in times past. But the skirmishes of partisan warfare of the past, dwarf before the giant contest of principle now seen in the close looming future, and I cannot hesitate as to the course I shall pursue. I have never wavered on the issue now to be fought, and see greater cause than ever why my aid should be given on the side of right and justice. I cannot consent to fault, because some of those with whom I started to the field have tumbled by the wayside, or sunk principle for the party; and in the approaching struggle, I shall do battle for Freedom in Kansas—poor, down-trodden, enslaved Kansas. Hence, whatever of influence, energy, or will, I possess, shall be freely given to the election of the Republican nominees for President and Vice-President. In making this announcement, I shall be pardoned in giving some sketches of the peculiar line of reasoning adopted by our opponents, to show how untenable they are, and, at the North, the servility of their character. I shall be brief as possible, and to be that, covering the ground I shall plain and direct words will be used.

The great objection urged against the Republican movement is, that it is sectional. Puerile as this is, still it is the most potent cry the Pro-Slavery party has in its arsenal of small artillery, and is used on all occasions where it is possible to bring it to bear. How comes it, conceding it to be a fact, that a party representing the spirit of our institutions is a sectional one? It was not sectional in the days of Washington, of Jefferson, of Monroe and Madison. What is the cause of this sectional party rising upon the ruins of the two old national parties? The necessity must have existed, or it could not be. Slavery was sectional, is sectional, and it is to its attempt to nationalize itself, to be attributed the present apparent sectional character of Freedom. The time was, in the history of the Republic, when South, as well as North, the good men of the Union felt it their duty to act against the extension of Slavery, and to bear testimony as to its evil influences. Slavery was then the sectional and Freedom the national characteristic of our Confederation. If Freedom is now sectional, or Slavery national, to whom or to what cause must we attribute this partial deed? Not to the North, unless to her supineness and cowardice; and the South cannot plead its own wrong, in bar of a return of the North to its duty. It is to the change in the attitude of slave property, consequent upon the increased profits of its labor; to the miserable ambition of Northern politicians, to whom the White House was the Mecca of their adoration, to gain which, honor itself was held as valueless, we are to attribute the present condition of public affairs.—The North is now standing upon the platform of the best days of our Union, before the present race of charlatans undertook to juggle the senses of the people by their feats oflegerdemain and gross deception. There were no Fairbanks, no Douglasses, no Buchanans, in those days, to attempt a cheat by which Freedom was to be robbed and Slavery enriched. They spoke plainly in those days, and to their honest patriotism we owe the tear of great States, now teeming with life and prosperity, in the valley of the Ohio and Mississippi. What Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin are, they owe to the wise foresight of a race of statesmen, who were not sectional in their habits or ideas. They assisted to make it so. Virginia, at that time "the mother of States and statesmen," fostered the growth of Freedom by an extension of its area; now her representatives call the party engaged in the same cause as their fathers, a sectional party.

Time has brought with it great changes in the character and prospects of our people, but the most wonderful of all is the fact, that in the eighty-first year of our Republic, a span covered by the life of many an old soldier of the area of our Freedom, Liberty has become sectional. The admission, wherever or by whom made, is degrading to the fame and virtue of our Republic. It is the cry of small minds at the North, and the selfish muttering of ambitious schemers at the South. It is used upon the violent presumption that the North is stupid enough to be frightened from the performance of its duties and the enjoyment of its rights. It is the ammunition of place-hunters, men whose only hope is in the prostitution of their education, their self-respect and individuality, to the uses and purposes of a party. By the subserviency of a party, and the mean ambition of its leaders, who, with seditious platforms, have obscured a fact, the North, in the defense of its rights and the performance of its duties, has been driven to form what they now call a sectional party. And this state of affairs is the result of what the North has sought to avoid, trusting to the patriotism of the South only to be deluded. Now, that contracts have been broken to nationalize Slavery, and the North forced to accept the issue as presented by a strictly sectional party, having but a hypocritical

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.

An ericton citizens, we regret to 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 unjustly 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 organized armies, with ammunition, arms, provisions, equipage, cannon, music and banners, took possession of the polls, driving 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 were wholly 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 Delegates 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 formed 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 13th 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, and, after effecting the organization, 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.

Now therefore, we, the People of Kansas Territory, greatly desirous of promoting the public good; of restoring peace and good order to this long-distracted and harassed land; and fully believing that we possess the inherent and constitutional right to erect a Government of our own; that our population is sufficient to entitle Kansas to the rank and dignity of a sovereign State; that we have the means and ability to sustain such Government, and that it is the only method by which our rights can be vindicated and justice obtained; respectfully but earnestly petition your Honorable Bodies to admit Kansas into the Union as an independent and sovereign State under our present Constitution.

And your petitioners will ever pray.

claim to nationality, we, who stand by the nationality of freedom, upon the platform of '87, a platform made by pure hands and honest heads, are to be denounced as sectionalists. It is the cry of the thief, trying to escape his pursuers; it is the desperate shift of political charlatans, the cunning device of unscrupulous politicians to frighten and alarm. If the Republican party is sectional, then the Declaration of Independence, the child of Jefferson, is a juggle, and the Constitution a lie. It is a part founded upon the necessity of preserving those two instruments from the vandal hands of ambitious partisans, and if it is shown that it is sectional, the shame belongs to those recreant sons of revolutionary sires, who betray the trust reposed in them, to gratify their thirst for power, or their desire for gain. If the North is sectional, what is the South? If the North is sectional, it is in half of Freedom, while the South wraps itself up in the sectionalism of Slavery.

Fellow citizens: Keep steadily in view the declarations and acts of those who founded this Republic. Remember, to them we owe the Ordinance of '87, which would now be called a sectional act.—The mad ambition of political leaders has broken a compact made in good faith, which sectionalized Slavery, and it is now sought to consummate the outrage. Are you to be frightened from your duty, by the Cossack honora of place-hunters, and the paid stipendiaries of a corrupt Administration? If the North is forced to be sectional, because the South has forgotten the past, remember that it is for the extension of freedom that you stand true, while your enemies war for the extension of the area of human servitude. You are right, and if you are sectional, the honor of preserving intact the fruits of a revolution which gave us a nationality of Freedom, belongs to you alone.

Another ghost which is to be extensively used by the so-called Democratic party in the present campaign, to frighten nervous gentlemen from their property, is "The Union is in danger." Certainly it is: there cannot be a doubt of it. It is an Union formed to give liberty birth—"a local habitation and a name"—and it is now in danger from the encroachments of a power which has ruled the world from the first creation. It is in danger: it will require all the firmness of its true friends to save it from impending evil. Slavery is about to dissolve this fair fabric of freedom, and will, if the friends of liberty falter in the crisis upon us. We have a noble work before us; the Republican party has a mission not often vouchsafed to men—the preservation of liberty, and the defeat of its foes. This is the solemn, solid reality; the ghost is with our opponents. Let us examine their spectre.

It is not the first time, in the history of our Republic, that it has been in danger—it was in danger from the birth of twins in 1820; in danger in 1850, from the single birth of a free State, and now it is in danger from the partition of a slave State. It is always in danger, unless the people of the North quietly succumb to the demands made upon their patience and forbearance by the South. We have had ambitious politicians of the North, who have betrayed our interests, and made us forget our duties, until "forbearance has ceased to be a virtue." It is time that the people, the whole people, resume their rights and perform their duty, which is to "save the Union" in a proper manner, and take that trouble from the political quacks who have nursed the disease, to keep a paying patient on the list. It is time that a cure was effected, and the patient pronounced out of danger. It has been tampered with long enough; the salve has been taken from the wound, by the quacks who pronounced the patient in danger, by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and it is for us to see that a radical and thorough cure is now effected.

But, say these quacks, if the cure is not permitted to spread, the "Union is in danger." Their process of treatment, is much after the manner of the quack, who was called to see a case he could not comprehend, and who proceeded to throw the patient into "fits," as that was a disease with which he was perfectly familiar. So with the political quacks—they want the "Union in danger," it is a disease peculiar to their practice; they find their interests in its continuation; they could not live were it not for the danger of the Union. The disease has its crisis; the alarm is spread; the political quacks, with lugubrious countenances, gather together, and, with their fingers to their lips, intimate that the most profound silence must be kept, or the disease will be enraged, to the imminent risk of the patient's life. This force is now about to be enacted, and the audience is expected to be amused into good humor, or frightened into silence. Every traveling political mountebank is blowing his trumpet of warning, proclaiming that the "Union is in danger," and expecting a gaping crowd to be awed into the employment of his services to save it. A party press, nearly all of them stipendiaries of the central power, are making their columns black with dire foreboding of evil to come, if their party is not continued in power, to "save the Union" and—their pay. A fraternization of incongruous elements is going on: an union of discordant divisions is to be made, to "save the Union." The amount of patriotism yet in our Republic is truly wonderful; and, did it not degenerate into miserable buffoonery, would be laudable; yet the "Union is in danger," and more help is needed. The Republican party, I trust will fill up the gaps, and save the Republic,

truly and nobly, not forgetting that real manhood is the support and stay of liberty everywhere.

A distinguished citizen of the Republic, a man who now occupies the high position of a leader, and the candidate of a party for the Presidency; who has just returned from a visit to bigoted and degraded Italy, enslaved Austria, and crushed France, in a recent speech, so far forgot his position, the courtesies commonly recognized among candidates, as to assert, that if the Republican party was successful in the coming canvass, the South would have good cause to "dissolve the Union." Has he so soon forgotten what he saw in Europe, the effects of tyranny of mind and body, that he judges if the party which seeks to restrain the march of Slavery is triumphant, that the representatives of the only form of tyranny known in our Republic, will have good cause to attempt the destruction of the beautiful fabric! And he the pretended leader of a party which claims to be exclusively American! He the chosen standard bearer of a party which proclaims its opposition to religious tyranny, aiding the cause of human bondage, by word and deed! To him the Union is everything, human progress and elevation nothing. Wrapped in the mantle of selfishness, he sees no good in anything which ministers not to him.—He could breathe the prayer of "me and my wife, my son John and his wife, us four and no more" with great unction. He "saved the Union" in 1850, and I do not remember that it was such a profitable job as to present any great inducements to do it again; but then there is a fascination about the White House, indescribable and unappreciable. He affects to fear the loss of our liberties, from foreign emigration and the Pope. Knowing that a majority of the followers of the latter agree with him in his national ideas but sees no danger in the encroachments of real slavery in our midst. He treats it as a spoiled child, urging that whatever of bread and butter may be asked for shall be given, for fear the Union may be dissolved. It is to such men, and their followers, that the Union owes whatever of danger it may be in. They have not the courage, or it is not their interest, to be free, and they see precipices in their path, which are only the creations of their distempered fancy.

Where is the danger to the Union? Does the North propose to destroy it? Is that the purpose of the Republican party? No one with a reasonable show of truth can assert either to be a fact. All threats of dissolution have, as yet, come from the South; and the Union will never be in danger if the North is true to its duty. The silly threat, that if the North insists upon a return to the peaceful days of the past, when patriotism was real, and not sham, the South will dissolve the Union, may serve to frighten the weak, and furnish jeremiads to ambitious politicians, but it will end there, successful or unsuccessful! It is a "good enough Morgan" for every election, and it is about time that this ghost was laid forever, to sleep quietly in its grave. The Union will be in the hands of its true friends, if the North stands firm this fall; and those who threaten dire calamities, nullification, and disunion, will find in Fremont a man who, like Jackson, will have not only the power, but the disposition to act. The "rights of the South" will receive ample protection, but the threats of the South will cease to intimidate. The "Union will be preserved," not by craven fears, but by the firm maintenance of the Constitution, a return to the traditions of our fathers.

Another of the staple commodities of the so-called Democratic party, in this canvass, is "popular sovereignty, and the rights of the South." Like the two I have examined, they are used to delude, and to obscure the real issue. As for "popular sovereignty" Kansas furnishes ample testimony on that head, enough to convince the most incredulous, that the "rights of the South" are destructive of all such doctrines. They cannot travel on the same boat, or be embraced in one legislative act. They are at war with each other, and it will be found impossible to ever reconcile them. Popular sovereignty, I mean the genuine article) acknowledges perfect equality of rights, and has no recognition of slavery in its Constitution. It contemplates a free people, upon a free soil, forming a government *de novo*; knowing no creator, and acknowledging no abnegation of rights. It is not the government of the bully and a sassin, but the unimpaired expression of the will of a majority of freemen. The "rights of the South," as defined by the latter day Democracy, is to carry a species of property in our Territories, which is not recognized as such out of the States from whence it is carried. It contemplates that a citizen of a State where a negro is held as property, may transport him to any of the Territories of the Union, and hold him as such in defiance of law, of justice and the common weal. We of the North say, the Territories of the Union are common to all, for the enjoyment and benefit of all, under the clear and well defined principles of the common law of mankind: equality of rights, and the good of the common weal. No citizen of Georgia, as such, has a right to carry the institutions of his State into a Territory, before he has obtained the consent of its inhabitants to do so. No slave can be held as such without positive law, and that law no Territory has the right to pass. It has been done in Kansas, and to maintain it, the power of the Federal Government has been used, leading to anarchy and bloodshed. Outrages without their parallel in the history of Republican Governments have been perpetrated in that Territory, to prove the truths of "popular sovereignty," and to maintain the "rights of the South."

Breaking down the landmarks of the past, the political charlatans of the present day sought to inaugurate a new era in legislation, and they most effectually succeeded. They have inaugurated an era of ruffianism and brute force in Kansas; they have sown distrust and ill-feeling among the States of our Confederacy; they have kindled the flames of civil war; and they now ask that their acts shall be endorsed by the people of the Union, or they threaten still worse consequences to follow. They have murdered men in Kansas because they were for Freedom and not for Slavery; they have harassed peaceable settlers, to drive them from the Territory; they have imprisoned men for the high crime of treason, which consists in refusing to recognize laws which insult the manhood of freemen; they have blockaded a great highway of the nation; stopping boats and robbing passengers of their goods and their liberty: all, all to prove the "great principle of popular sovereignty," and to uphold the "rights of the South." The cheek of every true lover of our free institutions must mantle with shame, when he reads of these outrages; and when we look to the past, to the days of the Henrys, the Hancocks, and the host of worthies who inaugurated our Revolution, we must hang our heads with grief for the degeneracy we have suffered. Men, citizens of our glorious Republic, are now in prison in Kansas, for the crime of treason, for having dared to speak, and print, and act as freemen; and the party under whose auspices these odacious decrees have been issued, has yet the effrontery to present itself to the people of the North as the National party of the Union; and to talk of dissolving it unless it is permitted to go on in its work of "crushing out" liberty in our Territories.

It has repeated the parrot cry of "popular sovereignty" in the platform of Cincinnati, and it goes into the canvass with all the arrogance of the "Border Ruffians" into Kansas, sneering at Free State men, at Republicanism, at all that is good of the past. It is playing a bold game for supremacy; having the united support of the great interest of the South, it seeks to intimidate enough votes at the North, to give it the victory. With a sectional interest as its capital stock; it impudently talks of sectionalism, and threatens the terrors of disunion if it is not kept in power. Such is the Democratic party of to-day.

I appeal to my old Democratic co-workers, if this is the party we once considered ourselves honored in being attached to? Can you continue to give your support to a party which has prostituted itself to such uses and purposes? Can you continue your connection with a party which has forgotten its mission in a wild hunt after power? Can you look around you, at the thrift and prosperity which the absence of Slavery has given us, and not desire the same for Kansas? Is the tie of party too strong for your patriotism to break? You know that it is the design that Kansas shall be a Slave State; will you aid that design by again giving your votes to what is falsely called the Democratic party? What element of true Democracy is left to fight for within that party? The issues of the past are obsolete, and your party is being overrun by your former opponents, who naturally flock to a Federal standard. The only principle left you to contend for is "popular sovereignty," as exemplified in Kansas, where you would not dare go and speak your Democracy of the past; and even this is now repudiated by the Democratic Senate, led by Douglas himself. It has been at last discovered that the people are indignant and frightened at the prospective loss of power, more than at their own follies and crimes, these "popular sovereignty" doctors have repealed a portion of the Draconian Code of Kansas, being "a sept Cerberus," to lull the watchfulness of the people, and to accomplish what they desire, by another political trap. If you can "swallow the platform" as it now stands; if you can shut your senses against the damning wrongs endured by your brethren in Kansas, and continue with the party, which upholds and seeks to perpetuate them, though your loyalty cannot be doubted, your Democracy may well be questioned. I am a Democrat; I want no prouder, no other title; but I am not of nor with the party which has stolen the name but does not possess the spirit of Democracy.

Far back in the dim records of the past, we read lessons to which we should give earnest heed, for they are full of instruction and worldly wisdom.—We there see the whole life of a nation spread out before us, and we can trace minutely the rise, progress, culmination and fall of a people. We can analyze carefully, and as in a mirror, see the reflection of our own growth; time alone is to decide whether our history is to be written as theirs. We see the rigid simplicity, the stern patriotism of the founders; the rise of ambitious rulers, the supineness of a prosperous people; the corruption which the lust for power brings, and the degradation which its enjoyment inflicts. Blind adherence to party and factions; the loss of individuality in that of a mere partisan; the desire to be attached to, or to belong to some party, are the real causes of the declension of nations which have tasted the fruits of Freedom. The boast of every partisan, that he has always stood firm to the nominations of his party, is only a confession of his abject servitude. I have no such confessions to make, having endeavored at all times to vote conscientiously, and to keep steadily in view, that my first fealty was due to principle. I have never been the blind follower of the party gods, or lost my own judgement in obedience to their decrees. A party may become

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OFFICIAL PAPER OF THE CITY.

FRIDAY MORNING..... JULY 18

The Kansas Outrages.

We trust no one will fail to peruse the chapter of Kansas outrages, compiled from an authentic source, which we publish on our news page. It shows that most of the villainies perpetrated in that Territory have been by Black-Republican ruffians. Never in the annals of falsehood was there such a grand scheme of deception resorted to as by that unprincipled faction relative to Kansas affairs. A corps of correspondents has been located in the Territory to manufacture statements for the Black-Republican press in the States, and, in the arts of fabrication, they have nobly done their duty. But the "truth will out," and the facts, when elicited, place an entirely different complexion upon affairs.

We publish this record merely to vindicate the truth of history, for, of course, all the outrages in Kansas, on either side, being in direct opposition to the intent and language of the Nebraska Bill, have no legitimate bearings upon the campaign, although they are sought to be lugged in upon the Black-Republican side.

may, has... nical than the... Slavery itself a vor- ter swallowing up individually, reason and self- respect. With its machinery of hereditary com- mittees, factional primary elections, blarney con- ventions, and deceptive resolutions, the masses composing the party are made the mere instru- ments of a power which rules with as much strug- gence as any who do so by the "grace of God." A rebellion against the decrees of the leaders is de- nounced as virulently as treason to our Govern- ment. We have proof of this in Kansas. Pierce, Douglas & Co. decreed that "popular sovereignty" and Slavery were new articles in the Democratic creed, and Kansas was devoted to the inauguration of the new faith; as a natural result, brute force from the adjoining State of Missouri controlled the ballot-boxes, and acted as god-father at the bap- tism—a baptism of blood, of "popular sovereignty and slavery"—in Kansas; the power of the party was on the side of the "Border Ruffians"; they were permitted to go on with their work in viola- tion of the Constitution and our federal laws; the President of the United States acted as the Presi- dent of a party, enforcing its decrees, to the neg- lect of his duty as Chief Magistrate of this Re- public; those who had violated all laws were per- mitted to be law-makers, and they formed a code which will be more famous than that of Draco; those who doubted the propriety of the "popular sovereignty" thus inaugurated were indicted for treason, and are now in prison, literally and wholly because they have rebelled against the decrees of a party. They have not violated a single law known to our statutes, or grounded in our constitution. They are simple rebels against the authority of Pierce, Douglas & Co., acting as the rulers of the Demo- cratic party. Even while I write, the lightning of the wires brings us intelligence that a lieutenant of our Cromwell has invaded the meeting-hall of the Legislature of the people of Kansas, and, sur- rounded with a hedge of bayonets, has told the members of that body to disperse, if not in the words of Cromwell—"Go, the Lord has no further use for you!"—he has used those of equal mean- ing. This Napoleonic act, this dispersion of a Legislative body representing the rights and priv- ileges of freemen, we are asked to approve of.— Shall these facts not bear their legitimate fruits, by making the individual thought of the masses to resume its empire and its natural sway?

Fellow-citizens, we live in a political era which will be long remembered for its unblushing cor- ruptions, and its bold, bad ambitions. The heated party conflicts of the past have generated some rare political exotics of the genus "Little Giant," and our Democratic garden is about to be laid waste, to gratify the pride of these full-grown flow- ers. No perfume but theirs is to scent the field, and no fragrance of the past can rise through the mephitic and narcotising influence of their newly invented odors. To quit the metaphor, and talk plain prose, our Government is now in the hands of the vilest demagogues that ever cursed a na- tion. They are trifling with the most sacred prin- ciples of our Republic to gratify in its own selfish desires; they are playing the tyrants over public opinion and the consciences of men, at the bidding of their own mean ambitions, and the "power behind the throne." They have forced an issue which the North sought to avoid; they have trampled into the dust the teachings and doctrines of our fathers, and then, with the insolence peculiar to usurpation, they brand those who resist their headlong disregard of justice and right, as "sectionalists," and "foes of the Union." Like cuttle-fish, they are discoloring the waters to escape pursuit, and with all the air of injured innocence they ask why all this commo- tion? They take it for granted that all the North is like themselves, ready to yield the cherished convictions of the past, the hopes of the future, to gratify their lusts, and to purchase present gains. They cry peace after raising the strife; and they threaten with all the impotency of despair. They have browbeaten the represen- tatives of the people into consent to the passage of a bill which has proven a Pandora's box of ills, and they are now trying to browbeat the people into submission. They talk of sectionalism, when their eyes have never been turned from the South; and they cry "danger to the Union," when their own crimes affront their dull consciences. Weak, venal, and ambitious, they have sown discord, and they dread the harvest they are to reap, if the just indignation of an outraged people ripens to maturity. They have sown the whirlwind, and now, with reckless temerity, they are trying to ride the storm. They conjure to their aid the constitu- tion they have violated, the Union they have en- dangered. They have prostituted their power to the basest of uses, and demand, with threats, that it shall be continued to them. They have wilful- ly and maliciously disturbed the peace and har- mony of the Union, and now ask that they may reap the advantage of their own wrongs.

I ask every citizen to examine this question closely, and to answer to his conscience how he should act, unbiased by interest, and uninfluenced by threats. If to vote for Fremont makes you sectional, at whose door is the fault to lie, if fault it is? You have enjoyed the blessings flowing from free institutions, and know their value; if, at this period of the Republic, it is sectional to use your franchise to extend those blessings, it only proves the necessity of your vote. I appeal to the mer- chants, who know the value of free trade; to the mechanics, who own the value of his labor, and enjoy it without contest with Slavery; to the

farmer, who tills his own lands, and who would be thrift of free labor; to the laborer, who toils, but is not owned to come forward and secure a Terri- tory, large enough in extent to form three States like Ohio, for themselves and their children. It was set apart for your use by your fathers, and is now sought to be wrested from you by political jugglery and brute force. Will you submit to have this robbery consummated, when you know the thief, his designs, and have the power to ar- rest the burglar? If you do, then indeed is the courage and manhood of the North likely to go among the things that were.

The old revolutionary workers, who carved out this Union by a free expenditure of their blood and treasure, had other dreams of its future, than that now upon us. They made a broad declara- tion of human rights, and wrestled patriotically with the evil within their broad confederation to stay its march and confine its area. To them the Union was the axis of Freedom, and not the symbol of Slavery. They dreamed of a brilliant future, when, from the Atlantic to the base of the Alleghenies, no rule but that of Freedom would be known; and in the vast territory beyond their western slopes, they decreed that the footprints of Slavery should not be seen. Such was the Union of our fathers. It was not then endangered by Liberty, for Liberty was not sectional in those days of good and patriotic men. There were no ambitious tricksters in that morning of Freedom, to sully its freshness with their corrupt schemes to gain power, true patriotism was gathered around the Union, to nourish, protect and sus- tain it.

With you, men of the present: with you, men of the North, rests the future of this Republic.— As you decide, its fate will be. It is for you to choose which you shall follow—the pure lights of the past, or the swamp gleams of the present—if you choose wisely, every star added to the constel- lation now glittering on the azure of our national banner, will reflect the lustre, undimmed by stain or spot. Then will the Union be safe; then will it go on in its mission, to proclaim Freedom to all the world.

TIMOTHY C. DAY.

WASHINGTON, July 14, 1856.

[For the Cincinnati Daily Gazette.]
Hurrah Song for Fremont.

Air—"Jacy Neal."
 Arouse ye Sons of Freedom,
 Unite in glorious song;
 For Liberty and Fremont,
 Your glorious shouts prolong.

CHORUS—Hurrah for John C. Fremont,
 The People's nominee;
 He'll be our glorious President,
 The champion of the Free.

Our dearest rights he will protect,
 "Border Ruffian" law;
 For Freedom he will stand erect,
 For Fremont, then hurrah!
 Hurrah for, &c.

Brave Fremont has a good back-bone,
 Its strong enough, I trow,
 To keep the nigger-drivers down;
 For Fremont, then hurrah!
 Hurrah for, &c.

The Buchananers glout on the spoils,
 From Government they draw;
 But while they have their family broils,
 For Fremont, we'll hurrah!
 Hurrah for, &c.

Old Buck and Breck will pull and haul,
 To drag the slavery plow;
 Let every donkey for them bawl,
 For Fremont, we'll hurrah!
 Hurrah for, &c.

Where is the man who shouts for Buck?
 He must be "bucked" I vow;
 For every sober minded man,
 For Fremont, will hurrah!
 Hurrah for, &c.

Free speech, free presses, and Fremont,
 We're for free Kansas too;
 And a freeman for a President,
 For Fremont, then hurrah!
 Hurrah for, &c.

Then raise our glorious banner high,
 Fremont and Dayton hail;
 They'll lead us on to victory,
 For justice must prevail.
 Hurrah for, &c.

We'll give 'em "jessee" all around,
 And in the White House too;
 And slavery's host we will confound,
 For Fremont, then hurrah!

CHORUS—Hurrah for John C. Fremont,
 The People's nominee;
 He'll be our glorious President,
 The champion of the free.

Late Intelligence.

A Chapter of Outrages Committed in Kansas by the Emigrant Aid Society of New England and their Myrmidons, Claiming to be Free- State Men and Friends of Humanity.
 NOVEMBER, 1854.

The New England Emigrant Aid Society sends a large number of their henchings to vote at the election for members of Congress, who, after voting on the 29th of the same month, started back to the East the next day.
 NOVEMBER 29, 1854.

Mr. Davis, a citizen of the Territory, brutally murdered a few miles from Lawrence by one Kilby, a hired tool of the New England Emigrant Aid Society, who has since fled the Territory.
 MARCH 25, 1855.

Malcolm Clarke, one of the best citizens of Leavenworth, murdered by one Cole McCrea, a higher law lecturer and ruffian, who has broken jail, fled the Territory, and when last heard from was lecturing adorning throats of Black-Republicans in Wisconsin.
 MARCH, 1855.

The New England Emigrant Aid Society send hordes of voters to the Territory, a number of whom obtained public robes in Kansas City and Westport and returned them after the election held on the 30th March, and returned to the East.
 APRIL, 1855.

The secret military organization entered into by the hired tools of the New England Emigrant Aid Society in the Territory, bound to- gether by the most horrid oaths to resist the regularly constituted authorities of the Territory by force and bloodshed, and protect and defend each other in their midst; its atrocities—for which purpose they abundantly provided them- selves with secret signs and grips, by which they could, at all times recognize each other, and more effectually carry on their disorganizing and revolutionary schemes.
 APRIL, 1855.

The New England Aid Society commenced erecting a Store Fort in the town of Lawrence, under the disguise of a hotel, building it with numerous port-holes and a parapet upon the top, behind which their myrmidons could fire with safety upon the legal authorities, and thus prevent the execution of any legal process in the town of Lawrence.
 MAY AND JUNE, 1855.

Sharp's rifles and other deadly weapons arrived at Lawrence, having been sent by the Emigrant Aid Society to their secret military organization in the Territory, to aid them in executing the revolutionary orders of their masters in the East.
 SEPTEMBER, 1855.

The minions of the Aid Society hold the notori- ous Free Sand Convention, and resolved that

they would resist the laws to a "bloody issue." The same Convention, after ignoring the laws, appointed the 9th of October for holding a pretended election for a Member of Congress, and appointed an Executive Committee, with James H. Lane, Chairman; to designate districts and pretended judges for said illegal election. The same Convention nominated A. H. Reeder as their pretended candidate for Congress, who accepted the same in a very inflammatory and revolutionary speech.

OCTOBER 9, 1855.

Said pretended election was held and some two thousand nine hundred pretended votes polled for A. H. Reeder, as a bogus delegate to Congress, and at the same time members were elected to a pretended convention to form a State constitution.

OCTOBER 25, 1855.

One Collins, of Doniphan, an officer in the secret army of Abolitionists, brutally attempted to murder Pat Laughlin, an associate in the same organization, who, becoming disgusted with its treasonable and diabolical scheme, exposed them to the world, with their watch-words, and secret signs and grips.

NOVEMBER, 1855.

The pretended Convention met at Topeka, and adopted a Constitution for the bogus State of Kansas.

NOVEMBER 24, 1855.

A number of outlaws, calling themselves Free-State men of the Hickory Point neighborhood, Douglas County, in a public meeting assembled, adopted resolutions declaring that there were no laws in the Territory, and appointed a committee to punish summarily all persons whom they might see proper to designate as offenders or criminals.

NOVEMBER 25, 1855.

Jacob Branson, an officer of the Emigrant Aid Society's secret military organization, threatens the life of a Mr. Buckley, who has a peace warrant issued against him by a magistrate, Hugh Cameron, of Lawrence.

NOVEMBER 27, 1855.

Sheriff Jones arrests said Branson upon said peace warrant, and while taking him before a Justice of the Peace was attacked by a party of outlaws, armed with sharp's rifles, revolvers, &c., headed by one S. N. Wood, of Lawrence, who, feebly rescued said Branson from his custody, declaring at the same time that there was no Governor, no Judges, and no Courts in the Territory, and no law except their Sharp's rifles.

NOVEMBER 27, 1855.

The citizens of Lawrence in public meeting indorsed the Hickory Point Resolutions. Said meeting was addressed by S. N. Wood, the leader of the band who rescued Branson from the sheriff, and by Jacob Branson himself, and from that day the members of the secret-military organization throughout the Territory began immediately to assemble at Lawrence, for the purpose of resisting the execution of the laws, and protecting Branson, Wood and other violators of the law in their lawless and revolutionary conduct.

The outlaws thus assembled took refuge in the stone fort erected by the Aid Society, which also furnished them with Sharp's rifles and other deadly weapons; but finally finding themselves overpowered by the law-abiding citizens, who had been called out by Governor Shannon to assist the sheriff of Douglas County in executing the laws, they secretly sent the notorious Wood out of the Territory to the State of Ohio, and Branson out of the town of Lawrence, declaring that they had never justified those men in their lawless acts, and were in no wise responsible for them; that they were not in Lawrence, and that the sheriff of Douglas County could then and at all times serve any legal process in Lawrence without any difficulty or resistance whatever.

Moved by their protestations of innocence and law-abiding professions, the Governor disbanded the militia that had been called out for the emergency, and for a short time peace and quiet prevailed.

DECEMBER 11, 1855.

Sheriff Jones received an anonymous letter through the postoffice at Lawrence, warning him that should he serve another legal process in said town, he would sign his own death warrant. This anonymous letter purported to come from "The Secret Tactix."

DECEMBER 15, 1855.

An election, held by order of the Big Springs Executive Committee, to pass upon the constitution adopted by the bogus convention at Topeka, which received less than one thousand votes, all told, in the whole Territory.

JANUARY, 1856.

Another pretended election held by order of J. H. Lane, chairman of a so-called Executive Committee for members of the Legislature of the bogus State of Kansas, and for a Governor, Treasurer, Secretary of State, and Supreme Court Judges and other officers.

FEBRUARY, 1856.

A Mr. Cook, a very worthy citizen, residing near Easton, Leavenworth County, was murdered by a party of out-laws, calling themselves "Free-State men."

MARCH 4, 1856.

The said bogus Legislature, Governor, and other State officers, met at Topeka, and were all sworn into office by J. H. Lane, chairman of the aforesaid Executive Committee.

The bogus Governor sent into the pretended Legislature a very inflammatory document, called a message, and began to exercise the functions of Governor.

APRIL 16, 1856.

The bogus Legislature met at Oswatomia, at which they passed resolutions not to abide by the Territorial laws, and pledged themselves to resist them even though they had to do so by force, and warned the County Commissioners not to attempt to make assessments, asserting that they would do so at their own peril.

APRIL 17, 1856.

S. N. Wood returns from his pilgrimage to Ohio with one hundred and fifty armed men, who are welcomed in Lawrence by public speeches and other demonstrations, and even exhorted by A. H. Reeder to resist the laws.

APRIL 19, 1856.

Sheriff Jones, hearing of the arrival of S. N. Wood at Lawrence, proceeds, as he was in duty bound, to arrest him, there being four or five writs out against him for various offenses. He finds him in Lawrence and at once arrests him, but he is immediately rescued by an armed mob, and the authority of law again openly set at defiance.

APRIL 20, 1856.

Sheriff Jones returns to Lawrence with a civil posse of four men, but is again resisted and the laws defied by the mob calling themselves citizens of the town.

APRIL 23, 1856.

Sheriff Jones proceeded to Lawrence with a small posse of United States troops, and succeeds in making several arrests, but when night came on was shot in the back by a hired minion of the New England Emigrant Aid Society while sitting in the tent of Lieutenant McIntosh of the United States Army, and thus received a wound deemed at the time mortal.

MAY, 1856.

A band of the outlaws, about fifty in number, armed with Sharp's rifles, enters the Court-room, while Judge Cato was holding Court, at its May term, in the Second Judicial District, and forcibly broke up the Court—at the same time warning the Judge against attempting to enforce any of the Territorial laws.

MAY 6, 1856.

The United States Deputy Marshal of the Territory serves a bench warrant, issued by Judge Leach, of the First District Court, for A. H. Reeder, who spurned the authority of the court and boldly defied the Marshal to take him at his peril, for which he was cheered by all the citizens of Lawrence present, amounting to an immense throng.

MAY 24, 1856.

Allen Wilkerson, of Franklin County, was most inhumanly butchered by a body of midnight assassins, who entered his house between the hours of twelve and one o'clock at night, and, approaching his bedside, told him he was a "prisoner of the Northern Legion," at the same time tearing him away from the embrace of his wife, who begged upon humbled knees, with tears in her eyes, the butchers to spare her husband for the sake of her helpless children—three in number—but turning a deaf ear to her entreaties and the common dictates of humanity, the brutes took him a short distance and literally chopped him to pieces with their Bowie-knives, for no other offense than that he was an old resident of the Territory, familiar with the incidents attending the elections in the Territory, and would likely be called upon by General Whitfield to testify before the Congressional Investigating Committee, and therefore must be silenced.

On the same night William Sherman and Mr. Boyle and his two sons were massacred in the same manner by the same assassins, for the same reason—their bodies being most horribly mutilated, their ears, nose and fingers being cut off before they were killed.

MAY 25 AND 26, 1856.

The store of Joseph M. Bernard, at Willow Springs, in Douglas County, violently entered and robbed of \$6,000 worth of goods by a party of these self-same outlaws, who, dressed in the garb of Indians, committed these depredations.

MAY, 1856.

The postoffice in Douglas County, at Keizer-ville, entered and robbed by a party of these same outlaws and assassins, who forcibly expelled from the premises the postmaster.

JUNE 15, 1856.

Mr. Bowen, one of the oldest citizens of Douglas County, was attacked in his house at midnight and compelled to leave the Territory with his slaves, under penalty of death, the assassins robbing his house of whatever was valuable in it.

JUNE 15, 1856.

Deputy Sheriff Haney, of Lawrence, attacked in his own house at night by an armed body of midnight assassins, who, failing to kill him, renewed the attack on the following night by breaking open his door and firing at his bed.

but he, fortunately, was lying on the floor unobserved; and quietly drawing his pistol, shot the ringleader of the gang, a man by the name of Hopkins, well known in Lawrence, when his associates in crime fled. The next morning eleven shots were found in the bed of Mr. Haney.

JUNE, 1856.

A company organized in Lawrence for the avowed purpose of stealing horses, which is now engaged in stealing them in every direction, doubtless for the purpose of mounting their "legion" of assassins and traitors.

JUNE, 1856.

The town of Franklin attacked, between the hours of two and three o'clock in the morning, by an armed body of assassins from the town of Lawrence, who succeeded in killing a most estimable citizen in his own house, by the name of Tietzmaker, and committing sundry other outrages.

These are a few of the many outrages committed in this Territory by the agents and henchlings of the New England Emigrant Aid Society, calling themselves champions of freedom and friends of humanity. The list could be readily extended to an indefinite extent; but these will suffice for the present.

THE CONSTITUTION--STATE RIGHTS
RICHMOND WHIG.

FRIDAY MORNING, JULY 18, 1856.

KANSAS MEETING IN POWHATAN.

A portion of the people of the co. of Powhatan assembled at their July County Court, having determined to do something for Southern Emigrants desiring to settle in Kansas: Col. Phillip St. George Cocke was called to preside over the meeting, and by request, Edward S. Brown, of Cumberland, Wm. Pope Dabney, and Wm. Old, Jr., of Powhatan, addressed the people on the state of affairs in Kansas, and the means of settling the territory in the way best calculated to develop its resources, with justice to all citizens of all sections of the Union.

Mr. Edward S. Brown offered the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That a committee of sixteen, four for each magisterial district in the county, be appointed by the Chairman, to ascertain what persons in the county desire to emigrate to Kansas with the view of becoming permanent residents of that Territory; that said committee receive such contributions as may be voluntarily tendered to aid the emigrants whose private resources are insufficient to defray their expenses, and that said committee report their proceedings to an adjourned meeting to be held at the next Court.

Resolved, That these proceedings be published in the Richmond papers.

Resolved, That this meeting adjourn to meet at August County Court.

The Committee appointed under the resolutions are as follows:

- For District No. 1, Edward F. Baugh, Wm. B. Murry, J. J. Denoon, R. B. Mumford.
- For District No. 2, Hiram Harris, John W. Netherland, T. K. Weisiger, H. Gordon.
- For District No. 3, Wm. Old, Wm. M. Skipwith, E. W. Bass, Willis J. Dance.
- For District No. 4, John F. Lay, John N. Woodfin, Wm. Pope Dabney, Dr. Robert W. Nelson.

The Daily Picayune.

FRIDAY MORNING, JULY 18, 1856.

Gen. Smith in Kansas.

The telegraph announces to us the arrival of Gen. Persifer F. Smith in Kansas. On the people of Leavenworth appealing to him for protection, he replied that he had no authority to interfere, and that they had no redress to expect except such as the civil law could afford them.

Mobile Daily Tribune.

FRIDAY MORNING, JULY 18, 1856.

Mr. Oliver's Report.

It was briefly stated yesterday that Mr. Oliver—member of the Kansas investigating committee—made a minority report to the House of Representatives on the 10th inst. It denies all the essential statements of the report of the majority. He stated that the resolution on which the committee was raised was simply to collect evidence and report it to the House. He had no expectation of anything beyond this being done.

THE REPUBLICAN.

ST. LOUIS:

SATURDAY MORNING, JULY 19, 1856.

EMIGRANT'S CAMP, NEAR IOWA CITY, }
July 30th, 1856. }

To the Editors of the Chicago Times:

GENTLEMEN: Having a Sunday upon my hands, and knowing the great interest taken in those of our respectable fellow citizens who, shrieking for freedom in Kansas, threw themselves into the breach, resolving to do or die, it be-thought me to give you a few points, so that you may be enabled to post your readers fully upon the subject. In the first place not one half of the professedly Chicagoeans are from our city; in the second, neither are their leaders citizens of the State of Illinois—one being from Georgia and the other from New York. In their leaders they have no confidence whatever, they being the most cowardly of the whole lot, as was shown by their action upon the Missouri river, where, as soon as a row was anticipated, they retired to their bunks, shanking as though they had been smitten with a tertian ague.

After their return to the State of Illinois, greatly disappointed that the committee who had promised faithfully to forward provisions—which promise was broken—every exertion was made to keep the party together, and get them forwarded to Iowa City. For some time after their arrival they "made night hideous" with their riot and disorder, frigh'ning good citizens from their slumbers, who no doubt wished they would shriek for freedom less often, and not quite so loudly. Finally, they were compelled to retire from the city and go into camp, where, having no money, they subsist chiefly by appropriating the contents of the neighboring hen-roosts. They are now in a state of complete anarchy, having just compelled their officers to leave, under threats of coats of jar and feathers if they persisted in staying. Not one of the original officers—made so by the committee—are now in office.

But forty remain of the original sixty-seven, several having deserted in Illinois, the balance adopting the Mormon creed and joining the Sainte, whose camp is but six miles off.

Such, gentlemen, is the present state of the Chicago emigrants. Disorder and fighting has become so common as to cause no remark, whilst their presence is a terror to all the neighborhood, who devoutly wish emigrants, Kansas, and freedom shrieks to the d—l. Expecting to be here for some time, I will now and then give you a few lines upon the subject, if you so wish it. K.

THE EVENING NEWS

Saint Louis:

SAURDAY EVENING, JULY 19, 1856.

A large company of Georgians passed through this place, a few days since, under charge of Captain Taggart, of Kansas Territory. It is an agricultural society, and they intend locating on Pottawatomie Creek, near Ossawatimie. The company numbers over fifty men, with their wives and children. They intend locating a town to be called New Georgia. We hope that success and prosperity may attend this and all other such noble and philanthropic enterprises. Ossawatimie and all other abolition towns will soon find themselves surrounded by Southerners on all sides. Their situations then will be anything but pleasant.—[Border Ruffian.

Another Fight at Washington.
Another exhibition of "Border Ruffianism" came off at Washington City, Thursday, in which the dauntless hero of Black Jack, Capt. Henry Clay Pate, was the assaulter, and a Mr. Hanson, a correspondent of the New York Tribune, the assaulted.—Hanson, in one of his letters, had intimated that Capt. Pate had showed the white feather in his Black Jack battle, in Kansas, with "old Brown." Pate, not relishing this imputation on his valor, demanded of the correspondent a retraction. The correspondent refused to retract, whereupon the gallant Captain pitched into him, and gave him a practical touch of "Border Ruffianism."

Capt. Pate is the Kansas correspondent of the Missouri Republican, and has thus proved himself to be a fighting fowl, at the expense of a brother letter writer. Let him have a leather stock.

He arraigns the report of the majority of the committee as altogether *ex parte*, remarking that many of its statements are without fact and testimony to support them.

He says that the evidence taken shows that Mr. Whitefield was the duly elected delegate in November, 1854 and that while the testimony was conflicting and directly contradictory on some points relative to the election in March, 1855, for members of the Legislature, yet from the whole it clearly appears that the anti-slavery party was in the minority in 14 out of 18 election districts.

The aggregate votes cast for their candidates throughout the territory, as they appear upon the poll book, was short of 800, while by the census taken in the territory before there were 2005 legal votes without allowance for the immigration of bona fide settlers after the census and before the election. He states that there is no evidence of violence used to prevent any man from voting in the entire territory—no evidence of a single assault and battery about voting on that day. No evidence of assailing in the slightest degree the correctness of Gov. Reeder's judgment in awarding certificates of election to the members of the Legislature. That legislature was a proper law making body, and therefore its laws were valid, as far as they were consistent with the constitution of the United States and the organic act, and Mr. Whitefield being duly elected in pursuance of a law thus passed, is entitled to his seat.

Mr. Oliver reviews at great length the existing troubles in Kansas, saying from the evidence they are properly chargeable to the revolutionary movements of those who got up the Topeka Convention, and who pledged themselves to resist the laws at all hazards. **betraying Themselves.**

We published yesterday a brief report of the proceedings of a Kansas convention which assembled at Buffalo on the 9th inst. The resolutions that were adopted suggested the raising of \$100,000 per month, in order to make Kansas a free state. This movement was inaugurated on the spot by Gerrit Smith, who pledged himself to pay \$1,590 a month whilst the war lasts. He filled up a check on the State Bank of Albany for the first month and handed it into the meeting.

In order to show more definitely the animus of this convention, we make a couple of extracts from two of the speeches delivered within it. A member named Page construed the resolutions to provide for "moral fighting." Gerrit Smith—a man of peace, who declared recently that he has no knowledge of Bowie knife, pistol or Sharpe's rifle, but was willing to have men to fight who have the knowledge which he lacks—he took fire at Mr. Page's understanding of the resolutions. He said that the only proper force now is physical force, and then proceeded as follows:

If the object of the Convention was to distribute good books and agricultural implements in Kansas, it was doubtless a good one. They might raise their hundred thousand dollars monthly to do so, but they would have no money from him. He had given all the money he could spare for such things, and felt that he was now called upon to contribute means to arm men and send them out to fight. Mr. Smith continued to speak of the aggressions of the south, and said he only hoped to hear of a collision at Topeka—that he only desired to hear of a collision with the federal troops, and that northern men had fallen—and then he would hear of northern states araying themselves against the federal government; and would that be the end? No, Missouri would be the next battle field, and then slavery would be driven to the wall. Her strength is only apparent; it consists half in northern cowards and dough-faces. It has been brave and rampant only because the north has fled before it. It will run when the north faces it. He believed the time had come to use physical force. If the Convention thought, with Governor Reeder, that such was not the fact, with all respect he could have no sympathy with it.

Another part of the speech was aimed at some opinions dropped by Gov. Reeder. Mr. Smith understood him to counsel delay—to desire that wait. Smith couldn't wait and desired that what is to be done must be done now—right off. The valorous Reeder de-

clared that the pacific Smith had misunderstood him, and he went on then in the following atrocious strain—showing that these fanatics and traitors have not the courage to march directly to their object; but intend to creep towards it, "with a cat-like tread."

Governor Reeder replied that he was not in favor of waiting because they had not received wrongs enough, but thought it right to wait until they could strike an effective blow. If it remained with him to use the power of the government, he would not have waited this long, but the oppressors before this would have been converted into heaps of dead men on the fields of Missouri; but he was willing to wait till to-morrow or two to-morrows. When on the trail of the enemy, against whom he had a deadly hate, he would follow him with cat-like tread, and would not strike until he could strike him surely dead. He was, therefore, willing to wait until they had the power he would thus have used. He did not wish to give the south notice of their intentions by marching armed men into the territory. The dragoons could go in as voters, or to cultivate the soil, and strike when the right time arrived. When the right time came to strike he wanted the south to have the first notice of that blow in the blow itself. The free state party take the ground that they will exhaust all peaceful remedies, and that don't they will resist to the death and pile the soil the constitution no longer protects with heaps of their oppressors.

SATURDAY MORNING, JULY 19, 1856

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JOURNAL COMPANY,
Indianapolis, Ind.

The Black Lie Nailed.

WINCHESTER, RANDOLPH Co., July 16.

MR. EDITOR:—In the *Daily Sentinel* of this day, the filthy editor, in speaking our glorious Fremont ratification meeting on yesterday, says of the Randolph delegation: "In this delegation (Randolph) we counted five free negroes, black as Black Republicanism itself, one of whom carried a banner," &c.

As a delegate from this county, permit me to say to the pious editor of the *Sentinel*, that there was not a negro or mulatto at any time with us with or without a banner, and that every delegate was equally as white on the outside as the editor of the *Sentinel*, and far whiter on the inside; hence I pronounce the above a barefaced and unmitigated Border Ruffian lie, and its author "a lying scoundrel and a dirty dog."

Grand Rapids Eagle.

CITY OF GRAND RAPIDS:

SATURDAY MORNING, JULY 19, 1856.

THE GREAT HEART.—Gerrit Smith has just pledged himself to give \$1,500 a month for the next twelve months, to aid in establishing Freedom in Kansas. He gave but a short time since, at the Kansas relief meeting in Albany, \$3,000. Prior to that, he had sent about \$1,000 to the Boston Emigrant Committee.—Out of his own funds, he subsequently equipped a Madison County Company, of one hundred picked men, and paid their expenses to the distant Territory. At Syracuse he made a votive offering upon the altar of Liberty of \$10,000. When the generous subscription made yesterday at Buffalo shall be complete, this "Champion of Freedom" will have given at least \$40,000 to make a Republican State out of the Slavery-coveted Kansas Territory. Great-hearted man! There is no doubt of your place in the history of American Republicanism. [Albany Journal.]

Janesville Gazette.

SATURDAY MORNING, JULY 19, 1856.

The Last Device of Slavery.

That the bill of Toombs, which is now urged by Douglas in the lieu of his own, while professing to aim at the peace and quiet of that territory and the protection of the rights and persons of the free state men there, is really

designed to establish slavery and ostracize the free state men, is apparent to any one thoughtful enough to reason from the past, and candid enough to believe the evidence of his senses.—When it can be demonstrated that the slave power has ever relinquished the pursuit of a cherished object, or voluntarily forborne the use of an advantage in their hands, then we are ready to concede that it is now willing to give up its hold in Kansas, and give FREEDOM an equal chance to populate her territory and form her institutions. Until then, it will be idle to claim that the fair words and fair pretence of that bill, and the accompanying promises of a fair appointment of commissioners by its friends, are anything else than a cheat and a lie, and intended to accomplish by indirection what the open outrages and undisguised villainy of the ruffian invaders were instigated to achieve. The exhibitions of feeling at the north require a more cautious mode of procedure than has been heretofore adopted, but the purpose which underlies every movement of the slave power has been by no means abandoned, and Kansas is as certainly doomed under this new bill as if it established slavery there in express terms, and hedged it in by irrepealable enactments. We ask attention to the following exposition of the character of this last device of the enemy, and in connection with this exposure, ask a recollection of the fact that about the time it was supposed the bill would have been in force and an enumeration of the inhabitants of the territory would have been made, the avenues of access into the territory were seized by the ruffians who had previously driven out, robbed and murdered the northern emigrants there, and those avenues were closed against all who had not the brand of slavery upon them, or come in under the yoke of the slaveholder. We copy from the Chicago Tribune:

The new bill of Toombs and Douglas for the admission of Kansas, which has passed the senate, was conceived in sin and brought forth in iniquity. It holds the word of promise to the ear, but breaks it to the hope. The principle of popular sovereignty as expounded by Douglas is abandoned. The bill strips the people of the power to regulate their own affairs; but it is equally careful to deny it to congress where it rightfully belongs. Douglas proposes to invest the president with power over the whole matter, advised and backed up by the border ruffian senate.

This bill it must be remembered, is Toombs' bill. It has been concocted by the leaders in the Kansas conspiracy,—under the personal supervision of Atchinson, Stringfellow & Co. They knew perfectly well what its effect would be; and they never would have brought it forward unless they had known, in the first place, that it was necessary to appease and divert the public indignation,—and in the next place, that this scheme would answer the purpose just as well as any other.

A delegation of border ruffians are at Washington—were there before the scheme was devised, and helped to hatch it.

The bill proposes that the president shall appoint five commissioners, a majority (or three) of whom shall have entire control over the election of delegates in Kansas to form a state constitution. It proposes that, under their direction, and under regulations to be issued by the secretary of the interior, all the citizens of Kansas shall record their names on the 4th of July instant—and that, in November, these men and no others shall be allowed to vote. It proposes that former residents returning to the territory shall make satisfactory proof to the said commissioners that they had been bona fide residents. How much proof would be necessary for free state men to make to satisfy those tools of the slaveholders?

Douglas, Toombs & Co. know perfectly well that more than half the free state men have been driven out by brute force, and can not be there to register their names. They know that they are either in prison, or in exile with indictments pending against them for treason.—They know that the territory is full of roving hordes of Georgians, South Carolinians and Missourians, engaged in plundering, murdering and driving out free state people; that, in the language of Stringfellow's paper, "Lawrence is as quiet as a grave yard." They know that the whole machinery of government in Kansas—legislative, executive and judicial—is in the hands of the pro-slavery men, and that they will have, therefore, an overwhelming advantage in such an election as they propose. Every border ruffian who has invaded Kansas would be on hand to swear a sham oath that he was a resident, and then vote. Under this new bill the chances are one hundred against one in favor of the pro-slavery party. And it is this conviction which has led them to propose it. Nothing but the most absolute certainty that this bill will aid them in their grand purpose—to make Kansas a slave state—would ever have induced them to bring it forward.

And, as a cotemporary well remarks, "it was for this, and this alone, that the Missouri compromise was repealed—that Kansas was thrown open to slavery—that secret lodges were formed in the slave states to carry slavery into the territory—that the border ruffians invaded it and took possession of the polls—that the slave laws were extended over it—that Lawrence was besieged, her houses burned and her free press destroyed—that all free state men have been imprisoned or driven out of the territory—and that for the last six months the whole region has been ravaged by ruffianly pro-slavery hordes."

Now, as a conclusive proof of the whole matter, if the intent of the bill is what its authors pretend, viz., to give the bona fide settlers of Kansas the power to admit or exclude slavery therefrom, why are the laws of the bogus legislature retained in full force? Why is sheriff Jones and such scoundrels continued in office? Why are not the indictments for treason against governors Reeder and Robinson, general Lane, editor Brown and scores of other prominent free state men quashed, and the prisoners set at liberty? Why are not Atchison, Stringfellow, Lecompte, Buford and their confederates, punished for their crimes? Why are not the murderers of innocent free state settlers arrested, tried and hung? Why is not reparation for the destroyed property of the free state people made? Need we add anything more to prove the utter hypocrisy of the authors of this abominable bill? Were they sincere, they would pass the Topeka bill which has already passed the house of representatives. That would settle the whole trouble, restore peace to the Union, quiet agitation, bring happiness and prosperity to the new-born state, and send a thrill of joy throughout the land. But, alas! that is not what the conspirators seek or desire.

Correspondence of the Gazette.

LEAVENWORTH, K. T. July 7th, 1856.

MR. EDITOR: The free state legislature of Kansas, has been dispersed by United States cannon and bayonets, and the state organization crushed out. There is a provision, however in the constitution, authorizing the governor to convene the legislature at any time and place, in case it is broken up or dispersed by violence, or irresistible power, under which it is said, Robinson has the power to call it together, notwithstanding its dispersal by the president. But I think this will not be done, because it would again be disbanded, and probably every member arrested, if not for treason,

for a misdemeanor under the territorial laws, and besides there is no desire or intention to resist the federal authorities in any manner.—The free state portion of our population have too much devotion and respect for the union, to array themselves in opposition to it, though they should thereby surrender some of their constitutional rights.

They would rather submit to tyranny and oppression, for a "brief period," than to have it said they are not loyal to the government.

You can be assured Mr. Editor, that if the union is never dissolved until the representatives of freedom in Kansas do it, it will stand till the rocks of Gibraltar are washed away.—But in saying this I do not mean that they will submit much longer, to continue the vassals and slaves of *Missouri Ruffianism*. They believe they have a right to defend themselves and their property against any unlawful force, and that, in doing so, they will not become traitors or revolutionists. The responsibility rests with those who make the first aggression, and not with them who oppose it.

The convention at Topeka on the third and fourth, was large and enthusiastic; a spirit of harmony prevailed throughout the whole proceedings, and every one came away satisfied that the best steps were taken, and the cause of freedom materially advanced.

On the morning of the third, the impatient crowd, numbering one thousand at least of the hardy yeomanry from all parts of the territory, was called to order and permanently organized, by appointing Mr. Currier of this city as president, and Tappin, of Lawrence, with two others as secretaries.

As soon as the chairman had taken his seat and announced that the meeting was ready for business, a gentleman who still retains with the modern democrats some affinity, and who thought to come a steal over us, rose and offered a resolution endorsing the principles of the Nebraska bill, and supported it with a vehement and labored speech. But it was quickly seen what he intended, and the resolution was tabled instantly. Before the convention adjourned, a resolution was passed, without one vote in the negative, ratifying the nomination of Fremont and the republican platform, and declaring that the supporters of Buchanan were the enemies of liberty. The *incog.* was wise enough to keep shady after this. Various other resolutions were passed, detailing the grievances and wrongs of Kansas, and setting forth the true position of the free state party, what they had done, and what they claimed were their rights, in the future. They invoked the president to stay the tide of devastation and ruin which were laying waste their property and homes, and called God to witness the justness of their cause. The reading of this was followed with long and deafening cheers. An old man whose hair was white, and whom I recognized as a Sucker, in the honest impulses of his heart, called for three groans for Pierce, and such a deep guttural indignation as went up then, never was heard before. Sympathy and cheering consolation were extended to Gov. Robinson and his fellow sufferers, encouraging them to remain steadfast and confident in the success of their cause. Quite a number of speeches were made, advising submission to the general government, should it attempt to interfere with the meeting of the Legislature. It was determined however, that unless Col. Sumner appeared and dispersed it, that no attention should be given to any proclamation from the pseudo governor, and it was understood that it would immediately proceed to pass a code of laws.

A committee of five was appointed to procure the necessary affidavits, and request the impeachment of Shannon, Donolson and Le-

About eleven o'clock, Friday forenoon, while some miscellaneous business was being transacted, Marshal Donolson appeared and asked permission to read a proclamation from acting governor Woodson. He stepped up on the stand, and turned around facing the audience, but the look of the wronged and abused people before him, completely unnerved him, and he had to request judge Elmore to read it for him. The proclamation commanded the members of the legislature not to meet, and to disperse and retire peaceably to their homes.—You will probably get this document before my letter reaches you, so that I need only allude to it. A few seemed to be somewhat terrified by this, and thought it was not advisable to meet, but all the rest were convening and awaiting the result. Some thirty or forty minutes thereafter, just as a company of the Topeka boys had filed along in front of the assembly hall, awaiting the presentation of a banner to them by the ladies of that place, some one said "the troops are coming." Looking down the street I saw Col. Sumner, followed by a hundred and fifty dragoons and two cannon, riding up towards the "capitol." As he approached the company in front of the building, he told them to give way. The boys thinking he only wanted to pass between them and the house, stepped back a few feet (leaving a space of 25 feet) and remained in a position to receive their banner. An order was then given for the troops to wheel and advance on the company. They did so without much ceremony and set the anxious boys in a terrible confusion. No one was hurt, but some were considerably scared. As soon as quiet was restored, the gallant colonel dismounted and entered the assembly room.—At precisely twelve the clerk called the house to order and read the names of the members.—Seventeen answered to their names. The roll was again called, after the production of a few more by the *sergeant at arms*, and an addition of two was made. Sumner then stated that he had an unpleasant duty to perform, but one which he was compelled to execute, and that was, that the legislature *must disperse, that he could not allow them to organize, but they must disband*. He was assured his orders would be obeyed and that no attempt would be made to oppose him. He went into the senate chamber immediately after this, and made the same command to the senate. This too was obeyed and thus the legislature of Kansas was "subdued."

I have space only to add, that there is much uncertainty mingled with the future of this unfortunate territory. It seems as though there was a combination by the whole country against Kansas. Its only hope hereafter must be in congress. But what can congress do, with a president sworn to annihilate the spark of liberty that yet survives the terrors and carnage that have reigned here for the last two months.

It is quite calm and peaceable now compared with the past. The Missourians have concluded they would not fight the United States, and would leave us alone to lament over Jerusalem for a season. Business does not revive, but I assure you no magnificent temple is going up, because the sound of the hammer is not heard, except it be the temple of liberty, and that is on the wane just now.

II.
WELL SAID.—The New York Independent, though a religious paper, seems to understand fully the position of political parties and candidates before the country. In an article upon the several presidential candidates, it says:

It is to be observed that the candidate nominated for the presidency by the Cincinnati convention, accepts and adopts, "whole and entire," without reservation or compromise, the confession of faith framed by that venerable synod. He is not now "James Buchanan," with principles, opinions and a private judgment, of his own. He would have the public

understand that he is only a sort of algebraic symbol representing the system of domestic and foreign policy summed up in the latest "platform" of his party. So let him be regarded. He is to be considered and voted for, not as a statesman of long experience in public affairs—not as enriched with the wisdom which he may be supposed to have gained from so many years in congress, in the department of state, and in a foreign embassy—but only as pledged to carry out, if elected, the views and purposes of the party by which he has been nominated. Mr. Polk was elected twelve years ago, as the representative of the proposed annexation of Texas. His election in that capacity gave us the Mexican war, with the sacrifice of ten thousand lives and a hundred millions of treasure on our part. The issue of that hour was not simply whether Mr. Polk or Mr. Clay should be president for the next four years, but whether we should have a war with Mexico for the acquisition of Texas. So the issue of the present hour is not simply whether this man or that shall be president, but whether the nefarious policy of the Nebraska bill and the Ostend circular—the policy which makes the extension of slavery and the restriction of freedom the one great care and labor of our national government—the policy that can do nothing for the safety of commerce on our own inland seas and our imperial

"Streams, that to the sea
Roll ocean-like."

but can give two hundred millions of dollars to purchase the sovereignty without the soil of Cuba—the policy which cannot open a cart-path across our own territory to our own golden realms on the Pacific, but can involve us in war with half of Christendom about a railroad across the territory of another nation—the policy which has already brought forth civil war and anarchy in Kansas, and which seems likely to bring the south and the north into bloody collision—shall be the established policy of the country. (Let every christian citizen, in whatever portion of our common country, and whatever may be his party sympathies or prejudices, remember that if he give his vote for the candidate of the Cincinnati convention, he gives his vote to establish in our government the domestic and foreign policy of the Cincinnati "platform.")

THE WAR TO BE CARRIED ELSEWHERE.—David R. Atchison writes to a gentleman in South Carolina, and the letter is published in the Carolina Times. We quote a paragraph:

"My opinion is that the south will be stirred by the transactions of these few weeks, and will come up with men and money. The latter I particularly wanted to assist the men. In few months, in my opinion, there will not be an abolitionist in Kansas; they will be swept with a clean broom. Then the war will be carried elsewhere, if war we are to have."

Which means that when Kansas is conquered, Nebraska, Washington, Oregon and other Territories are to follow, and when these have, in their turn, been subdued and overrun, then the "ruffian" spirit of slavery is ready for an inroad into the free states.

THE QUAKER MOTT.—During the pendency of the motion to reconsider the bill for the admission of Kansas which had been defeated by two majorities, says the New York Post, Richard Mott, a venerable Ohio representative, from the Toledo district, was lying ill of typhus fever with some friends on Long Island, twenty-five miles from New York. Giddings, not aware of his illness, telegraphed to him at New York city, on Tuesday night, to come on and vote. The message fell into the hands of a gentleman who, till now, has been an old line democrat, but he carried out the command to the letter, chartering a steamboat at an expense to himself of one hundred dollars, proceeding that very night down Long Island Sound, and bringing Mott to the city in time to start for Washington the very next morning. And so the staunch veteran, ill as he was, was duly in his seat all day yesterday, voting on every motion till the cause of free Kansas had triumphed.

Correction.

In our notice, yesterday, of the charge made by the pro-slavery organs, that Col. BISSELL had voted for admitting the Mormon community as a State, in the Union, a typographical error occurred. We should have said, "there was no application made by that community for admission as a State, which was acted upon, while Bissell was in Congress." The words in italics were accidentally omitted.

It is only a waste of time, however, to defend Col. Bissell against the dirty slanders started by the pro-slavery organs. The fact is, that the Buconier leaders are desperate. They must do something to call off the attention of the people from the important issue in this election—and the outrages in Kansas, which are part and parcel of that issue. We shall not allow them to succeed. They have got to face the music and answer to the roll-call of their iniquities. They cannot crawl out by tramping up lying charges against better men. But in order to settle at once the charges against Col. Bissell, in reference to the Mormon question, we would simply say that the charges of the pro-slavery democracy, that Bissell voted for polygamy, are both slanderous and false.

Bissell did vote to admit Babbit, but why? "That it was necessary that this delegate should be admitted in order that he might furnish to this House information upon subjects upon which they were about to be called upon to legislate in reference to that Territory." He did not look upon the people of Deseret as alone interested. The people of the United States were likewise interested. "He denied also that the admission of Mr. Babbit would be a "quasi recognition" of the State constitution of Deseret and the laws passed under it." These extracts from the remarks of Mr. Bissell prove beyond contradiction the reason that led him to take the position he did on that question. Never for one moment or in one instance did Bissell advocate the admission of the Mormon community with its institution of Polygamy.

But further will quote from the Congressional Globe of July 20 1850. Upon the resolution to admit Almon W. Babbitt as a delegate from Utah, Col. Bissell offered the following amendment:

"Provided, however, that this House does not intend hereby to recognize as of any validity the so-called constitution of said Territory or any laws purporting to be made by authority of that constitution."

[See Congressional Globe Vol. 21 part 2 page 1422.]

By the side of this place the Democratic falsehood "that Bissell, while a member of Congress, voted in favor of Polygamy in Utah." The Democrats never got up a falsehood more silly or more easily refuted. After such an exposition of one of the most valued lies of the pro-slavery Democracy, what is the use of following them further in their course of falsehood?

Let the pro-slavery organs ruminate a while on the above, before they again charge that Bissell voted to sustain Polygamy!

Democrats! Read!

We call the attention of honest Democrats to the following, which we take from the Illinois Journal. We ask that portion of them who say they are "opposed to slavery in the abstract," to reflect upon the matter—and to see what constitutes abolitionism and treason in the opinion of that Kansas ruffianism, which is upheld by the Douglas Disunion Democracy. We ask them to reflect upon what would be their fate in Kansas, if they dared to claim the right to express there, the opinions they express here.

More Ruffian Violence.

The people of Illinois are likely to feel, more sensibly than they have already done, the sway of black Democracy in Kansas.—All our old citizens well recollect Martin White, of Christian County. He once represented that county in the Legislature of this State—and though we regarded him as a bigoted and strong politician, we ever considered him an honest man.

Mr. White removed to Kansas. He went there as a Democrat; but when he found that no man there was recognized as a Democrat unless he was in favor of the extension of slavery over Kansas, and sustained the outrages of the Missouri, and other southern ruffians; as an honest man, he could no longer continue his connection with that party, and, like a great number of others, who went to Kansas as Democrats—such men as Delahay, Shoemaker and many more known to us—he espoused the party which favored a free State, free speech and a free press.

Some days since, a gathering of free state men in the territory, was interrupted by a gang of the lawless Black Democratic ruffians from the South. Mr. White, being a prominent man endeavored to dissuade them from violence. The free State men only desired peace. They went to Kansas make it their home; they wished to make improvements, and live in quietness. Their object could be accomplished only by peace. They claimed the right, as citizens of the United States, to enjoy their opinions, together with a free expression of their sentiments on public questions which affected their welfare.

The only response to these reasonable remarks—which, if our constitution and laws are worth any thing, were guaranteed to him—was the discharge upon him of a number of rifles and guns. He fell, pierced with seven balls, either of which would have killed him!

Such are the doings of the black Democracy in Kansas, and which are upheld by the Register, and its party here.

It is hardly necessary to comment upon this outrage. It differs from hundreds of others only in the fact that this victim of pro-slavery ruffianism was lately a citizen of own neighborhood, was one of us, and has become a martyr to his Democratic opinions under the bloody reign of the sham Democracy in Kansas.

Hypocrisy.

The pro-slavery journals all over the country are quoting Douglas' late Bill on Kansas affairs. Douglas proclaimed, formerly, that the territory should pass and enforce just such laws as should be of their own choosing and no power should interfere, and for that with all his followers through the country swore by this doctrine, as the only great and just principle in this country for the government of the territories, Douglas has now forthwith faced about, completely ignored all his former assertions, and reports a bill which minutely dictates what shall be the laws of a territory. Immediately his organs are on the scent and are ready to swear, with solemn face, that they never supported such an outrageous doctrine as that of "Squatter Sovereignty."

Finding that the people were not to be

gulled by their specious devices, and that the freemen of the nation were not to be subdued, as Douglas threatened, Douglas, with the pro-slavery democracy in his wake, presented a bill, fair in its face, for the pacification of the troubles in the territory.

But first, it was made sure that by immediate action, under the advice of Stringfellow and other ruffians who were prominent in cruelty to the Free State men in the territory, that Kansas could be made a slave State, First from the fact that a large number of the Free State men had been driven out,—second because just at that moment, all passage up the Missouri river was rendered impassable for men from the North, while all from the South were freely admitted,—third because the bill requiring three months residence in the territory was especially framed to enable the border ruffian from Missouri to look into the territory and secure transient homes,—fourth, because the bill gave administration peculiar power in the premises which would be as strictly used to advance the interests of slavery as it has been in time past.

First be sure of Kansas as a slave State and then attach provisions for its being governed peaceably. Such was the scheme of the pro-slavery party. With such a specious fraud upon the face of this last trick of the Democracy, they now with the utmost hypocrisy, bemoan the fact, that Free State men refuse to support the last Douglas Bill, in fact directly aid the party in putting the seal to the Douglas and Richardson fraud, by making Kansas a slave State. In view of the fraud which was intended in the inception of this Senate Bill of Douglas, the taunts with which his organs are assailing the Anti-Nebraska members for not putting the yoke of Slavery upon the freemen of Kansas, are both silly and contemptible.—The pro-slavery organ tells its readers to give this Douglas bill to their neighbors to read. We say when you do read, remember the palpable dishonesty with which it is tainted.

DAILY ADVERTISER.

JULY 19, 1856

For What went he Out?

CHICAGO, Tuesday, July 15, 1856.

The Tribune has advices from Leavenworth to the 11th ult. Gen. Persifer F. Smith had arrived there. A deputation of citizens waited upon him, asking protection of their lives and property against armed marauders from the South on the different river towns. He replied that he had no authority; that the armed bands were regularly enrolled militia, acting under the color of the law; and that there was no redress except by civil law.

Gen. Persifer: F. Smith has reached Kansas, and has taken the command in chief of all the forces there.—His mission is one of blood, of further persecution, and of implicit and entire partisanship, on the side of the Border Ruffians. Col. Sumner did not submit himself to Pierce's base uses with sufficient pliability. He drove off marauders who were devastating the country, and slaying the inhabitants, without stopping to enquire whether they might not be pro-slavery men. He is therefore required to surrender the chief command to Gen. Smith, who will see to it, that the largest liberty is extended to the Bufords and Atchisons of this most cruel warfare, and that the rigor of discipline, and the fat of martial law, shall be applied to all Free State men, against whom any pretext may be furnished, upon which to arrest them. Such are the tender mercies of Pierce, into whose rotten embrace, the Republicans of the Free States have been graciously invited to throw themselves. Kansas to be free, and to be made free by five Commissioners to be appointed by Franklin Pierce! Notable scheme! Here you have one of

Frank Pierce's "Commissioners," in the person of a General of the United States army, who cannot prevent murder, robbery, arson, and false arrests, committed in the day-time, and every day, because, forsooth, the "troops by which they are committed, are "regularly-enrolled" as auxiliaries of the United States forces, for the laudable object of establishing peace in Kansas. These hell-hounds are turned loose upon your brothers and sisters, freemen of Michigan, and when, with uplifted hands, and streaming eyes, they implore succor, while they are ready to perish, they are told that succor cannot be granted, because the persecutors, and the deliverers, are allied together, by a compact, offensive and defensive. The military arm of the Government of the United States, as its power is now wielded by Franklin Pierce, Caleb Cushing and Jefferson Davis, is strong enough to break up a meeting of freemen, peaceably and lawfully assembled.—Strong enough to capture prisoners, and to drive away Free State men, but is not strong enough to escort in safety for fifty miles, the widow and fatherless children of a murdered freeman. Yet this same Pierce is allowed to crawl on—to crawl did we say?—nay, rather to brawl and stagger, and rave in maudlin rage, thro' Halls where once a Jefferson, an Adams, and a Jackson sat in strength, and wisdom, and dignity.

The Senate—the Senate, freemen of Michigan—call upon you to come forward, and by your signatures to petition to the House of Representatives, to ask that body to endorse their recommendation of this same Franklin Pierce, as a fit and proper person to select five Commissioners, who shall hold in their hands power over the admission of Kansas, to control her destinies for freedom or Slavery.

Where are the men who will trust him? Is it you, Democrat, who have been forced from the party by his very rascality? Is it you, conservative Whig? Is it you, Free Soller? Is it you, Republican? If you hesitate, go ask the family and neighbors of Browne and Gay, now rotting in unavenged blood, what this man has done, and what his servants, agents, attorneys and tools have done, to vindicate the laws ruthlessly violated by their death. William Gay was his officer, and held his Commission—he fell by the pistol of one of these "regularly-enrolled" coadjutors of Pierce.—What has been done for his conviction?

The very sky lowers with the swift and bitter vengeance which the people mean to launch at these miscreants in November next.

Buffalo Commercial Advertiser.

Saturday Evening, July 19, 1856.

The N. Y. Independent, as we have already stated, has become a party-political as well as a party-religious paper. The following extract will show with what spirit it enters upon its new work:

"The Kansas report literally rained down a shower of stubborn facts, falling upon the pates of those redoubtable champions like hail, or like the raking fire of a Paixhan battery. Cincinnati filibustering democracy reeled and staggered under the storm like a drunken man. What little there was left of character for political integrity, and statesman honesty, in the present incumbent of Presidential honors and dignity, suddenly vanished, and Franklin Pierce, the representative of slave-extension and propagandism, stood up to receive his condemnation at the hands of an outraged nation. Conservative Fillmoreism was in a horrible fix—a sort of political and moral bewilderment. Pleased out of a measure at the annihilation of the Cincinnati Democracy, and fearful of offending their pro-slavery allies, their high-strung nerves played requiems most mournfully, and jigs with lively furor in a strange medley. While the free Kansas and Fremont men fixed their countenances and hearts with a firmer determination to meet the impending crisis which is to decide our national perpetuity."

The Daily Democrat.

ROCHESTER, N. Y.

SATURDAY MORNING, JULY 19, 1856.

The Kansas Bill.

The correspondent of the Journal of Commerce writes that the Republicans of the House will amend the Senate's Kansas bill by adding to Mr. DUNN's amendment, which restores the Missouri Compromise, and thus throw upon the Buchanan party the responsibility of the failure of any movement for the adjustment of the Kansas troubles. This amendment gives one year for the removal of Slaves from the Territory.—"Of course," says the writer, "the Senate will refuse to concur, and the session will terminate leaving Kansas in its present condition." It is also stated on the same authority, that no appropriations will be made for the Territorial Government of Kansas. This is right. A despotism exists there worse than any other within the range of civilization, and it is just that the Representatives of the people should refuse to furnish funds for perpetuating it. If PIERCE cannot be checked in any other way, let "the supplies" be refused.

It is supposed the session will last about a month longer.



NEW HAVEN:

SATURDAY, JULY 19, 1856.

Correspondence of the Palladium.

From Our Kansas Colony—The Ruffian Thieves—Journey Back to Waubensee—A Free State Man Hung and Thrown Into a Well—Another Horrid Butchery—Missouri Free State Men—Awful State of the Territory—Attack on Capt. Walker's House—Shannon's Drunkenness—Sleep and Star Gazing—Storms—For Fremont.

WAUBENSEE, K. T., July 2, 1856.

MISSOURI EDITORS:—We arrived home on Saturday night, after an absence of three weeks, with our engine and mill all safe. We left Kansas City and drove through Westport, the hot-bed of the late infamous outrages, and found all things quiet in a region where ten days before no Free State man was safe in passing. The potency of U. S. rifles, in the hands of U. S. Troops, had rendered the inhabitants very civil. The charge is apparent in the fact that while at tea table in Kansas City, a few days before, there were four men who had been robbed of their teams within a week, some of whom found them afterwards in possession of citizens of Westport. These robberies were generally committed by the Southern troops under Buford. I saw one of them in Kansas exhibiting a fine watch, which he boasted of having "pressed," up in the Territory.

Passing through Westport, our "big wheels" made in New Haven, to carry the boiler, attracted considerable attention, especially in connection with the smoke pipe on the next wagon, and we heard the remark from persons on the road, "there goes a smashing big cannon." We passed the camp of Buford's men a little out of Westport, but they treated us quite civilly, or rather did not interfere with us. Our train consisted of seven wagons, four of which were chiefly loaded with the machinery, one owned by an old settler who came down after provisions, one a teamster who had been robbed and recovered his team traveling in

our company, and the other a family, consisting of a man, wife and four daughters, whom we met at the boarding house, and who came up to Kansas with us and are now here. They are from Ohio and will be a decided acquisition. We had a fine opportunity on our journey up to notice again the character of the country, and we were agreed that it looked more than ever attractive. Our friends from Ohio were constantly exclaiming, "What a beautiful country."

For a considerable distance through the Shawnee Reserve, the road is skirted upon either side with innumerable wild plum trees and no marks of "curculio" upon them. Crab apples were also exceedingly abundant, some of the trees being 20 feet high, and all full of fruit, while from their tops, stretching from one to the other, grapevines were hanging in beautiful festoons. The odor from their blossoms filling the air with a delightful perfume, gave earnest of the rich fruit in course of preparation for the harvest season. These fruits, we are informed, are very fine, as are also the strawberries, immense fields of which we passed through, after the season. Our pleasure of course was found in the gratifying evidences of the adaptation of the country to the growth of these fine fruits.

On our first day out we passed in sight of several encampments of U. S. troops, in the vicinity of recent outbreaks. Near one of them we stopped for water, and while refreshing ourselves at the well of the old "Baptist Mission," now abandoned—one of the soldiers informed us that a Free State man was hung by ruffians from one of the adjoining trees, a few days before, and his body thrown into the well from which we were drinking. He pointed to his clothes strewed about, and a little distance off, to his grave,—his body having been taken from the well and buried. His name was not known. We also passed several other localities that have been recently made memorable by sad and fearful tragedies. A little off from our route a young man, the son of a widow, and her chief dependence, not 20 years old, was stopped by some of these infamous Buford men and interrogated. He acknowledged himself a friend of the Free State movement, but said being under age he took no active part in the matter. He was asked if he had any arms, to which he replied, none that belonged to him, and only a single pistol, the property of another person, which he had taken to get repaired. He was ordered to give it up but refused on the ground that it was not his. The owner being in hearing and fearing for the young man's safety, told him to surrender it, which he did. They then suffered him to drive off, but one of the company not being fully satisfied, drew his rifle and shot him dead. This occurrence fired a few young men in Lawrence with a spirit of vengeance, and they proceeded to the spot, met two persons whom they did not know—who in fact were not connected with the affair, except in sympathy, being identified with the Southern invaders. Words passed, shots were exchanged, and one of the Lawrence boys was shot dead, a young man with whom I became well acquainted in Lawrence. One of our men went into this neighborhood to do an errand for a member of the company, and he reported a very intense feeling among the settlers, and especially the FREE STATE MEN FROM MISSOURI. He found quite a number of that class and their indignation on account of the invasion of these Southern outlaws was irrepressible. They seemed eager for a fight—they had witnessed the atrocities, and feeling that justice required their expulsion or their death, and despairing of any effective measures of redress from the government, they were anxious to "go at them" and drive them to the kennels from whence they came.

We have made the acquaintance of quite a number of true men from Missouri and they are among our most reliable settlers, but it is often difficult for them to hold back, and it is not strange. They are here in good faith with their families,—they have lived in a Slave State, and seen the workings of the system and become sick of it.—They know it is bad in all its aspects and come here to get rid of it, and add their influence to protect these broad prairies from its withering curse. When they see men without principle—mere outlaws—coming in for the sole purpose of forcing the cursed system upon actual settlers at the point of the bayonet, is it to be expected they will look with unmixed forbearance forever? Of one thing you may be assured, whenever the contest does come, if come it must, Missouri will be divided against herself.

A single fact more. There is a little town called Franklin about four miles east from Lawrence, where pro-slavery sentiments are in the ascendant. Among the unscrupulous and most accendant. Among the enemies of the Free State movement there is a German residing there, by the name of Peshmaker. He went to Kansas soon after the

Buford men arrived, and induced a number of them to camp at Franklin. He also figured conspicuously at the siege and sacking of Lawrence, and was regarded as one of the worst of the leading depredators in the territory. A few days before we passed through the town, a number of Buford men were assembled with a loaded cannon, and arrangements for destroying an obnoxious store, and doing other mischief. A few Free State men, not exceeding ten also appeared, and when Peshmaker opened his door they fired and wounded him mortally. He lived five days. No other persons were killed, although the pro-slavery papers, have made the most extravagant representations on the subject. There is no doubt this Peshmaker has been a very bad man, and it is claimed in justification for shooting him, that he and his accomplices were meditating a general onslaught upon the Free State party that night. We visited the house; the family were gone, and yet everything appeared the same as when they left. We saw several bullet holes, some where the balls passed through the bed and pillow where the children were sleeping, and some that perforated eight one inch boards, giving very satisfactory evidence of the immense power of "Sharp's Rifles." It was a sad picture, and a melancholy illustration of the terrible fruits of civil war; may they soon have an end, and peace with her thousand blessings reign supreme over the land.

We again called at the residence of Capt. Walker on our return, and found his heroic wife at her post. The house was unoccupied when we passed it going down, as she had been advised to flee for her personal safety. She has with her five young children, and only sees her husband occasionally, as he is still in peril although he has done nothing but defend his own house, and aid in defending others. Mrs. Walker informed us that the night the house was surrounded by the Buford men, 12 persons had been posted by Capt. W. to aid in his defence, and a few others stationed out—who were secured by those outside and brought in, had been frequently at her house and had been nursed by her in sickness. THEY ALSO DISCOVERED THE SON OF GOVERNOR SHANNON IN THE COMPANY. They took as spoils, one live horse and one dead one, two U. S. rifles, several pistols, one coat tail with a bottle of whiskey in it, &c.

Mrs. Walker stated that she had a call the next day from Gov. Shannon, who enquired for her husband, but she of course could give no information about him, and it was rather queer that the inquiry should be made. Under most circumstances, it would be surprising that the Chief Executive functionary should be out on such business, but Mrs. W. stated that he was so badly intoxicated, that it was with great difficulty he could keep upon his horse. There were many other incidents of interest that occurred during our journey, but we must close this communication with a brief reference to one feature in our "camping out" at night. As our wagons were loaded, we of course could not "bunk" in them, except to a limited extent. Two of them were so loaded that they could be used, one by the family with us, and the other by two men. The rest of us, were of course obliged to make our beds upon the open prairie, and judging from my own experience it was no hardship.

There is certainly something peculiar in the atmosphere in this country, for while we slept upon the ground and found our blankets and the hair upon our heads wet with dew, we experienced no inconveniences from the exposure; in fact we have become so accustomed to these things that exposure to night air is not regarded as at all prejudicial—but such a sleeping apartment—so capacious—so thoroughly ventilated—and such a canopy studded with brilliant, the like of which cannot be found in the bridal chambers of Queens or Princes. Upon one occasion while gazing with delight up into those starry regions in one of the most delightful nights I ever experienced, my valued friend at the College library and his associate at the City Bank came into mind, and I could easily imagine that were they of our company, this opportunity to study their favorite science would be richly employed.

Here, there would be nothing to interfere: they could count the shots made by those heavenly bodies without exciting the apprehensions of the distinguished Mayor of the City, that they were stealing his watermelons, and I think from the peculiar nature of the atmosphere, that more stars can be seen here than from the "old powder house road." At all events, more of the sky's surface can be seen as nothing intervenes to restrict the full vision of what is called the rational horizon, as distinguished from the sensible. As an evidence of a peculiarity in our atmosphere, we have some specimens of "thunder and lightning" unknown to the ancients, and far superior to any you have in Connecticut, yet no more dangerous or destructive. The way that "Heaven's artillery sometimes roars out its glorious peals, clap succeeding

clap with the rapidity of the lightning flashes, and the clear reverberations of the sharpest cannon, can only be conceived of, by imagining ten thousand seventy four guns, well charged and managed by skillful and expert gunners firing a *feu de joie*. Such demonstrations of course must clear the atmosphere, and we hope in the coming Presidential campaign, that we may have a sufficiency of moral, intellectual and argumentative thunder and lightning to purify the political atmosphere of the pestilential miasma with which it is impregnated—may place "FREEMONT" in the Chair—scatter to the winds the cabalistic dogmas of modern democracy, and establish upon a permanent basis, the great principles upon which our Republic was originally founded, FREE SPEECH, FREE PRESS, AND FREE MEN.

The Republican.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.
SATURDAY MORNING, JULY 19, 1856.

From Washington.

The president declines to accede to the demand of the governor of California for U. S. troops to put down the revolution of the people there. He says the legislature should be first called together. Mr. Pierce had no such hesitation in interfering in Kansas in behalf of rascality and ruffianism. There are private advices that the vigilance committee of California was to close up its labors and dissolve before this time. This would end all conflict with the nominal legal authorities.

In the House, on Thursday, resolutions of inquiry about the recent outrages in Kansas and piracy on the Missouri river were offered, but objection being made, they were refused a reading and withdrawn.

The committee on territories have two bills framed, and will present them to the House in a few days. One provides for abolishing the bogus legislature and laws of Kansas, and the other for further organizing the territory under the free state Kansas bill, by providing for another census and another vote of the people of Kansas on the Topeka constitution. There is no doubt, in the estimation of those with whom I have conversed, and who are just from Kansas, that if the bill will properly provide against invasion the majority of the settlers will re-adopt that constitution.—*N. Y. Tribune.*

Fremont Rallying Song.

Written for the Young Men's Fremont Club of Springfield.

AIR—Vive La Compagnie.

The people are rising for Freedom and Right—
Fremont's the man for the Free—
The ruffians of slavery are trembling with fright—
Fremont's the man for the Free.
Ho! Fremont and Freedom! Fremont's the man!
Fremont and Freedom! Fremont's the man!
Fremont's the man! Fremont's the man!
Fremont's the man for the Free.

In Kansas the sway of the ruffians shall cease—
Fremont's the man for the Free!
And o'er our broad land shall be justice and peace—
Fremont's the man for the Free!
Ho! Fremont and Freedom! etc.

Let Buclanchers quarrel for Cuba and slaves—
Fremont's the man for the Free.
We'll stand for the soil where our starred banner waves—
Fremont's the man for the Free!
Ho! Fremont and Freedom! etc.

Restore the old landmarks the fathers have set—
Fremont's the man for the Free.
We will not be robbed, nor the robbers forget—
Fremont's the man for the Free!
Ho! Fremont and Freedom! etc.

When rally, boys, rally for justice and right—
Fremont's the man for the Free!
With firmness and courage we're sure of the fight—
Fremont's the man for the Free!
Ho! Fremont and Freedom, etc. J. E. B.

Notes on Kansas.

One of the Connecticut company, just from their settlement, happily denies the reported killing of young Lines by a Wyandott Indian. The company, he says, is in excellent health and spirits, beautifully located and well satisfied, having some 400 acres under cultivation and about erecting their saw mill. The population now numbers over 100. Like all other accounts, he says that Shannon and Woodson his secretary are drunk, alternately, all the time, while the U. S. marshal, who leads the pro-slavery party, is an ignorant, worthless fellow. Still he thinks the free state men will ultimately triumph, as the bona fide settlers are almost unanimous for freedom; indeed all the free state men are actual settlers, while the pro-slavery men are the marauders who are enlisted into the service of the United States and territorial authorities, to oppress and persecute the actual inhabitants.

Where is Free America?

To the Editor of the *Republican*:

CLYDE, WAYNE CO., N. Y., July 14.

The Boston Olive Branch published not long since a beautiful tale entitled, "A few chapters in the Life of an Englishman." It has been extensively copied by the country press, and contains the following curious sentiment:—"Oh no, merrie England is not free America"—'tis a long way off, across the Atlantic's roar." Will the author inform us where free America is located? Once we should have thought that the United States was referred to, but no one acquainted with our history for the past few years, could make such an error in speaking of this country. We think that it must be some far off land, located nearer "sundown" than this. Since Franklin Pierce has taken the helm of state, freedom of speech and of the press has died out in some parts of our country, and there ruffianism has triumphed. In proof of this let us refer to the history of Kansas.

On the 14th of April, 1855, the press of the Luminary, belonging to George S. Parks and W. J. Patterson of Parkville, Mo., was thrown into the Missouri river, and the editor's life was threatened by the mob. This was done because Mr Parks had advised the citizens of Missouri to stay at home on election days and let the people of Kansas do their own voting. Is this free America?

On Sunday, the 20th of May, 1855, a party of Missourians from Platte county, armed with bowie knives and revolvers, entered the American Hotel at Kansas City, Mo., and their leader (E. M. McGee) ordered all Yankees to leave the town within an hour, threatening, if they refused to do so, to tear down the building. After this they attacked a young man in front of the post-office, (Frederick Buckridge now of Camden Town, England), and beat him severely with clubs. Canes have since been brought into use by the chivalry. He was taken to his boarding-house, and finally recovered after enduring much pain from the wounds received. We were then at the American Hotel, and believe that those ruffians would have returned to execute their threat, had they not been informed that the Yankees were prepared to receive them. Now of what crime was Mr Buckridge guilty? None. McGee thought he was in some way connected with the New England Emigrant Aid society; and some of the guests in the American were supposed to be anti-slavery men because they were once residents of a free state. This is the sum total of their crime. Is this free America?

One day last fall, when Gov. Reeder was at this same American Hotel, several ruffians entered the office and asked S. W. Eldridge (formerly of Southampton, Mass.) if he was a free soiler. Mr Eldridge refused to give an account of his political creed, whereupon they threatened him some and left. One of these men was G.orge W. Withers, editor of the Enterprise, a pro-slavery sheet published in Richfield, Mo. Withers went home angry, and published the following editorial:—

"GOVERNOR REEDER AND THE ABOLITION HOTEL AT KANSAS CITY.

"On the afternoon of Monday, the 1st inst. we stopped at the American Hotel in Kansas city, where we met with the notorious person whose name heads this article. This hotel is owned by the Emigrant Aid society, and is, we are satisfied, kept by the most contemptible abolitionist to be found anywhere. Now Kansas city is the point to which all the miserable hirelings of the abolition party are marked and shipped. And that Jackson county will be still and let their town be over-run by such miserable trash, is astonishing to us. We were told by several pro-slavery citizens of Kansas city, that nine tenths of its inhabitants were either abolitionists or free soilers. If our Jackson county friends want any help, all they have to do is to inform their friends in Clay, and they will be glad to help their neighbors to drive from their midst all such men as con. end against the laws of their country, and who belong to the 'higher law' party."

Again, we ask, is this free America? Rev F. Starr (formerly of Rochester, N. Y.) was driven away from Weston, Mo., because he was suspected of being an anti-slavery man.—Rev Mr Butler was taken prisoner at Archison, Kansas, by a mob led by Kelley, the postmaster of that town and one of the editors of the Squatter Sovereign, taken to the Missouri river, fastened to a log, and set afloat down the stream. He has since been tarred and feathered by the same company. Rev Mr Snyder has been tarred and feathered at Leavenworth, Kansas. A stranger was whipped at Parkville, Mo., last summer, for the crime of having a copy of the N-w York Tribune in one pocket and a St. Louis Democrat in the other. Rev William C. Clarke of New Hampshire was severely beaten while on board of the Polar Star, coming down the Missouri river, in September last, then put on shore at a wood yard, and left to die. He disappointed his enemies, however, and now lives to tell the horrid

tal. R. P. Brown was murdered at Easton, Kansas, on the 15th of January, 1856, and soon after Dow and Barber were sacrificed upon the blood-stained altar of a false democracy. The offices of the Territorial Registrar at Leavenworth, Herald of Freedom and the Free State at Lawrence have been destroyed by a mob, composed in part of government officials, appointed and kept in office by Franklin Pierce. Men have thus been pushed for loving liberty in the land that was once called "free America."

It is needless to speak of the sacking of Lawrence and Ossawatimie, or of the conduct of that notorious crunkard, Wilson Shannon, the bosom friend and companion of such outcasts as Stringfellow, Atchison and Oliver. The people of the free states are acquainted with the facts, and if there is no free America now, we trust that there will be, from and after the 4th day of next March. The election of Fremont and Dayton, with the entire republican ticket in the free states, will undoubtedly result in the establishment of more free states and in the decrease of ruffianism in the slave states.

If such be the case, what northern man can vote for either Buchanan or Fillmore? S. H. C.

The Toombs Bill and its Backers.

Great outcry has been raised by the Buchaneer press because the friends of free Kansas do not advocate the passage of the Senate bill "for the pacification of Kansas." Let us look into the history of this bill a moment, or, rather, let us look at the preceding portions of a scheme of which this forms a part. The fathers of this bill were the fathers of that great national wrong, the abrogation of the Missouri Compromise. Under the specious pretext of "squatter sovereignty," that measure was carried through by the very men, North and South, who now advocate the Toombs bill. This initiative measure was effected for the special purpose, on the part of the South, of letting slavery into Kansas, and the whole history of that territory since proves the fact. The border ruffians declare that that was what the bill meant, as explained to them by Atchison, Stringfellow & Co. Well, Northern settlers pressed into the territory, and, as was natural, largely preponderated over those from the South. So, when it came to voting, the hirelings of the slave interest went over in armies, drove the legal voters from the ballot-boxes, elected their legislature, and made laws which disfranchised the majority of the real residents in the territory. Thus wronged, disfranchised, and without a legitimate government, the people met in convention, formed a state constitution, elected state officers, and sent representatives to the two branches of Congress, who presented the application of the new state for admission into the Union. These are the plain facts, briefly stated.

In the meantime, the free state settlers are wronged by repeated invasions, and not a hand is raised to save them. The border ruffians are backed by the general government, and such outrages are inflicted upon unoffending men as were never before heard of in this country. Pierce, Douglas and Toombs cheer on the bloodhounds, while towns are sacked and burned, innocent men murdered, and those who have nobly dared to act in accordance with the will of the majority, and in maintenance of their rights, are imprisoned on a charge of treason. All this has gone along without a protest on the part of those who began with a determination to make Kansas a slave state.

At last, residence in the territory became intolerable to free state men. Their leaders refugees or prisoners, their property plundered, their lives in danger, their prosperity and prospects overthrown, many left their new homes for the East, or were driven out by the invaders, while parties who were going peacefully to their succor were driven back, and not allowed to land on the public soil.

Thus far the schemes of Pierce, Douglas and Toombs had prospered. The application of Kansas for admission as a free state was spurned, though the applicants had justice and precedent in their favor. This admission would have "pacified" Kansas, but not in a way which its persecutors desired. They wanted no pacification without slavery. At last, it was found that the free state force of the territory was sufficiently reduced to admit of a new step. The country demanded something, and the interests of the party demanded more. A bill must be introduced, Kansas having been destroyed or despoiled, for its "pacification," and who should introduce it but

Douglas and Toombs, the sworn enemies of the free state cause from the first! Does any one for a moment suppose that these men, who have labored consistently for the inhuman end they proposed to accomplish, would introduce a bill which they had the slightest idea would make Kansas a free state? Is it supposable that the whole slave interest in Congress would rally to carry this bill through, if it were not for the very purpose of making Kansas a slave state? What does the South work for? What is our issue with them, unless it be upon this very matter of extending slavery into Kansas? It is vain to talk of fairness in the terms of the bill. There was the same fairness of terms connected with the Nebraska-Kansas bill, but what has fairness of terms availed? So long as President Pierce commands the army of the United States, and backs the Missouri rabble, what fairness will there be in carrying out the terms of the bill?

It is simply brazen-faced shamelessness on the part of Northern democratic papers to say that, because free state men in Congress and out of it oppose this bill, they are, for political purposes, opposed to peace in Kansas. We have capital enough for political purposes without any of this sort. What we labor and pray for is free Kansas. What we should, of all things, desire to see, is the admission of Kansas as a free state. We ask this for right and justice. We ask this for humanity. We ask this for a disgraced country. We ask it for the cause of Christian progress. We ask it in the name of the poor, outraged and despoiled emigrants from our own soil and state. We ask it for the sake of securing a vast domain from the curse of slavery, and we ask it in the name of Heaven whose benign rule has been defied through all this terrible struggle by those who rule us. Will you give us this? No? Then do not ask us to mingle in your foul intrigues. Do not blame us for not helping the consummation of your foul ends. Above all let no Northern lip be foul itself with reproof of those who decline to follow the path of those who despoiled their kindred, and who only seek to compass the eternal ruin of their cause.

The Poor Innocents!

The northern wing of the democratic party is now a fitting subject for the most profound commiseration. The friends (by a baseless assumption, of course,) of free soil and free Kansas, are down upon the friends of the administration and the friends of Mr Buchanan, as the opponents of freedom. They pretend to back up their charges by attributing to them all the outrages in Kansas, by which it is intended to force slavery upon that territory; the abrogation of the Missouri Compromise, by which freedom and freemen were cheated out of their birthright; a sympathy of feeling and concert of action with the slave power of the country—the power that smites down a senator in his seat, and backs up the killers of Irish waiters, and keeps an armed rabble in Kansas; the endorsement of filibustering schemes against Cuba for the benefit of slavery; and the approval of that machinery by which the national administration devotes its immense and most beneficent patronage, to aid the South in its plans for putting down northern fanaticism. Now this is all very wrong. We trust the people—the dear people—in their "sober second thought," will see that justice is done to the democratic party.

Just look at it for a moment! The northern democrats do not approve the outrages in Kansas. We hope we shall not be obliged to repeat this statement. They do not approve of these outrages: they only support the perpetrators of them. Besides, there haven't been any outrages, to speak of. The black republican papers have told any quantity of lies about them. To be sure, they seem to be backed up by the report of the Kansas commission, but the members, with the exception of Mr Oliver, have all perjured themselves, and given issue to a mendacious electioneering document. Mr Oliver knows best about the whole affair. He lives close by Kansas; he was over there when it was pretended there was a little extra voting; and he don't lay any stress on these stories at all. It looks now as if the rubbing out of the Missouri Compromise line was working badly, but wait awhile, before you condemn. The men who cudgel senators

and kill waiters are alone responsible for their acts. The democrats do not approve of those acts: they only strive to protect the actors. They show a broad charity to all who labor and vote with them for securing victory to Buchanan and freedom. Just think! 'Buchanan and freedom!' That's the true watchword for northern democrats. It would not do at the South, but so long as we all labor for the same man and the same principles, let us not quarrel over words.

The truth is that, although, through the efforts of the black republicans, the northern democrats are slightly under the cloud, they will ultimately emerge, with a very respectable sized crown of glory on their heads. Atchison, very likely, will take to preaching as soon as he gets fairly through looking after the interests of freedom in Kansas. Stringfellow will doubtless be voted a patriot in open town meeting. Shannon will join the temperance society. Sheriff Jones' spine will be done up as a 'dry preparation,' and exhibited as an instance of a remarkable cure of a fatal injury, under the influence of enthusiasm in the cause of freedom. Brooks, rising triumphantly from the heaps of obloquy thrown upon him, will doubtless be invited to become the superintendent of the new free schools in Charleston. Herbert will be crowned with honor for mitigating the evils of emigration. It will be found, in the end, that President Pierce has been engaged in a very deep plot for making Kansas a free state. If he should happen to fail in this scheme, his heart is pure and his hands unstained. though his judgment may be slightly compromised. As for Douglas, he is determined, notwithstanding all the slanders against him, to vindicate his claim to the championship of freedom, having just introduced a bill for the special purpose of making Kansas a free state. Time will take care of Douglas, if brandy spares him and the general government does its duty. Toombs will manumit his slaves, and give them homes in free Kansas, as soon as he and the democratic party succeed in their efforts to shut slavery out of it. Buchanan says that he has no opinions or principles outside of the Cincinnati platform, so enthusiastically endorsed by the slaveholders, but just place him in the presidential chair, and see!

Oh! this fog will all clear away in the end, and if people would only be sensible enough to refrain from acting upon impulse, and sit down calmly and think it over, and do as we tell them to do, it would all come out right, and we should know who the true friends of freedom are. For the present, we must let the black republican papers lie on. It is really of no use to deny their statements. Content with the prospects of the democracy of this Union, and with our own prospects if they should happen to succeed in the coming election, we can afford to wait for the vindication of our motives, and such other considerations as we may secure.

The Atlas.

SATURDAY MORNING, JULY 19, 1856.

Kansas Correspondence of the Atlas.
TOPEKA, July 6, 1856.

Editor of the Atlas: Another party of emigrants was stopped at Leavenworth, yesterday, and sent down river. The leader of the party jumped overboard and swam ashore, and is now at Lawrence. This is the third party that has been sent back by the mob within three weeks. The troops have dispersed the free State Legislature within one week.

I have not sent on any account of these last law and order performances. The parties can tell their own tales best. I presume the North are passing resolutions ere this. Not a man arrived, as was told, in season to protect the people of Kansas if the mob should attack them on the 4th of July. Not a State has in its sovereign capacity deemed the outrage to her citizens of sufficient importance to demand satisfaction. The people here are discouraged. There is a division of opinion among the men who question whether policy is always to compromise, or whether to act with decision, determination, and energy, as

fatal. R. P. Brown was murdered at Esston, Kansas, on the 18th of January, 1856, and soon after Dow and Barber were sacrificed upon the blood-stained altar of a false democracy. The offices of the Territorial Registrar at Leavenworth, Herald of Freedom and the Free State at Lawrence have been destroyed by a mob, composed in part of government officials, appointed and kept in office by Franklin Pierce. Men have thus been punished for loving liberty in the land that was once called "free America."

It is needless to speak of the sacking of Lawrence and Osawatimie, or of the conduct of that notorious drunkard, Wilson Shannon, the bosom friend and companion of such outcasts as Stringfellow, Atchison and Oliver. The people of the free states are acquainted with the facts, and if there is no free America now, we trust that there will be, from and after the 4th day of next March. The election of Fremont and Dayton with the entire republican ticket in the free states, will undoubtedly result in the establishment of more free states and in the decrease of ruffianism in the slave states.

If such be the case, what northern man can vote for either Buchanan or Fillmore? S. H. C.

The Toombs Bill and its Backers.

Great outcry has been raised by the Buchanan press because the friends of free Kansas do not advocate the passage of the Senate bill "for the pacification of Kansas." Let us look into the history of this bill a moment, or, rather, let us look at the preceding portions of a scheme of which this forms a part. The fathers of this bill were the fathers of that great national wrong, the abrogation of the Missouri Compromise. Under the specious pretext of "squatter sovereignty," that measure was carried through by the very men, North and South, who now advocate the Toombs bill. This initiative measure was effected for the special purpose, on the part of the South, of letting slavery into Kansas, and the whole history of that territory since proves the fact. The border ruffians declare that that was what the bill meant, as explained to them by Atchison, Stringfellow & Co. Well, Northern settlers pressed into the territory, and, as was natural, largely preponderated over those from the South. So, when it came to voting, the hirelings of the slave interest went over in armies, drove the legal voters from the ballot-boxes, elected their legislature, and made laws which disfranchised the majority of the real residents in the territory. Thus wronged, disfranchised, and without a legitimate government, the people met in convention, formed a state constitution, elected state officers, and sent representatives to the two branches of Congress, who presented the application of the new state for admission into the Union. These are the plain facts, briefly stated.

In the meantime, the free state settlers are wronged by repeated invasions, and not a hand is raised to save them. The border ruffians are backed by the general government, and such outrages are inflicted upon unoffending men as were never before heard of in this country. Pierce, Douglas and Toombs cheer on the bloodhounds, while towns are sacked and burned, innocent men murdered, and those who have nobly dared to act in accordance with the will of the majority, and in maintenance of their rights, are imprisoned on a charge of treason. All this has gone along without a protest on the part of those who began with a determination to make Kansas a slave state.

At last, residence in the territory became intolerable to free state men. Their leaders refugees or prisoners, their property plundered, their lives in danger, their prosperity and prospects overthrown, many left their new homes for the East, or were driven out by the invaders, while parties who were going peaceably to their succor were driven back, and not allowed to land on the public soil.

Thus far the schemes of Pierce, Douglas and Toombs had prospered. The application of Kansas for admission as a free state was scouted, though the applicants had justice and precedent in their favor. This admission would have "pacified" Kansas, but not in a way which its persecutors desired. They wanted no pacification without slavery. At last, it was found that the free state forces of the territory was sufficiently reduced to admit of a new step. The country demanded something, and the interests of the party demanded more. A bill must be introduced, Kansas having been destroyed or despoiled, for its "pacification," and who should introduce it but

Douglas and Toombs, the sworn enemies of the free state cause from the first! Does any one for a moment suppose that these men, who have labored consistently for the inhuman end they proposed to accomplish, would introduce a bill which they had the slightest idea would make Kansas a free state? Is it supposable that the whole slave interest in Congress would rally to carry this bill through, if it were not for the very purpose of making Kansas a slave state? What does the South work for? What is our issue with them, unless it be upon this very matter of extending slavery into Kansas? It is vain to talk of fairness in the terms of the bill. There was the same fairness of terms connected with the Nebraska-Kansas bill, but what has fairness of terms availed? So long as President Pierce commands the army of the United States, and backs the Missouri rabble, what fairness will there be in carrying out the terms of the bill?

It is simply brazen-faced shamelessness on the part of Northern democratic papers to say that, because free state men in Congress and out of it oppose this bill, they are, for political purposes, opposed to peace in Kansas. We have capital enough for political purposes without any of this sort. What we labor and pray for is free Kansas. What we should, of all things, desire to see, is the admission of Kansas as a free state. We ask this for right and justice. We ask this for humanity. We ask this for a disgraced country. We ask it for the cause of Christian progress. We ask it in the name of the poor, outraged and despoiled emigrants from our own soil and state. We ask it for the sake of securing a vast domain from the curse of slavery, and we ask it in the name of Heaven whose benign rule has been defied through all this terrible struggle by those who rule us. Will you give us this? No? Then do not ask us to mingle in your foul intrigues. Do not blame us for not helping the consummation of your foul ends. Above all let no Northern lip be foul with reproof of those who decline to follow the path of those who despoiled their kindred, and who only seek to compass the eternal ruin of their cause.

The Poor Innocents!

The northern wing of the democratic party is now a fitting subject for the most profound commiseration. The friends (by a baseless assumption, of course,) of free soil and free Kansas, are down upon the friends of the administration and the friends of Mr Buchanan, as the opponents of freedom. They pretend to back up their charges by attributing to them all the outrages in Kansas, by which it is intended to force slavery upon that territory; the abrogation of the Missouri Compromise, by which freedom and freemen were cheated out of their birthright; a sympathy of feeling and concert of action with the slave power of the country—the power that smites down a senator in his seat, and backs up the killers of Irish waiters, and keeps an armed rabble in Kansas; the endorsal of filibustering schemes against Cuba for the benefit of slavery; and the approval of that machinery by which the national administration devotes its immense and most beneficent patronage, to aid the South in its plans for putting down northern fanaticism. Now this is all very wrong. We trust the people—the dear people—in their 'sober second thought,' will see that justice is done to the democratic party.

Just look at it for a moment! The northern democrats do not approve the outrages in Kansas. We hope we shall not be obliged to repeat this statement. They do not approve of these outrages: they only support the perpetrators of them. Besides, there hav'nt been any outrages, to speak of. The black republican papers have told any quantity of lies about them. To be sure, they seem to be backed up by the report of the Kansas commission, but the members, with the exception of Mr Oliver, have all perjured themselves, and given issue to mendacious electioneering document. Mr Oliver knows best about the whole affair. He lives close by Kansas; he was over there when it was pretended there was a little extra voting; and he don't lay any stress on these stories at all. It looks now as if the rubbing out of the Missouri Compromise line was working badly, but wait awhile, before you condemn. The men who cudgel senators

and kill waiters are alone responsible for their acts. The democrats do not approve of those acts: they only strive to protect the actors. They show a broad charity to all who labor and vote with them for securing victory to Buchanan and freedom. Just think! 'Buchanan and freedom!' That's the true watchword for northern democrats. It would not do at the South, but so long as we all labor for the same man and the same principles, let us not quarrel over words.

The truth is that, although, through the efforts of the black republicans, the northern democrats are slightly under the cloud, they will ultimately emerge, with a very respectable sized crown of glory on their heads. Atchison, very likely, will take to preaching as soon as he gets fairly through looking after the interests of freedom in Kansas. Stringfellow will doubtless be voted a patriot in open town meeting. Shannon will join the temperance society. Sheriff Jones' spine will be done up as a 'dry preparation,' and exhibited as an instance of a remarkable cure of a fatal injury, under the influence of enthusiasm in the cause of freedom. Brooks, rising triumphantly from the heaps of obloquy thrown upon him, will doubtless be invited to become the superintendent of the new free schools in Charleston. Herbert will be crowned with honor for mitigating the evils of emigration. It will be found, in the end, that President Pierce has been engaged in a very deep plot for making Kansas a free state. If he should happen to fail in this scheme, his heart is pure and his hands unstained. though his judgment may be slightly compromised. As for Douglas, he is determined, notwithstanding all the slanders against him, to vindicate his claim to the championship of freedom, having just introduced a bill for the special purpose of making Kansas a free state. Time will take care of Douglas, if brandy spares him and the general government does its duty. Toombs will manumit his slaves, and give them homes in free Kansas, as soon as he and the democratic party succeed in their efforts to shut slavery out of it. Buchanan says that he has no opinions or principles outside of the Cincinnati platform, so enthusiastically endorsed by the slaveholders, but just place him in the presidential chair, and see!

Oh! this fog will all clear away in the end, and if people would only be sensible enough to refrain from acting upon impulse, and sit down calmly and think it over, and do as we tell them to do, it would all come out right, and we should know who the true friends of freedom are. For the present, we must let the black republican papers lie on. It is really of no use to deny their statements. Content with the prospects of the democracy of this Union, and with our own prospects if they should happen to succeed in the coming election, we can afford to wait for the vindication of our motives, and such other considerations as we may secure.

The Atlas.

SATURDAY MORNING, JULY 19, 1856.

Kansas Correspondence of the Atlas.

TOPEKA, July 6, 1856.

Editor of the Atlas: Another party of emigrants was stopped at Leavenworth, yesterday, and sent down river. The leader of the party jumped overboard and swam ashore, and is now at Lawrence. This is the third party that has been sent back by the mob within three weeks. The troops have dispersed the free State Legislature within one week.

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A large number are leaving; others are going to guerillaing for satisfaction, on their own responsibility.

The results of our appeals to the President and to Congress were long ago found to be in vain. Many of the people now think that the policy of the North is, that in order to effectually settle the great principle of American right, they will risk the fate of Kansas till after the Presidential election.

What has the assistance of the North so far amounted to. 150 rifles and less than \$5000 in money have been received in Kansas, an ordinary emigration for a new State, 250 to 300 stand of arms taken on their way in the hands of emigrants, now in the hands of Missourians, 230 emigrants sent back!

I was present in a room today, at the Garrey House, where 10 or 12 young men were accidentally met together, and 9 of the number said they were selling out preparatory to leaving.

I am almost tired of writing about these matters. When the news came in tonight, the word was passed around ironically, "another blow for freedom." Is this the way our fathers earned respect and obtained their rights?

I will not live under a government, call it the "music of the Union," or what not, that will allow my feelings, my person, my life, my property, to be insulted, jeopardized, plundered and destroyed.

In haste, yours truly, THERMOPYLEAN.

TO KANSAS EMIGRANTS.—The party announced as likely to leave for Kansas on July 21, will postpone its departure till Tuesday, July 29.

Persons wishing to emigrate to Kansas, from New England, will please communicate by mail with the undersigned, or meet him in person, at the Emigrant Aid Society's Rooms, 3 Winter street, on Monday, July 21, at 12 M.

T. W. HIGGINSON, Worcester.

Boston Journal.

SATURDAY EVENING JULY 19. '56

HON. ADAM BEATTY OF KENTUCKY ON THE KANSAS QUESTION. It is one of the significant features of the present contest to overthrow the administration, and to re-establish the influence of freedom over the general government, that it meets with sympathy and support from the South. The lips of prominent Southerners have been unsealed, and we shall not be surprised to find when the election comes off that Fremont will have many votes at the South. It is now certain that Fremont and Dayton electoral tickets will be formed in Delaware, Maryland and Kentucky, and perhaps also in Virginia, in the western part of which State there is much hostility to slavery.

We have already published several extracts, showing that the cause of Fremont and Dayton has its open sympathizers at the South. We add to these testimonies the following extract from a letter written by Hon. Adam Beatty of Kentucky. The letter is dated Washington, Mason County, Ky., June 30:

"Missouri having been admitted, all opposition (or nearly so) to the compromise ceased; and it was quietly permitted to remain undisturbed for more than thirty years, until, in an evil hour, the Nebraska bill (as it is usually termed) was introduced by a Senator from a free State; and the South, in violation of a sacred and honorable pledge, caught at the bait, and assisted in overthrowing the wisest measure that was ever adopted to quiet agitation on the slavery question.

The fruits of the iniquitous bill introduced by Mr. Douglas (which might have been foreseen) have for a long time been presented in a shameful attempt, countenanced by Mr. Pierce's administration, to form a slave State by force out of the territory of Kansas.

Mr. Sumner is entitled to the thanks of all discreet men: all men who are influenced by the principles of justice and honor, for exposing the abominable frauds, both in the passage of the Nebraska bill and the means resorted to for carrying out its design of forcing slavery into the territory of Kansas."

Daily Citizen and News.

Lowell, Saturday, July 19, 1856.

The Hurrah Song.

Fremont's the chief to lead the way,
Hurrah! hurrah! hurrah!
The fire by night—the cloud by day,
Hurrah! hurrah! hurrah!
Mailed in truth and strong in hand,
He'll bring us to the Promised Land,
Hurrah! hurrah! hurrah! hurrah!
Hurrah! hurrah! hurrah!

The Ship of State, with tattered sail,
Hurrah! hurrah! hurrah!
Is madly driving fore the gale,
Hurrah! hurrah! hurrah!
He'll soon repair her crippled form,
And bring her safely through the storm.
Hurrah! &c.

The sable flag that o'er her waves,
Hurrah! hurrah! hurrah!
Shall float no longer over slaves,
Hurrah! hurrah! hurrah!
And not forgetting Buck and Breck,
He'll sweep the pirates from her deck.
Hurrah! &c.

But Freedom's stars and stripes shall wave,
Hurrah! hurrah! hurrah!
Above the foe and o'er the brave,
Hurrah! hurrah! hurrah!
From Kansas' dark and bloody ground,
To California's farthest bound.
Hurrah! &c.

Then let us all with loud acclaim,
Hurrah! hurrah! hurrah!
Repeat the chorus with a name,
Hurrah! hurrah! hurrah!
A name at which the tyrant quails,
A name which every good man hails,
Fremont, Fremont, Fremont, Fremont!
Hurrah! hurrah! hurrah!

Then rally, Freemen! for the fight,
Hurrah! hurrah! hurrah!
The arm of God is for the right;
Hurrah! hurrah! hurrah!
The right he'll own, and bless the hand
That strikes for Freedom through the land.
Hurrah! hurrah! hurrah! hurrah!
Fremont! Fremont! Fremont!

Lawrence Courier.

LAWRENCE, JULY 19, 1856.

MISSOURIANS GETTING THEIR EYES OPENED.

The outrages perpetrated on the Free State emigrants, by the border ruffians in the upper towns on the Missouri river, are gradually opening the eyes of the more respectable inhabitants of Missouri, by the effect which such enormities are having on the business interests of the traders and steamboat owners. A St. Louis merchant bitterly bewails the disastrous effect upon the business of that city and adds:

"If you Abolitionists would take a few hundred men and a steamer or two, and go up the river and wipe Lexington out of existence, there would be no tears shed in St. Louis."

The more considerate men of the upper towns are also becoming startled. The *Weston (Missouri) Reporter*, of June 27, after giving an account of the disarming and sending back of the Chicago company, says:—

"The treatment of these Northern men raises a grave question for the consideration of every man who has an interest in the welfare of this country. Are the citizens of other States to be deprived of their right to emigrate to Kansas? Are the principles of the Kansas bill to be nullified, and bands of men stationed along the border to demand a pass-word before the citizens of a neighboring State can have the privilege of going into that Territory? If this be the principle of the Kansas bill, we shall be the last man on the green earth to endorse it. The whole proceeding is an outrage, and cannot be defended upon any correct principle, and the consequence will be most disastrous to the whole country. Against such a course of policy we enter our protest, and appeal to the good men of all parties to rebuke this wild and blind folly of a few men, whose acts are doing more to abolitionize Kansas than even the Kansas aid societies of Boston."

If the ruffians suppose that these proceedings will have the effect to shut out free state men from Kansas, they are very much mistaken. Emigration may be retarded for a time, but new routes will be opened, and the business consequent upon the emigration turned wholly aside from Missouri. We are glad that the business men, who are to suffer, are beginning to appreciate the legitimate effect of allowing the border desperadoes further away.

Another Letter from the Barnes Family in Kansas!

Shannon, Wild Cat Creek, Kansas, June 8th, 1856.

Dear Brother. This date finds us in excellent health, and fair prosperity, in a beautiful country. The crops look finely although some of the farmers have been obliged to plant the second time, because of poor seed and in some cases drought. We have had splendid showers the past week however.

We have between three and four acres planted which is all we shall put in except sod corn. (Corn planted on the sod after breaking up.)

Father goes to Manhattan this week to open a boarding house, rent \$100 per year, board \$4 per week and 40 cents per meal for transient customers. I am to live on my claim and keep Bachelor's Hall as soon as I finish breaking up which will be sometime next month.

On the 2d ult., while driving over the prairie for cattle, I found J. Augustus Kimball one of the Kimball boys from Goffstown, N. H. lying in the road, having been run over by his ox team. He was putting on one of the cart-tires which had come off, and the oxen knocked him down, stepped in his face, and drew the load (700 feet of green lumber) over his body. When I saw him he could scarcely speak but said "for God's sake get me home for I am run over." I got a wagon a doctor and carried him home but with all our care and attention he died on the 6th ult.

The war is by no means closed yet.

Not long since a party of pro-slavery men met a man in the road, and threw a rope over his head to hang him. While dragging him away to a tree another pro-slavery party whose leader was a fair man—met them and ordered them to desist which they refused to do, he ordered his men to fire on them, the result was 7 or 8 killed.

SECOND LETTER.

June 28th. We are as happy as can be expected. The Missourians have not troubled us yet and we have not molested them, but we expect to when they come up into this part of the country. We hear of outrages committed by men of both parties.

There was a pro-slavery man who lost his pistol in Kansas city a short time since, and going towards Westport met a free state man, when Mr. Missourian put his hand under his coat as if he would draw his pistol, and demanded the other's pistol which he (the free state fellow) immediately surrendered as any baby would.

Another Missourian drove into Westport with a fine spar of horses, good carriage and \$200, which he said he had taken from a man up in the territory; while he stood telling his exploit, a fellow jumped from the crowd into the carriage and was off in a twinkling and they never could catch him.—The Missourians thought that he was a Y.A.S.

Our goods come from Kansas city. The merchants are not troubled much for conveyance, but every teamster must allow his load to be searched by the invaders.

Lawrence is not destroyed. The free state Hotel, the Herald of Freedom office and Gov. Robinson's house are all the buildings that have been destroyed. It is rumored here that the *Herald* is to be reestablished and that Gen. Pomeroy is coming with men to build up the Hotel.

I was not in the company that went down to Topeka, but I reckon if the invaders should come up here I should fight like a bull dog. We are not suffering from these difficulties yet. We have plenty to do and the money in our hands when the work is done.

Here is a prime chance for all Mechanics. Help of all kinds is very scarce—wages very high. Steady employment can be had with good pay by almost any one. Send them along.

I wish you could find two young fellows that would come out here and go into stock raising and farming. I have got one of the best claims for stock raising in the country and there is a splendid prairie just above my claim, and there is timber enough on mine to supply half a dozen prairie claims, and if I could get one or two young men with some money, that were not afraid to work, I would do the right thing by them. I do not think it the best plan to go into farming extensively, but go to raising stock. A crop of corn, or wheat, or other grain may fail, but a drove of cattle does not often fail, and this one of the best parts of country for making butter and cheese. There is a man between here and Fort Riley that has 75 cows. He is raising all the calves and sells butter at the Fort, for 50 cents per pound and milk 40 cents per gallon.

The land will not be surveyed until next fall or in the spring. I think we shall have plenty of time to earn the pay for our lands before they come into market, and if possible to secure one section at least.

There are no speculators here yet. One would have a poor show here when the land office is opened. If one should show his head at the office trying to wrest the settlers' land from them I am thinking he would be shot like a dog.

When a man jumps another's claim he is ordered off, and if he does not go off he is put off.

Father and mother have all they can do in the public house, and as soon as possible I am going to the river for a load of provisions. We can save from fifty to one hundred and fifty per cent by doing so, or by sending to Boston, Mass., for our goods.

The fields look finely now, corn is in the silk—beans large enough to shell—peas too hard to eat. If you could see our fields of corn now I believe it would make you wish you were the owner of one. You never saw things grow as they do here. We can almost see them grow.

On the 13th there were 125 mounted riflemen that passed through this place from Fort Riley for Lawrence to drive out the Border Rufians. On the 15th 250 camped near us going to Fort Riley. The ferry where all this passing is, is in plain sight from our residence.

On the 14th there were ten wagons drawn by twelve oxen each, passed here with stores for Fort Riley and there are ninety more of the same kind to follow as fast as they can be loaded at Fort Leavenworth.

I wish you could send out a few good girls that are not afraid to jump into hard work for big pay. We ought to have one or two in the Hotel, and as soon as I get through a job at logging I intend to go on to my claim to live, and I want some one to keep house for us, for when we keep bachelor's hall it takes about half of one's time to work around the house and we shall be obliged to live so if some of your smart girls do not come to our relief.

Send them along. Homes for the million if they will only come and occupy.

Let them come and satisfy themselves. There is an opportunity to make money here if one has a mind to work—mind that. You will not have to work any harder here than in New England and you will get better pay and get it when you have done the work.—Come along, come along.

The saw mill on the claim above us will be in operation in ten or fifteen days and when our logs are sawed we shall build. I am going down to Missouri this fall to buy a lot of calves and make a beginning at stock raising. I wish—, would come out here but I suppose he will stay at home,

Don't forget to send along the girls.

Affectionately, your Brother,
S. B. BARNES.

Portland Advertiser.

Saturday Morning, July 19, 1856.

A Thousand Miles Off.

Nothing is more discreditable to our opponents than their efforts to belittle the mighty issues which have at length aroused the attention of the whole American people. Thus the *Argus* represents the entire question at stake as being concerned "about the local institutions of people more than a thousand miles off!"

This is the paper that affects to monopolize the patriotism of Maine, and to have a nearer and dearer sense than any other of the unity of our countrymen, of their absolute identity of obligation and of interests. 'We are one people,' it constantly exclaims, 'united by such intimate bonds that distance of localities is annihilated and apparent diversities swallowed up in a common nationality. We are for still consolidating this Union, and the black republicans are the ones laboring to separate us.' And yet, in order to dwarf this sense of mutual obligations which is felt as strongly by the people of Maine as by those of any other State, the *Argus* now declares that the stirring events in Kansas should be nothing to our citizens, because they are more than "a thousand miles off!"

What though our national flag floats over the territory of Kansas, acquired by the common blood and treasure of the republic. What though the responsibility of Maine for the institutions and welfare of the territory, is as weighty as that of Missouri. What though our members of Congress must embrace in their deliberations and acts the new settlers of that region as well as the long-favored citizens of the oldest States, or even their own constituents—thus bringing home to every one of us moral and political obligations which, if we would, we cannot evade. Still we are told that these obligations and responsibilities ought to be neglected, because the objects of them live more than a thousand miles off!

Martin Kosta was rescued from Austrian despotism, under the muzzle of Austrian guns, because he was a quasi American citizen—and that in one of the remote harbors of the Mediterranean Sea. But our citizens, standing on their own soil, have been given over to mob rule by this same administration—and we are required to pass over the shameful deeds, because they occurred more than a thousand miles off!

The sacred right of suffrage has been wantonly denied to American freemen—who, that the denial might be effectual and permanent, have been driven from their homes, plundered of their property, harassed by armed desperadoes, insulted beyond measure, arrested without cause, and massacred in cold blood. And yet, we must not seek, by our common laws, to redress these enormities, because they have been committed more than a thousand miles off!

Our brethren from New England have gone out to construct peaceful and thrifty homes, and have encountered all these enormities in their own persons—but what is that to us? They have taken themselves utterly beyond our sympathies—for have they not gone more than a thousand miles off!

Lo! a new law the *Argus* gives unto us, that we should measure patriotic duties by the statute mile! Within an immediate area our obligations to defend the right and redress the wrong, are clear and imperative. But they weaken as they extend over space, until a thousand miles extinguish all their force, or else reverse their operation. Outside of this distance, the subjects of the general government lose their relations, and a common interest becomes common intermeddling! Do the citizens of Maine recognize this *dis-union* doctrine, and mean to let their concern in the most vital questions that ever assailed our common country be blunted, because these questions have arisen on a distant part of our soil? Do they mean to let their brethren in Kansas suffer every wrong, because the borders of Maine are yet safe? Do they

mean to allow slavery to go on extending, because its line of march must first be from us, before it can come among us and fulfill the threat of calling its roll on Bunker Hill? We know our people will scorn this "vanishing point," "inverse ratio" doctrine sought to be applied to our political duties—and will demonstrate its authors to be, as to all chances of success in the coming election, more than a thousand miles off!

Bath Daily Tribune.

SATURDAY, MORN., JULY 19, 1856.

Kansas and the Buffalo Convention.

On Friday we had an article relating to the recent Buffalo Convention, wherein we proved, by statements drawn from gentlemen who attended it, that the purpose of that convention was to resist the U. S. authority in the Territory. The Boston Daily Advertiser of Thursday published a long article giving the plans and purposes of that convention. We make the following extract from the Advertiser article:—

The delegates were almost unanimously of the opinion that the purposes of the organization should be peaceful and defensive, not vindictive or aggressive. They secure this position by assuming no control whatever over the emigrants in Kansas; confining the effort of the convention and its committees to the work of securing funds for the assistance of pioneers, and opening to the best advantage their means of communication, leaving them to that freedom which ought to belong to every citizen, when they arrive in Kansas.

Gov. Reeder explicitly declared it to be the design of the Buffalo delegates to be prepared to "strike an effective blow." We repeat, what

we have over and over asserted, that it is utterly impossible to hold the republican party to any consistent straightforward declaration of principles. If you believe Reeder in the present case, you must disbelieve the Advertiser, and we hold to the opinion, that the radicals are ruling or will soon rule the republican party. The Advertiser is conservative, usually discreet in judgment, and cool in action. But its counsels will be overruled. Its plan, omitting all discussion of its details, to raise money to relieve the wants of the present settlers of Kansas, and to enable others now absent to return and settle on their claims, is eminently praiseworthy, and meets with universal approval at the north. Confine operations to this extent, and we venture to say that the response which New England will give to an appeal for aid will be noble, generous, and worthy of her ancient character for benevolence and good works. Extend the operations to cover the ground proposed by Reeder, and New England freemen and true christians will pause, ere they urge on their brethren into a civil strife, which can only terminate in the full overthrow of our constitutions.

Whig and Courier.

Wheeler & Lynde, Proprietors.

SATURDAY, JULY 19, 1856.

"We will cheat you" waits upon "We will subdue you"; and fraud is invoked to eke out what force cannot. Troy was taken in that way, after a ten years' siege, and Kansas, it is hoped, may be got possession of by a similar method. Pacification is the cry of the Douglas party; and a "Pacification" bill has been passed by the Senate, and sent to the House for concurrence. It is very specious on its outside, but its working would prove utterly deceptive, and its result, in all likelihood, would be the irrevocable conversion of the Territory of Kansas into a Slave State. This measure should be distrusted and repudiated on many accounts, but on four especially; for its source, its time of commencing operation, its administrators, and its ground of action.

Its source discredits it, because it comes from those who have hitherto directed all their energies to make Kansas a Slave State. Every pro-slavery Senator, without an exception, befriends the bill. It cannot be supposed that their anxiety to add Kansas to the list of Slave States has suddenly cooled into indifference.—The most recent debates in the Senate have evinced quite as much zeal for this end as any within the last two years. We don't believe in such sudden changes. The spirit remains the same, and it is the management only that is altered. The known presence in Washington of a delegation from the Border Ruffians of Missouri, goes to confirm that the new scheme is a pro-slavery plot. These men did not go to Washington upon the heels of the Investigating Committee without a specific object. It is not possible that they should have not found some pro-slavery Senator to join in that object; and as there is no pro-slavery Senator who opposes this Bill, the inference is unavoidable that this Bill secures that object. *Prima facie* then, the presumption is against it. "I fear the Greeks even bearing gifts" is the language it may well elicit from every prudent friend of free Kansas.

Its time of commencing operation discredits it. The Bill provides for an enumeration of the legal voters who were in the Territory on the fourth day of July. No previous residence being required, all who were in the Territory on that day were legal voters. It is well known that a great convention of Border Ruffians was to be held at Topeka on that day, on the occasion of the meeting of the Free State Legislature, and that thousands were expected from Missouri. These, according to all past construction of the Kansas Bill at previous elections in the Territory, would be "legal voters," and would enter into the apportionment of representation. It is true that a residence of three months, next before the election, is required, except in the cases of those who have left the Territory "in consequence of the disturbance

therein," and that these last, in order to acquire citizenship, must return before the first day of October; but this does not shut the door against fraud, for it depends altogether upon the will of the Commissioners what shall be considered a residence. Shall it be spending one-tenth of the intermediate time in Kansas or nine-tenths? Shall the mere ownership of a claim, and an occasional visit to it be enough for the purpose? Nothing is easier than to make a claim; and it is no hardship for the roving population of Western Missouri to ride over into Kansas as often as occasion invites. To administer oaths to them as to their actual intention of permanent inhabitation would be a mere mockery; for what fear of perjury can ruffians have who have been guilty of such abominable outrages as these men have been constantly practising for the last two years? Is it to be supposed that they would scruple about professing any intention that might serve their purpose? There is no human villainy of which the men who made the foray into Topeka on the Fourth of July, are not capable; and as sure as the first Tuesday of November comes, the masses of them, if this Bill should become a law, would claim to vote for the Convention to frame a new Constitution.

The administrators of the measure discredit it. Those administrators, five in number, are to be appointed by the President, by and with the advice of the Senate. We have no confidence in the impartiality and fitness of the choice. Senator Douglas perhaps may consider it presumption to question the fairness of these appointing and sanctioning powers, but unfortunately for him, the country has learned something, in this regard, by experience. It has gained the truth, by the most infallible of all tests, the test of repeated practice. Governor Shannon, Marshal Donaldson and Judge Lecompte and Cato are all the creatures of this same President and Senate. The authority that has once made and confirmed such atrocious and vile appointments, has put itself far beyond the pale of confidence. What trust can ever again be reposed in men who have set up such a drunken imbecile as Shannon to be a Governor over the people of Kansas; and such a reckless brute as Donaldson to be the executioner of its laws; and such an arbitrary, insolent, ignorant, law-despising judge as Lecompte to administer justice? The appointee of President Pierce "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate" have blasted Kansas like an infernal curse. They have been the fit instruments of the blackest of purposes. We want no more such tools of iniquity; and, therefore, we want no more places to be filled by the same hands. These Commissioners, as provided for in the Bill, would have the exclusive and sovereign control of the elective franchise in Kansas. They take the census—apportion the representation—make rules and regulations for the conduct of the election—decide upon the right to vote—make returns—and in short have the election completely in their hands, subject only to their own sense of duty; and this sense judging by past Kansas appointments, there is no reason to expect they will have. The Commissioners, we may safely say, will be without any moral restraint whatever, just as has been the case with the Governor, the Marshal, and the Judges. We therefore are entitled to distrust the administrators of the measure.

And, finally, its basis of operation discredits it. It is grounded on a state of things prepared by most flagrant and long-continued violence and fraud. The whole enginery of the Federal Government, and of border-ruffianism has been employed to crush out the Free State sentiment from Kansas, and not without a considerable degree of success. The Free State cause, once unquestionably dominant, has been reduced to comparative weakness. There is no reason for believing that a majority of the men, or that any large number of those who have been persecuted out of the Territory will ever return. The Senate Bill then, even if honestly carried out, would only give effect and final success to all the precedent iniquity. It consummates and sanctions the whole long black line of wrong from the fraudulent breaking down of the Compromise two years ago, to the forcible turning back of the Chicago immigrants last week; for its whole action has its starting points in the result of that wrong. It is therefore itself wrong, and is to be repelled and rejected by every friend to justice.

The House has exhibited a purpose to defeat this Bill, and we trust it will stand firm. The eyes of the whole defrauded and outraged North are upon the action of their representatives. Let there be no faltering. This covert wickedness must be unmasked and fearlessly hurled back upon its projectors. If they have

no better redress and security to offer for Kansas, the time is swiftly coming when the people will take the business into their own hands, and render a judgment that shall stand as a warning forever.—N. Y. Courier.

DAILY FREE PRESS

BURLINGTON:

SATURDAY EVENING, JULY 19, 1856

KANSAS.

The Dispersion of the Kansas Free-State Legislature—How it was done.

From the Chicago Democratic Press.

TOPEKA, K. T., July 5, 1856.

Yesterday was marked by one of the most outrageous occurrences that mark our national annals. Franklin Pierce, not content with all his previous infamy on Kansas affairs, consummated it by a crowning act of outrage on free institutions. The Federal troops rode into town in battle array and dispersed the Legislature.

A great Mass Convention had been called to assemble at Topeka. Owing to the political troubles and insecurity in the Territory it was not so generally attended as had been expected, but there were about 1,000 persons, men and women, there.

Col. Sumner had been collecting a large military force in the neighborhood of Topeka, and as it was reported that he intended to drive out the Legislature and disperse the people assembled, with his troops, considerable excitement prevailed. At 10 o'clock in the forenoon of yesterday, United States Marshal Donaldson came into Topeka, accompanied by Judge Elmore. He stated that he had a communication to make. The President of the Convention, Mr. Currier, of Leavenworth, invited them both to the stand, when Donaldson said he had a proclamation to make, and got Judge Elmore to read first a copy of the President's last February proclamation, then Shannon's June proclamation, which he read from a little piece of scissoring from a newspaper, and lastly the proclamation by the Acting Governor of Kansas, from Acting Governor Woodson and Col. Sumner.

Having read this to the Convention, the Marshal asked if they had any message to carry back to Col. Sumner. The President of the Convention told him that this was not the Legislature, but a public Convention and that they had no reply to make. The Marshal and Judge Elmore departed.

It was nearly noon. The Convention was still busily at work. The hour for the meeting of the Legislature approached, and several of the members of the Legislature had entered the hall. The two military companies of Topeka, which had been on drill, were drawn up in front of the legislative hall to receive a banner from the Ladies. A band of music was stationed at the end of the line, and was making the place echo with martial strains, when upwards of two hundred dragoons, under Col. Sumner, galloped up, and entering the city in three squadrons, with drawn sabres and martial array, dashed up toward the legislative building, where the two companies were drawn up. The two companies nobly kept their ground, and the musicians were playing in the finest style, as the dragoons dashed upon them. The shrill voice of Col. Sumner was heard crying, "First squadron form into line," and as the troops under that and other orders formed into battle array around the hall, and along the street facing it, the crowds in the street, and those at the Convention, saw a couple of cannon posted up the street on a rise about one hundred yards off, where they had just been planted, with their muzzles pointing down the street, the gunners at their stations; and the slow matches lighted and burning. An army surgeon also came with them, his case of instruments open and ready for use. Three other companies of dragoons at the same time approached the town from the other side, and were only concealed while the force that entered came up, by the strip of timber along the valley of the Kansas.

BRATTLEBORO, VT.
SATURDAY, JULY 19, 1856.

KANSAS AND SQUATTER SOVEREIGNTY.

The bill for the 'pacification of Kansas,' recently concocted by Toombs and Douglas, and passed by the Senate, is one of the most cunningly devised schemes imaginable for fastening the blighting curse of Slavery upon that territory. This design is cloaked under a seeming fairness to the Free State men.—Provision is made for its organization into a State as soon as possible. What the real effects of the enactment of this bill will be may be learned from the letter of Gov. Roberts, and the minority report of Judge Collamer, both of which documents will be found elsewhere in this number.

The truth is undeniable, and the revelations of each succeeding week only serve to make it more apparent, that the original bill under which the territories of Nebraska and Kansas were organized, is one of the most stupendous and damning frauds ever practiced upon the people of the North, and that it was intended to be such by its authors. Under the specious pretense of *squatter sovereignty*, or of giving to the actual settlers of these territories the power to determine for themselves the character of the institutions under which they are to live, lay the determination to introduce and perpetuate Slavery in Kansas. The boldness of this conception has only been equalled by the hardihood, lawlessness and atrocities that have marked its execution.

Under the Missouri Compromise slavery was forever inhibited in the territory; therefore it became necessary that this restriction should first be removed. Accordingly that solemn compact which had long been regarded as possessed of the binding force of a constitutional provision was repealed. The delusion of 'squatter sovereignty' was held up to the people to blind their eyes while the iniquitous project of forcing Slavery upon the inhabitants of Kansas should be carried into execution. Atchison, a United States Senator from Missouri, and President of the body of which he was a member, left his place in the Senate, ostensibly to secure a re-election, but in reality to superintend the operations of those who should personally engage in carrying slaves and slavery into that Territory.—When it was found that settlers from the free States were pouring into Kansas, with the rapidity and enterprise which peculiarly marks the movements of free labor, the system of completing by force what they had failed to accomplish by enterprise, was instituted.—Companies of "border-ruffians" with Atchison at their head made a foray into the territory, seized ballot-boxes, took possession of the polls and elected a legislature after their own heart. It is unnecessary for our purpose to recount the particulars of subsequent proceedings. They are all in perfect keeping with the object had in view by those who were parties to this fraud.

As a result of this series of outrages, this systematic persecution, heretofore without a parallel in this country, large numbers of the Free State settlers have been driven from the territory; others are suffering the horrors of illegal imprisonment without any chance for relief; and whole companies have been forci-

"Well, gentlemen, do you consider yourselves dispersed?"

Mr. Thornton, President of the Senate, replied thus:

"Col. Sumner, the Senate is not in session and cannot make any reply to you; neither can any member of it."

Mr. Thornton then asked if Col. Sumner, after his orders to disperse, would permit them to convene, so as to receive any communication he might have to make.

The Colonel said:—No; my orders are that you must not be permitted to meet, and I cannot allow you to do any business.

Marshal Donaldson, beginning to think that some advantage was about to be taken of the "Law and Order Party," stepped up and spoke. He confronted the members of the Senate, and holding his hat in one hand, and raising the other, gesticulated with the point of his finger, as he said in a tremulous, squeaking voice; "Well, I want all of you members to promise me that you won't meet here any more, and if you won't—and here J. B. D. shook his head—"I'll arrest every one of ye—every member." This was monstrously outrageous. It was bad enough for the troops to break in with their cannon and sabres on the representatives of a free people, but for a miserable tool of the slaveocracy thus to menace and insult because he had some five hundred dragons at his back, was monstrous. If he had a writ to serve against any man it was his business to serve it, no matter what they did, and if he had no writ—and he had none—it was a monstrous perversion of the office he disgraced. The Senate paid no attention to him.

One of the members of the Senate exhibited a little of the feeling that such trying circumstances may awake, and said: "When my country calls me to disperse, by her troops, yield to that authority?"

Here Hon. Mr. Pillsbury said: "Col. Sumner, we are in no condition to resist the United States troops, and if you order us to disperse, of course we must disperse."

Col. Allen said that he would suggest to his brother Senators that Mr. Pillsbury's statement be considered the expression of the whole, which was assented to.

Col. Sumner then left the hall. As he went down stairs, and just before he met the crowd that was anxiously waiting outside, Col. Phillips, who had left the Senate chamber with him, said aloud, "Colonel, you have robbed Oliver Cromwell of his laurels." Col. Sumner paused and regarded Phillips with astonishment, as if he had for the first time realized the importance of what he had done.

When he got out on the street he assured many of those who gathered around him that he did not wish to interfere with the Convention as then assembled there; that he had merely been sent to disperse the Legislature, and recognized their right to meet on the 4th of July. Three cheers were again proposed by some one, for Colonel Sumner, and given. Three cheers for John C. Fremont were then given.

At this point the dragons were filed off in marching order, when three cheers were given for 'the Topeka Constitution and the State Legislature.' Some of the Pro-Slavery officers looked round rather fiercely when this was given, but Sumner's sharp voice was heard giving the order, 'Forward—march,' and just as that military band who, under the American flag, which waved from the hall of the Legislature, had committed one of the most grievous outrages recorded in our history, spurred their horses to leave the streets of Topeka, three groans were given for Franklin Pierce, and so deep and loud that it startled the horses of the troopers, and made them break from line as they defied past.

When they left, the Free-State Convention resumed business, and the volunteers paraded the streets.

Colonel Sumner was evidently much agitated, but stern, and his soldiers all looked as if they expected terrible doings. Having got his force disposed as he wanted, Colonel Sumner, seeing there was no appearance of either flight or resistance, dismounted from his horse. He was at once informed that the companies drawn up in front of the Hall were there merely to receive a banner from the ladies. He said that he did not wish to interfere with their assembling on the Fourth of July. Three cheers were given for Colonel Sumner; Mr. Redpath shouted, "Three cheers for Gov. Robinson," which were given with a will; and some one else cried, "Three cheers for liberty," which was also heartily cheered. Col. Sumner entered the hall of the Legislature, and the crowd rushed in behind him and soon filled it. The speaker was absent, and Mr. S. F. Tappan, first Clerk, rose and called order by striking with the gavel on the desk. It was scarcely 12 o'clock, and the Legislature had not yet convened when Sumner entered. He went up to the platform and they offered him a chair, which he pulled to one side, saying, "Do you want to make Speaker of me?" [Great laughter and shouts from the crowd.] Mr. Tappan, in a strong sonorous voice, proceeded to call the roll; as there was not a quorum, he called the Sergeant-at-Arms to bring in absentees. He again called the roll, and Mr. Pratt, Recording Clerk, then called it and marked absentees. Only seventeen answered to the call, although there were some thirty-three, more than a quorum, in or about the house. Sumner, who is doubtless better versed in military than parliamentary tactics, thus permitted the Legislature to be convened under his nose, while Donaldson, who had squeezed in to the crowded hall, looked on. Several ladies were present.

Colonel Sumner rose and said:

GENTLEMEN: I am called upon to-day to perform the most painful duty of my whole life. Under the authority of the President's proclamation, I am here to disperse this Legislature, and therefore inform you that you cannot meet. I, therefore, order you to disperse. God knows that I have no party feeling in this matter, and will have none so long as I hold my present position in Kansas.

I have just returned from the borders, where I have been sending home companies of Missourians, and now I am ordered here to disperse you. Such are my orders, and you must disperse. I repeat that this is the most painful duty of my whole life.

Judge Schuyler, who was fit the hall, asked the following question:

"Col. Sumner, are we to understand that the Legislature is to be driven out at the point of the bayonet?"

Col. Sumner said: "I shall use all the force in my command to carry out my orders."

The Legislature was thus dispersed, and the Colonel left the hall and got on his horse, but dismounted and returned, proceeding up stairs to the Senate Chamber, on learning that it was a distinct body.

Col. Sumner entered the Senate Chamber. There was a quorum present; the hour for convening had arrived, but the President of the Senate had not convened it when Sumner entered the hall. Orders had been issued the evening before to the doorkeeper to admit no visitors. The doorkeeper allowed Col. Sumner to enter, but told Marshal Donaldson he could not let him in. Donaldson said he was United States Marshal, and had official business. The doorkeeper, Mr. Fuller, told him to 'show his papers,' he exhibited his commission, and the doorkeeper let him pass.

Colonel Sumner did not pause to inquire whether the Senate was or was not in session, but proceeded to tell them that by virtue of the orders of the President he was there to disperse them, and ordered them to disperse. Having said so, Col. Sumner looked at them to see how they took his announcement. The members of the Senate were standing in a circle, looking at him respectfully, but they did not move. There was a long and disagreeable pause, which Sumner broke by asking:

ly prevented from coming in to make a settlement. The North has become aroused, and is beginning to assert her rights in tones which cannot be mistaken. Douglas, the arch-conspirator, is alarmed. To avert the storm of indignation that threatens to sweep him and his party from power, he now comes forward and tacitly admits that 'squatter sovereignty' was a lie and a cheat. He has reported to the Senate and secured its passage by that body, a bill for the pacification of Kansas, that distinctly recognizes the power of Congress to make needful rules and regulations for the government of the territories.

While such a concession, at this juncture, is important in exposing his duplicity, it should not abate one jot or tittle of our vigilance.—The truth is 'squatter sovereignty' is no longer necessary for his purpose, nor the interests of Slaveocracy whose servant he is.—'Border-ruffianism' has done the work in peopling, temporarily at least, Kansas with a majority who will go any length in establishing and sustaining the system of chattel slavery within its limits. If this recent bill can pass the House, of which there is too much reason to apprehend, the doom of Kansas is sealed. It will be a Slave State beyond the power of redemption. The programme which was fixed upon at the outset will have been acted in all its parts.

The responsibility of these outrages clearly rest upon the administration and upon the Democratic party. The President suffered all the initiatory steps to be taken without any let or hindrance on his part, and without one word of remonstrance. He only moved in the matter when the Free State settlers were arming themselves to protect their property from ruthless destruction, and their lives from the brutality of assassins. And even then his proclamation was issued, and his forces ordered out for the protection and aid of the ruffians. The Democratic party at Cincinnati endorsed these iniquities and thus shouldered the responsibility. James Buchanan has ignored his personal identity and avowed in advance his determination to make the Democratic platform, instead of the Constitution his guide in the event of his election.

This has been perpetrated a fraud upon the people of the North, upon the friends of Freedom. The foul deed has been done by the present, so-called, Democratic party. Its nominees is pledged to sanction and perpetuate it. For this act they and he should be held responsible before a community whose dearest rights have been unconstitutionally, and contrary to all principles of law, trampled in the dust.

The Daily American.

MANCHESTER, JULY 19, 1856.

Backing Down.

A few weeks since Senator Crittenden, of Kentucky, either because he saw the storm lowering in the distance, or by complicity with the slave power, introduced a proposition to suggest to the puppet that occupies the executive chair, to send Gen. Scott as pacificator into Kansas. This was objected to by the Southern Hotspurs, under the pretence that it was not constitutional for the Senate to volunteer advice to the Executive. This was soon followed by Mr Clayton, of Delaware, who acknowledged that things

were all wrong in Kansas, and needed to be set right. He would therefore propose a bill to put things to rights in Kansas, both of which propositions acknowledged the legality and validity of the usurpation now rampant in that Territory. Then in comes Mr. Geyer of Missouri, and gives the subject an Irish hoist of a peg lower in the pro-slavery demands, and Douglas, the "Quixotic Squire" presents his new bill, at the suggestion of Mr. Toombs, of Georgia, for pacification in Kansas.

"This bill provides for the appointment of five Commissioners, to be selected [by the President] from different sections of the Union, to represent fairly all political portions, [parties?] They shall take a census of all the voters in the Territory, and make a fair apportionment of Delegates, to be elected by each county, to form a constitution and institute a state of government. When the apportionment shall be made, the Commissioners are to remain in session every day except Sunday, at the place most convenient for the inhabitants of said Territory, to hear all complaints, examine witnesses, and correct all errors in said list of voters, which list shall be previously printed and generally circulated through the Territory, and posted in at least three of the most public places of each election district; and so soon as all the errors have been thus corrected in said lists, the Commissioners are requested to cause a corrected list of the legal voters to be printed, and copies furnished to each Judge of election, to be put up at the places of voting, and circulated in every county in the Territory before the day of election, no person to be allowed to vote whose name does not appear on the list as a legal voter; the election for Delegates to take place on the day of the Presidential election, and the Convention to assemble on the first Monday in December to decide first whether it be expedient for Kansas to come into the Union at that time, and if so decided, to proceed to form a Constitution and State Government which shall be of republican form, Kansas then to be admitted under such constitution on an equal footing with the original States. The bill provides further that no law shall be enforced in the Territory infringing the liberty of speech or of the press, or the right of the people to bear arms, &c. It also provides punishment for illegal voting or fraud and violence at elections, and authorizes the use of the military for that purpose. The main point is that the persons designated by the census as the present inhabitants of the Territory, shall decide all points in dispute at a fair election without fraud or violence, or any other improper influence. All the white male inhabitants over 21 years of age are to be allowed to vote, if they have resided in the Territory three months previous to the day of election, and no other test shall be required; no oath to support the Fugitive Slave Law, or any other law, nor any other condition whatever."

Now this appears all very fair upon the face of it, but like the old rat in the fable, we would say, "I don't like that white heap yonder," seeing the cat rolled in meal. "It may be meal, it may be something else; at least there can be no harm in keeping at a proper distance." What becomes of "squatter sovereignty" under this bill, which gives all the power of governing the Territory into the hands of Frank Pierce, instead of the people of Kansas?

Douglas and his compeers have commenced this backing down process only for the purpose of conciliating enough Democratic voters to preserve his party from political ruin, never intending to carry out its principles any more than he intended to carry out the principles of the Kansas-Nebraska bill.

But there is one more backing down step, to obtain the Irish, vote that no sane man ever dreamed of. Our readers will recollect that a few months since Herbert, one of the Representatives from California, shot down Keating, an Irish waiter, in an affray at Willard's Hotel, because the waiter chose to obey his employer rather than the rowdy Herbert. Although the affray, from the beginning, was an atrocious outrage on the part of Herbert, and wholly unjustifiable, yet before the murder took place a general melee occurred and Herbert drew his pistol and shot Keating, in the heat of passion and excitement. It was considered at the time

not even an aggravated case of manslaughter, as the amount of bail (\$500) required at first indicates. That bail however was raised to \$1000, and the manslayer took his accustomed seat in Congress, and his Southern compeers refused to go into an investigation of the case. Meanwhile an important Presidential election approaches, the Irish population become excited against the perpetrator of the deed, but still more indignant at the party who shields the manslayer from the usual course of justice. The *American Celt*, an Irish paper, condemns the act and the party that screens the villain in their bosom. The partizan leaders becoming alarmed, now allow him to be indicted for murder, and locked up for trial without bail, when probably there never was a plainer case of manslaughter, which is alwaysailable. But the Democratic leaders must do something to conciliate the Irish vote, and the cry of Know-nothingism is losing its force with the Democratic party, which is in close alliance with Southern Know-nothings, to cleave down our liberties.—*Stars & Stripes.*

The Haverhill Gazette.

HAVERHILL:

SATURDAY, JULY 19, 1856.

Kansas Report.

We have read through the report of the Committee who have visited Kansas and investigated its affairs upon the spot, and a more complete bill of abominations has not been made out in modern ages. Language is inadequate to express the just abhorrence which every honest mind will feel at such a scene as has been acted in Kansas, in the name of Democracy, and law and order! The human being, male or female, possessed of common sense, who can look calmly on, and talk conservatively, and calculate what the effect of resistance to such outrages will be on his business, or the price of cotton or shoes, we can only despise.

Our fathers snuffed oppression in the breeze across the water, and inferred that if they paid a three penny tax on tea, at the will of a Parliament in which they were not represented, it would be giving up a privilege that might in any be meal, it may be something else; at least there can be no harm in keeping at a proper distance." What becomes of "squatter sovereignty" under this bill, which gives all the power of governing the Territory into the hands of Frank Pierce, instead of the people of Kansas?

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The repeal of the compromise, after they had got the equivalent, was a swindle. The law to leave all to the few settlers who might first flock into a wilderness, was insanity; to pass such a law and disregard it was a cheat; to send three or four thousand voters to choose a Legislature, was a robbery of the dearest rights of freemen; to enforce laws made by such a Legislature, is despotism. Is it possible that the free men of the North can submit thus

to be cheated, defrauded, beaten down, and have a Slave State created, and forced into the Union, with two Senators, with equal power to those of Massachusetts or New York, and by such means? May Heaven, and all honest Northern men forbid!

No man at this moment enjoys any right or protection in Kansas unless he is a pro-slavery man! Robbery, house burning, murders, are committed in open day, and the robbers and murderers are honored with appointments under the United States government, to reward them for their zeal in the cause of slavery! All this is done in the name of law and order, while resistance to the robbers, house burners, and murderers, is indicted as treason against the United States!

We are told by some men among us, that it is useless to resist; that slavery is destined to prevail; that it is useless to put a bar in its way, for the South will never submit to be limited, and the most alarming sign of the times is, that even one of the candidates for the Presidency openly holds forth the idea that if we elect a President who is opposed to the extension of slavery, there will be a Southern rebellion, and he will never be permitted to act!

Yes! Millard Fillmore, once acting President of these United States, virtually says, if you choose me or James Buchanan, who are ready to do the bidding of the slave-power, the South will be satisfied, the North, as usual, will submit, and all will be peace! But if you elect John C. Fremont, by a constitutional majority, he will never be permitted to enter the White House, or assume the government!—and to give such an opinion, is doing all in his power, in the first place, to give them the election, and if they do not succeed in that, then to encourage them in rebellion against a constitutionally elected President! As much as to say, the South have always ruled, are accustomed to rule, and must rule. If they can divide and paralyze the North, they are content to rule by votes; but if you carry the election, they will nullify it by arms, and I, Millard Fillmore, shall be on their side. s.

Douglas's Bill.

It is a prominent fact of the day, that the South are somewhat alarmed at the uprising of the North and the prospect of the election of Fremont, and now come forward with a bill for the admission of Kansas, which they would by no means have consented to three months ago. It is very plausible in its provisions, and calculated to deceive, "if it were possible, the very elect;" but need not deceive any one, unless they are willing to be deceived.

It provides for a census of Kansas, and if there are 40,000 people, they are authorized to form a State government; and makes a number of fair-sounding provisions for the freedom and fairness of the election of delegates to the Constitutional Convention.

Now mark two of the most prominent reasons for refusing to be cajoled by this insidious bill, intended to cheat the people out of their rights.

In the first place, Pierce, the very man who has rendered all the laws securing the rights of the people and the freedom of election useless, is to appoint five commissioners to manage all the business, to take the census, to set off the election districts, and be judges of the elections; and the officers so appointed, will, of course, be the Shannons, the Stringfellow, and the Joneses, who have been carrying on the outrages under the old law of squatter sovereignty, and they will, if necessary to carry their point, enumerate 10,000 of the Mis-

sourians, and allow just as many as are needed, to come in and vote.

Secondly, by that reign of terror which now rules in Kansas—by murders, and burnings, and robbery, and starvation, they have driven some thousands of Free State men out of Kansas, and prevented other thousands from coming in; so that they now calculate that an election might safely be had without the assistance of the Missouri voters, and so give them the appearance of a fair possession of the country, according to the law of squatter sovereignty, which they would perhaps prefer. But if, in the progress of the affair, there should be any fears, Missouri is at hand, and just so many of them could and would come over and vote, as would be necessary.

No! never submit to be cajoled by such a law, to be executed under Frank Pierce. Rather let the bayonet and bowie knife rule the day, till better men rule the nation.

The Ruffian Record.—No. 1.

"Many doubts exist that really there has been anything serious in Kansas."—*Essex Banner*, June 28.

Since the publication of the above quotation, the subject has been one of frequent comment, not so much on account of the *wright of influence* it carries with it, but because it takes people by surprise to find that *anybody* can be found who would be so fool-hardy as to venture such a statement.

We propose to give under this head from time to time, such accounts of outrages committed there, as shall come well authenticated, all of which will be events that happened previous to the date of the above quotation. The first that comes under our notice is found published in the Missouri Republican, of July 4, a pro-slavery paper printed at St. Louis, and is as follows:

Westport, June 23.

"William Gay, the Shawnee Indian Agent, was killed about two miles from this place, on Saturday evening, near 5 o'clock. He was almost at home—the old Shawnee Agency—but not quite across the line, when killed. The facts of the case, as stated in the affidavit of W. J. GAY, son to the deceased, who was along, are these. Three men overtook his father; they asked him to take a drink. He did so.—They then wanted to know if he was pro-slavery or anti-slavery. Gay answered that he was from Michigan. They repeated the question, when the deceased said he was in favor of a Free State. One of the three then commenced shooting at him; a scuffle ensued, and the old man was shot through the head, being wounded in several other places."

This was *only* a case where a man was murdered because he said he "came from Michigan," or because he said "he was a Free State man," the record does not distinctly state which of these two was the crime, and if it was not a "very serious" occurrence, it must be admitted that it was *some* serious. Next week we shall endeavor to find something "very serious" to present our readers.

The Dawn of a Better Day.

The passage of the bill admitting Kansas as a Free State into the Union, with the Constitution made by the real people of Kansas, has passed the House of Representatives of the United States by three majority! This, though the bill will be stopped for the present in the Senate, is a most important event. It is the second step (the election of Speaker being the first.) in a revolution, which, we trust in God, will roll onward and upward till the Constitution shall be restored to its true intent, and every citizen under it be restored to his just rights. We have some men from the North whose faces are not made of wax, or clay, or dough. They do stand firmer than hereto-

fore. The reconsideration and passage of the Kansas bill, on the motion of a Pennsylvania Democrat, is a sign of the times which may well cause a shaking in the ranks of the Kansas oppressors. That House bill will be strengthened for freedom by the next election, and next March will give an accession of Free State Senators, and cause a shaking among others, who misrepresent Free States.

THE MEMORIAL.

Liberty, guarded by Constitutions and secured by Union

Plymouth, Saturday, July 19, 1856.

Old Folks' Concert.

We understand that the Old Folks' Association of Singers, by invitation of the Kansas Aid Committee, propose to give a concert on Tuesday evening next, at Davis Hall—the proceeds of which will be added to the sum already subscribed for aiding the sufferers in Kansas. We commend this labor of love to the patronage of our citizens, which, while it presents an occasion of rational entertainment, affords the further advantage of promoting the cause both of freedom and humanity.

The following ode, composed for the occasion, will be sung by the Choir at this concert.

Ode on Kansas.

Composed for the Old Folk's Concert in aid of Kansas.

Hark! hear ye not, in thrilling strains,
Far off from Kansas' plains,
Borne on the breeze a startling cry,
Come, to our rescue fly.

For tyrant power, with lawless band,
Now triumphs o'er the land,
While Slavery's hosts are on their way,
Bound to devour and slay.

No peaceful home securely stands,
UnsoUGHT by ruffian hands;
Rich fields and fair, our toil invite,
But cursed by Slavery's blight.

Where now are Freedom's gallant hosts,
Why sleep they at their posts?
Awake, arise, true men and brave,
Freedom and Kansas save.

Sons of the Pilgrims, hark ye now,
And stamp the holy vow,
That dark oppression never more,
Find foothold on our shore.

The Fall River Monitor.

SATURDAY MORNING, JULY 19, 1856.

COMMUNICATIONS.

At a meeting of the Ladies of Fall River, held at Music Hall July 7th, 1856, for the purpose of consultation in regard to the duty of the women of Fall River, in the present alarming crisis of our country's affairs, and of adopting such measures as may be deemed most expedient to aid the cause of Freedom in Kansas, and our country at large—

Mrs. A. Gilbert was chosen Chairman, and A. C. G. Canedy Secretary.

After listening to remarks from different persons present, with regard to the object of the meeting, a committee of five was appointed to take measures for the formation of a Ladies Society, and to prepare a constitution for the same.

At a subsequent meeting held July 10th, 1856, the following Memorial, with the accompanying resolutions, was read and adopted:

MEMORIAL.

When the Missouri Compromise was repealed, we felt that there never had been, on the part of the admirers and defenders of slavery, an honest intention to carry out the provisions of that agreement. We felt that all gentlemen, North and South, regarding slavery as a dark and blighting cloud, whose spread must be stayed, or whose influence must forever blight the fair promise of our new republic, had been deceived by crafty and intriguing counselors into submission to that compromise, that their opposition might be silenced, and the institution they abhorred, gather strength.

But we wept and prayed in secret. We expressed to those around us the feeling, that the repeal of that compromise carried into operation by peopling Kansas with a population of

slaves would be a cause sufficient to justify the exercise of the right of revolution; a right always claimed by the Saxon race, always acknowledged by their Kings and rulers, and never surrendered by the states or the inhabitants of the state. But our fathers, our brothers, our sons, assured us that slaves never could remain in Kansas; that it had been secured to freedom by the most solemn treaty that man could make—that the repeal of the Missouri compromise by the thirty-third Congress was only to be regarded in the light of a deliberate insult to the friends of liberty throughout this whole Republic from North to South, from East to West, that the public conscience was arrayed against the institution of slavery, and that no serious and persistent effort would be made to establish it in that territory.

These assurances did not quiet our fears, but we were silent. As a consequence of the repeal of the Missouri compromise, the territory of Kansas became the theatre of terrible conflicts, attended with the catalogue of sufferings, that always accompanies such breaches of faith.

We looked upon these scenes, and silently, in the quiet recesses of our own houses, with tears and supplications we commended the suffering friends of liberty in that territory to the care of an omnipresent God, and besought him that he would deliver them from the rule of unreasonable men.

But what see we next? Mr. Sumner, of Massachusetts, in his place in the Senate of the United States, replies to numerous attacks upon himself and those whom he represents.

This reply was as temperate as any man could demand that it should be. Mr. Sumner also personified slavery and exhibited the picture that men might see and eschew that institution, nor seek to thrust it upon Kansas or spread it throughout the North, or over the goodly State of Massachusetts, where, it is said, one honorable Senator affirms, he shall soon appear and call the roll of his slaves beneath the shadow of Bunker Hill Monument. For this Mr. Sumner is attacked in his seat in the Senate chamber of the United States, and smitten with deadly blows.

Our sensibilities were shocked. The midnight hour found us reflecting on this terrible transaction, its accompanying circumstances, and its portentous implications. When we slept, a feverish troubled sleep it was, only to awaken surrounded with a vision of those frightful wounds, each speaking ominously of ills fast hastening to overwhelm us in hopeless, unextricable miseries.

But we were silent. We uttered not our thoughts before the world: we trusted to the wisdom of the wise to meet this awful, this unprecedented event in the history of our country, with bold and brave and manly dignity. The wise have done so, and we hope they will be always wise.

But what see we next? A Senator venerable with years, bearing the ornament of many a valuable service rendered to his State and to his country, rises in his place and points to the ladies of this Republic as the promoters of the youthful and unfortunate Brooks in that unmitigated and murderous deed that has stained his name. And we hear that same venerable Senator say, "I would trust to the instinct of woman upon subjects of this kind."

Shall the ladies of this republic thus disagree and thus invoked be longer silent? We say no! Had ladies spoken earlier and more persistently, and memorialized more earnestly, the Missouri compromise might still have been in operation, Kansas might now have presented a field for peaceful enterprise. The Senate chamber of the United States might have been arrayed on the side of righteousness and truth, nor appeared as now it must, on the page of history in the position of a true breaker of the deepest dye, opening the way for contention and every evil work.

We move the following resolutions:

Resolved, That whereas, in a speech delivered June 12th and 13th, 1856, a Senator in high repute says that in cases where the redress of wrong is concerned, he "would trust to the instinct of woman";

Resolved, That it now becomes the duty of the ladies of this republic to watch the progress of debate and legislation in the Congress of these United States, and to exert all the influence they may possess for the redress of wrongs.

And whereas, in order to carry out the foregoing resolution, it will be necessary to read with care the debates in Congress; and whereas the Congressional Globe presents the best and most authentic transcript of these debates—

Resolved, That we will secure the reading of this paper to the extent of our power, and also such other works as shall tend to enlighten our judgment, that when we converse with honorable men, we may not prompt them to step from the paths of "honor and glory and immortality."

Resolved, That the ladies of this republic will do well to organize societies to carry out the spirit of the foregoing resolutions, and that the ladies now present be organized into a society to be called "The Jessie Circle."

A Society was then organized by the choice of the following persons as officers:

- President—Mrs. ORIN FOWLER.
- Vice Presidents—Mrs. A. Gilbert, J. Bowen, J. Clark, Miss L. Dean, A. C. G. Caudy.
- Secretary—Miss E. R. Shove.
- Treasurer—Miss M. E. Gardner.

Resolved, That as a Senator from South Carolina has declared that he would trust to the "instinct of woman" where redress of wrong is concerned, therefore we assure him and the world that this "instinct" now calls loudly for the redress of those wrongs under which Kansas is suffering.

Resolved, That while our sisters in Kansas are driven from their homes, their household goods wantonly destroyed, their lives perilled, their fathers, brothers, husbands and sons shot down in cold blood, or horribly mangled and left to endure the agonies of death before their very eyes; it would be a crime in us to sit with folded hands in our comfortable homes, uttering no word of earnest remonstrance against these outrageous wrongs.

Resolved, That while our sympathies are enlisted in behalf of the wrongs in Kansas, we do not forget that three and a

half millions of the inhabitants of our country, who, equally entitled to all the blessings of liberty which we enjoy, are now held in abject slavery; and while our sisters in bondage are subject to every outrage and degradation which the irresponsible power of wicked men may suggest, it becomes peculiarly the province of woman to speak and act in their behalf, and to use her influence in the holy cause of human freedom.

Resolved, That whereas the results of the past afford sufficient encouragement that women are competent to act for their country, (at least in the way of "agitating," without which nothing can be accomplished,) we will continue our efforts if thereby we can assist in the smallest way to restore our republic to that liberty for which it was so freely bleed.

Resolved, That those members of the House of Representatives, and of the Senate of the United States, who at the peril of their lives are bravely sustaining freedom of speech and debate at the Capitol of this nation, and who deny the right of the people to establish slavery in the territory of Kansas, have our most cordial approbation, our sympathy, and our prayers.

Resolved, That as the present administration has submitted in the most unmanly degree to the behests of the slave power, and Mr. Buchanan, the present nominee of the Democratic party, approves of the policy of the administration, and has pledged himself to carry out the same, and believing this policy fully carried out will bring the affairs of government into utter confusion, and whereas we believe the peace, the prosperity, the freedom of our country, and the perpetuity of its much loved institutions, affording to a large portion of the people of the States the blessings of free schools, a free church, and free bible, do now demand a change of measures, and to accomplish this a change of rulers is necessary, therefore—

Resolved, That we approve the nomination of Mr. FREMONT for President of these United States; and pledge ourselves that "all that woman can do, and may do, we will do," to secure his election.

Resolved, That from what we know of Mrs. Fremont, we believe that she furnishes an admirable example of firmness on the side of right; and we do therefore rejoice in the opportunity to pledge ourselves that "all that woman can do, and may do, we will do," to place this lady in the position of mistress of the presidential mansion.

Resolved, That the question now before the American public is one of right and wrong, truth and humanity, and not one of party politics, and therefore we will disregard the cry so often raised by those interested in the suppression of truth, that woman is overstepping the bounds of her sphere, and while we have leads to think, to speak, or hear, or feel and pray, we will use them all for the cause of freedom and humanity, till our beloved country shall become in reality, what it is only in name, a FREE REPUBLIC.

PROVIDENCE JOURNAL.

SATURDAY MORNING, JULY 19, 1856.

Hon. P. S. Brooks: One of the noble sons of South Carolina.

The Abolitionists of Massachusetts—the birth place of Know-Nothingism, so much cherished by office-seekers and demagogues of the South: Remember, b—j—, that Brooks has several new names!

The Patriotic Sons of South Carolina now in Kansas: Fame will inscribe their names on the tablets of eternal memory, we trust of honor shall encircle their brows and they shall ever receive the just praise of their countrymen.

The policy of the Democratic party, in the presidential campaign, has been bold, adroit and ingenious, and thus far successful. The leading idea has been to adopt such measures as should secure one section of the Union beyond all doubt and in one solid column, and then to trust to the attractive force of so much assured strength, to draw to it enough from the other section to make a majority. No such experiment could be made with the North for there is no question on which the North is sufficiently united to be so easily won; there is no such commonity of interest, no such unanimity of opinion as to make such an issue possible. But in the South, slavery presented the very question that we wanted. The proposition came not from the South. It was a Northern Senator who offered to open the vexed question that had been solemnly settled by a compact that both parties agreed to, and that the whole country had accepted; to break down not only the recent compromise, but that which had stood for thirty years, till it had acquired almost the force and sanctity of organic law. It was a Northern President that, in the vain hope of turning to his personal advantage the new power that he was raising on the ruins of the peace of the country, pushed the measure through, and planted his feet upon freedom in the territories. The South accepted it, as was anticipated. Party bonds, weakening every day, have kept some portion of the North in subservency to the new party with an old name.

But, if we mistake not the political signs, the managers who have arranged all this, who have perpetrated the great wrong, are beginning to be fearful of the consequences. There is an apprehension that they have gone too far, that in their concessions to make one section secure, beyond all possibility of loss, they have endangered the little that is necessary in the North, in order to make the product of all this inquiry available. Even the

Democrats in the North will not bear every thing; it is not possible to stultify all of them with offices, and there is a degree of humiliation that men shrink from even at the demand of party. It is some such far as this that has caused the change in the administration and its friends in the Senate towards Kansas, and that is expressed in the bill which has passed that body. The abandonment of squatter sovereignty so far as to repeal certain abominable laws, the very existence of which they denied, and all power over which they repudiated, the provision that the free settlers who have been driven out shall be permitted to return, the consent to admit Kansas as a State before the population has reached the representative number are all evidences of this. It is felt that something must be done to appease the North, something to stem that tide of feeling which is sweeping from the Aroostook to the Potomac, and along the whole Northern latitude from ocean to ocean.

But in the same time it is necessary to keep the compact with the South. To politicians of little principle, accustomed to deal with a party that loved to be cheated, that rose from one deception only to plunge into another, there was little difficulty in promising to both sections, the intention being to deceive the one from which the least support was needed. True, while the North is to be appeased with the concessions in the bill that has passed the Senate, the South is carefully guarded in all the practical benefits which it is expected from the original outrage. Kansas is to be made a slave State at a rate. True, the bill, in some important respects, reads fairly; but Franklin Pierce is to execute it; true, commissioners are to be appointed to see that the census is honestly taken and that the voting is fairly conducted, but the President and Senate are to appoint them; true, Gen. Cass says, that they shall be honorable men, but Gen. Cass's promise that Gen. Pierce will do what he ought to do, in a matter where slavery is concerned, is of a wretchedly little value; no one doubts that a majority of the commissioners will be favorable to the introduction of slavery into Kansas by such means as have been employed for that purpose for the last year. It is true that the bill allows the free settlers to go back, but the Missourians guard all the entrances; true, illegal voting is to be punished, but the illegal votes will be counted, and the offenders will be tried before juries, that Jones emancipates and that Leconte charges.



NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JULY 19, 1856.

From the Detroit Free Press.

KANSAS.
LEAVENWORTH CITY, K. T., July 2, 1856.

I have conversed freely, during my abode in the Territory, with the strong and energetic men of both parties. The national free State men tell me, "We do not wish the democratic party, the government, or the people of the Union, to say that Kansas must be made a free State, for that would violate the Kansas act, and amount to sectionalism. All that we can or should ask for—all we now plead for—is, that the government in Washington will enforce the Kansas-Nebraska act, according to what is deemed to be its true intent and meaning—to protect the actual settlers in arranging their own domestic institutions in their own way, unmolested by all outside influences and all internal oppression by force and arms." They wish peaceably to go to the ballot-box and there fairly settle the question—the majority to rule, the minority to yield. And, unless the government gives protection, such as will enable them fairly to exercise this privilege, "there can be no peace" in the Territory. These free State men further charge that, from the commencement of the reign of BREWER down to and since the imbecile administration of SHANNON, the good citizens and settlers of Kansas have been exposed to, and have suffered inhumanly by, "border ruffians," not more so, in my humble opinion, than from the "aid factions" of the North. But, so talk the free State, conservative men. On the other hand, you are told by the pro-slavery party that the aggressions of those who have come here armed to the teeth with Sharp's rife, and the anticipated accessions to the "rife party" soon to be made, have exterminated them, and they will no longer hide their reprobated determination to protect themselves and their rife.

AFAIRS IN WASHINGTON.

[FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT] WASHINGTON, July 17.

The Democratic caucus last night was called chiefly to facilitate the passage of the Kansas bill through the House. They can only effect that object with the aid of Mr. DUNN and his friends, who are with as clearly committed against the principle and purpose of the bill as any members of the House.

The caucus was not numerously attended, and if any negotiations were authorized with the DUNN party, they have not reached the public ear. The meeting resolved, however, that they would stand by Mr. CHAPMAN, the DOUGLAS sitting delegate from Nebraska, against Mr. BENNETT the Republican contestant. The Democrats are already committed to WHITFIELD.

Another remarkable illustration of the violence and insolence of the Pro-Slavery faction at the seat of Government, was supplied last evening, by a combined border-ruffian attack upon Mr. HANSCOMBE, a Clerk of the late Kansas Investigating Committee, at his lodgings. This gentleman is a correspondent of one of the New York papers, and being informed of the facts, naturally called attention to the politeness displayed by the self-styled Capt. PATE, when captured by Capt. BROWNE. PATE being here with a numerous delegation of persons of his own class from Kansas, required Mr. HANSCOMBE to retract his statement. This Mr. HANSCOMBE refused to do, because, he said, among other reasons, it corresponded in all essential particulars with PATE's own published account of the affair. Not being satisfied with this reply, PATE has been lurking about the Hall for some days with a gang of kindred spirits, seeking an opportunity to assault Mr. HANSCOMBE at a disadvantage. Not finding it the gallant borderer yesterday afternoon, made a descent upon the residence of Mr. H. with a party numbering four or five apparently fighting men. They were all intoxicated, and no doubt all armed. Mr. HANSCOMBE came to the door, when, after some parleying, PATE aimed a blow at him, and then instantly retreated behind two of his friends. Mr. H. placed his hand upon the stock of a pistol which he had provided for the emergency, but at this moment Captain DARLING, door-keeper, of the house, not perceiving the motion of Mr. H.'s hand, seized and thrust him back into the hall of the house, and himself stepped forward, and placing himself in a fighting attitude, politely invited any and all of the gang to a set-to with nature's weapons, which they unanimously declined, and so on disappeared. Two of the gang, very large and powerful men, subsequently returned, and assailed one of Capt. DARLING's messengers—a small and feeble person. Mr. PHIPPS and the messenger being present, seized one of the ruffians by the throat, and while engaged in choking him, his confederate completed the assault which both had commenced on the defenceless young man. In the meantime, one of the assailants amused himself with cursing a colored servant belonging to the house, and only desisted from his abuse upon Capt. DARLING's threatening to blow him through with a pistol, which at this stage of the affray had been produced.

The atmosphere of violence and lawlessness which surrounds this community, and especially the Northern members of Congress and persons in attendance upon it, was further thickened by WHITFIELD himself threatening, within the hall of the House, to have the messenger who was yesterday assaulted,—who is keeper of one of the doors of the House, and was upon duty at the time,—beaten within an inch of his life, if he dared to denounce the man who committed the violence upon him. This is precisely the spirit which exists in Kansas, and indeed which animates the party and the section now struggling and clamoring for the extension of slavery.

The letter of "A Southerner" ought to attract general attention at the North. We already knew it to be true that a very large proportion of the Southern People desire the success of the Anti-Nebraska candidates in the pending Presidential contest. They hope to live to see the day wherein a free citizen may speak out his detestation of Slavery as freely at the South as he now can at the North. It has taken years of struggle and sacrifice to bring the North to this point, and it will take years more to produce a like healthy condition at the South; but the day will come, and will be greatly hastened by the election of Fremont and Dayton. The Southern friends of Free Labor want the moral support of a Free Kansas victory in the Union to enable them to speak as they think, and live in the fear of God rather than in that of the rowdy's Bowie-knife and bullet. A Free-Soil triumph in the Union will enable the Washingtons, Jeffersons and Patrick Henrys of the South to write and speak of Slavery as their prototypes did throughout the heroic age of our Republic. Will you not be p them to gain this liberty?

We take the following from The Cattaraugus Republican, a journal which emphatically "goes the whole hog" for Buchanan and Brecheenridge: "Gems in the Republican Diadem."

"REPUBLICAN" SAYINGS.—The following expressions of "Republican" sentiment cannot be placed before the people too often:

"The Union is not worth supporting in connection with the South." [N. Y. Tribune.] "The Constitution is a reproach and a league with Treason." [Garrison.]

"Sharp's rifles are better than Bibles." [Henry Ward Beecher.] "Let the Union slide." [N. P. Banks.]

Lying may be a necessity to those who wish to elect Mr. Buchanan, but if such lying as the above is required, his case must be even more desperate than we supposed.

AN APPEAL FROM THE SOUTH.

To the Editor of The N. Y. Tribune.

Sir: Moderate men of the South, who will not be dragged into the advocacy and support, at all hazards, of the extension of Slavery into the National Territories, who desire that, for the good of those Territories, the Slavery may be excluded by act of Congress, as the only mode of bringing peace to the Country, rest their hopes entirely upon the efforts of the people of the Northern States. If you fail, the cause is undone; if you are firm, your efforts to crush Slavery propagandism will be hailed with joy by very many Southern men. Owing to the nature of Slavery, and in consequence of the violence it engenders, it is impossible to organize in the South a party that should place itself in opposition to the extreme demands of the more violent defenders of the system. A state of terrorism, of more or less intensity, prevails throughout the entire South. A few bold, noble men there are, however, who will not be brow beaten into the support of a system of Slavery propagandism such as that carried on by a Northern President at this moment. These men lack a proper support. They dislike Slavery, and think it just and fit that it should be restrained within its present limits; not, however, because the National Government should so restrict it with a view to affect the security of that species of property in the States, but because the good of the Territories and the peace of the Union demand it. They are embarrassed, however, by their lack of confidence in the firmness and determination of the people of the North. To you they are compelled to look, and especially to the effort of the great "opposition" party of the North. There is no confidence to be reposed in the so-called Democratic party of the nation. For years it has been coming more and more demoralized, and while losing strength at the North, it has, at least, in order to retain its hold at the South, adopted Slavery extension and its grandizement as the great objects for which it labors. All other objects are sunk in the effort to secure more territory for Slavery. Though having adherents at the North, and a Northern candidate for the Presidency, it is emphatically a Southern party policy. In the question of the day to a violent Southern policy, it certainly does not, as has been asserted, represent the people of the Country at home and abroad.

It is useless to blink the question at issue. It is between Slavery extension and propagandism on the one hand, and Slavery restriction on the other. Choose ye which ye will have! We here can do no more than say that we are in favor of Slavery restriction, and that we are in favor of the great question of correct principles, that we are willing to found ourselves in its favor. Yet why should we

be true to ourselves? May you not again present the appalling spectacle of a free people so lost to all proper sense of their own dignity as to call themselves Democrats and yet surrender themselves as the tools of men of violence, who love not the union of these States and respect not its peace? You of the North were astounded to see the apparent unanimity with which the Kansas-Nebraska bill was approved of by the South. Upon whose shoulders do you think the great guilt of that measure must rest? I say, not upon the South. Our conduct was indefensible, I grant. We should have rejected the cunning bait. We should have considered the appalling consequences that have since followed, and which, as has been well said, are the "logical consequences" of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. But those members of the Democratic party from the North, who gave in their adhesion to that measure, must take to themselves the great guilt. Against their wishes, against what they felt to be the interest of the whole country, and of the South in particular, a large number of Southern Representatives were reluctantly forced into the support of that measure. Why should they stand out, and be sacrificed for opposition to such a measure as that repeal when the Democratic party of the North made the measure its own? Among Southern Statesmen there is for the most part a forced unanimity on the question of Slavery. However much that repeal might have been desired by a goodly number of Southern men, they would never have dared to propose it. A Northern man must be found base enough to father the measure. Having secured such a one, and having secured the adhesion of a sufficient number of Northern men to pass the bill, they brought their system of terrorism to bear upon the reluctant Southern members, and completed what all candid men must regard as a gross breach of faith. Have we ground to believe that the North will not again be so recreant to its duty, so ready to do the bidding of a few political rogues and demagogues? If we can with good reason believe that the North will act firmly and energetically on this question then there may be cooperation of effort. It would be otherwise useless to attempt such cooperation.

Besides, though willing to cooperate with a party aiming at the restriction of Slavery, we wish to have some security that, when brought into power, it will not make unjustifiable and improper attacks upon Slavery in the States. There is a general apprehension in the South that such would be the case. The sole object aimed at should be a change of the policy of the National Government on the subject of Slavery extension. Stopping there, the question of Slavery would be settled in the only way in which it is possible to settle it, as a national question. Quietness and peace would succeed to such a settlement, and then only would the several States turn their attention to Slavery within their own borders.

In the meantime, what can be done by the Administration to secure Slavery to Kansas? Depend upon it a plan is arranged, and will be attempted to be carried out, to stave off, if possible, the October election in Kansas until after the Presidential election. Slavery in Kansas must not be put in jeopardy thereby, but the damaging effect of another Missouri invasion must be avoided. Yours, respectfully, A. HOUERNER. St. Louis, June 25, 1856.

KANSAS.

DISPERSION OF THE FREE-STATE LEGISLATIVE CONVENTION BY UNITED STATES TROOPS.

From our Special Correspondent. TOPEKA, Friday, July 4, 1856.

The morning of the glorious Fourth broke cloudily in Topeka, on this the 60th anniversary of the birthday of Freedom, but soon the clouds rolled away before the fresh prairie breezes of Kansas, and the golden sun looked down upon a day hitherto consecrated to Freedom, but now chosen as the occasion of an outrage unparalleled in our country's history—a day in which the terrible drama, "We will subdue you," reached its culminating point.

To-day, Franklin Pierce has done what has only been done thrice in the annals of history—Oliver Cromwell forcibly dissolved the Long Parliament; Napoleon, with force of arm, dispersed the National Assembly; and now, Franklin Pierce has employed the national troops to enter the hall of representatives of a free people, and drive them from it. That such monstrous despotism should have begun to form a part of our governmental policy, is a startling fact, and should awaken every lover of American liberty to search for the least landmarks of our glorious Constitution.

The national flag floated proudly over Topeka on this Fourth of July; and over the Hall of Legislation, or State buildings, was displayed a flag American in every respect, save that among the stars was a larger additional star on the corner—the 37th star of Kansas.

Around the large new Hotel the Convention had assembled, and proceeded to transact its business. Some half a dozen military companies, in handsome uniform, paraded about. Ladies promenaded with little banners flying from their parasols. The scene was highly interesting. In spite of the apparent indifference, many

hearts throbbed anxiously for the denouement of the day's proceedings. It was well known that nearly all the military force in Kansas was concentrated within a few hundred yards of Topeka, and that in the camp of Col. Sumner was Secretary Woodson, the infamous Jeffereys Lecompte, Donaldson, who led on the plundering hordes to the sack of Lawrence, Judges Cato and Elmoro, and other influential Pro-Slavery men; and it was also known that those men, who have shown the most inveterate hostility to the settlers of Kansas, were plotting mischief against them. All this was known, and although it might make the pulsation of some hearts beat quicker, it neither disturbed nor affected their action.

About 10 o'clock, Postscript Donaldson, accompanied by Judge Elmoro, entered the town, and gave it to be understood that he had a proclamation to read. The Convention paused in its business and invited these gentlemen to the stand. Postscript Donaldson being, like Moses, not particularly well qualified for public speaking, called on his Aaron, in the shape of Judge Elmoro, who read the Proclamation of the President, dated in February, a Law-and-Order document, the significance of which was comprehended at the time, and which was now made to do its work in the drama, "We will subdue you." Next was read the second proclamation of Gov. Shannon, issued a month ago, and then followed the proclamation of Secretary Woodson, which acting under Presidential authority, commanded the Legislature to disperse, and threatened it with violence from the troops in case they did not submit to this order. The proclamation being read these gentlemen made their exodus as they had made their advent, neither being accompanied by any external or visible symptoms of a moral earthquake, and the Convention proceeded with its business which had been interrupted. This evidently charmed Postscript Donaldson, who turned round and interrupted the debate upon a resolution, by asking if we had any reply to carry down to Col. Sumner? The President informed Mr. D. that this assemblage was not the Legislature to which the proclamation had been specially addressed, but asked him if it was desired that we should send any reply? Donaldson said no, but if we had anything to send he would convey it. The President on behalf of the Convention informed him that we had no communication to send.

These gentlemen left, and matters went on as before. It was nearly 12 o'clock, the sun was blazing down and the thermometer stood at 109°, when we learned that Col. Sumner, with five companies of cavalry and two pieces of brass cannon were leaving their camp and approaching Topeka in full military array. Although they were only 260 yards off the report did not disturb the Convention or other matters. If resistance had been intended Col. Sumner never would have entered Topeka, and would have been met before he could get possession. It had been determined that no resistance should be offered the United States troops but that we should proceed with our business and let them do their worst. Instructions from Gov. Robinson were, that the Legislature and the people should pay no attention to the proclamations which invaded their constitutional rights; if the Legislature was dispersed at the point of the bayonet, to disperse without offering to go back to the Hall, and not to attack the troops; but if the troops wantonly fired on the Legislature or the people, to fire back, and it would have been done. Had this act of cruelty been added to the other crimes, not one of the officers would have been left to tell the story. The men are our friends.

But Col. Sumner fulfilled his duty in as gentlemanly a manner as such wretched orders could be obeyed. At the moment of his approach the two Topeka companies, F and G, were drawn up before the Legislative Hall building. They had just marched up the street, preceded by martial music, and had formed in front of the State House to receive a banner the ladies had made for Company G. The street was filled with a crowd, among whom were many ladies and children, when Col. Sumner appeared with his forces rapidly debouching into Kansas avenue. With great rapidity and considerable military skill he threw his men forward, and by rapid orders, shouted in a stern, shrill voice, formed his companies into the strongest form they could occupy for their service. Perhaps many hearts beat faster when they thought that a scene of carnage might in the next few minutes blot out the startling and brilliant panoramas. On the one hand the armed and uniformed dragoons, with flashing sabres—on the other only two Topeka companies, with their two banners, one of them just received, bearing the inscription, "Our lives for our rights." Nobly they stood. While the dragoons approached the band was playing, but the drummers continued to drum until the drumsticks nearly touched the noses of the advancing horses of the dragoons, and only stopped when Sumner requested them. One little boy was beating the kettle-drum, and rattled it manfully, never

turning to look at the dragoons. In the rapid movements of the dragoons in forming into position, they pressed on the Topeka companies, but those men kept their position and only stepped out of their ranks when the horses were ridden up to them, and only then far enough not to be trampled on. The sharp, shrill voice of Sumner rang through Kansas avenue, and all around the State House, as he gave orders and the dragoons wheeled into form. The two pieces of artillery were planted about a hundred yards up the street; they were said to be loaded with grape. The slow match was lighted.

After the dragoons were placed so as to suit Col. Sumner's taste, he dismounted and walked toward the Assembly-rooms. Both Senate and House stood adjourned to meet at 12 o'clock, a fact of which Col. Sumner appeared to be aware. The lower House was just assembling, when Col. Sumner inquired in the Hall where the Legislature met. Mr. E. J. Tappan, Clerk, the Speaker, Mr. Mirard, being absent, called the Legislature to order by rapping with the gavel on the Speaker's desk. He then called the roll, and there not being a quorum, sent the Sergeant-at-Arms after the absentees. When Sumner had first entered and had been invited forward, he was offered a chair at the desk; he jeocularly asked if they wanted to make him speaker. This was received by a hearty shout and laughter. The rooms were crowded by the citizens to witness the spectacle, and some ladies got into the room. The roll was again called by Mr. C. S. Pratt, Recording Clerk, and the absentees marked, when Col. Sumner rose and said:

"GENTLEMEN: I am called upon this day to perform the most painful duty of my whole life. Under the authority of the President's proclamation I am here to disperse this Legislature, and therefore inform you that you cannot meet. I, therefore, order you to disperse. God knows that I have no party feeling in this matter, and will hold none so long as I occupy my present position in Kansas. I have just returned from the Borders, where I have been sending home companies of Missourians, and now I am ordered here to disperse you. Such are my orders, and you must disperse. I now command you to disperse. I repeat that this is the most painful duty of my whole life."

Judge Schuyler asked—"Col. Sumner, are we to understand that the Legislature are driven out at the point of the bayonet?"

Col. Sumner—"I shall use all the forces in my command to carry out my orders."

The Legislature dispersed. Some of the members in town did not appear at the Hall, but the immortal number who responded to their names occupy a proud position. Some pleasant interchange of civilities occurred between Col. Sumner and persons in the Hall—members and others. He left the Hall and mounted his horse, when he was reminded that he had not dispersed the Senate. He dismounted and returned to the Senate Chamber, Postscript Donaldson going with him; Donaldson having also been present at the dispersion of the Legislature. The Senate had not yet been convened, as it was but very little past the appointed hour, but Col. Sumner, addressing them in their collective capacity, proceeded to disperse them in terms something similar to those used in the Hall below. When he concluded there was a pause, the Senators standing in a circle, silently but respectfully. No one was in the Hall but the Senators, the Senate officers, Col. Sumner, Postscript Donaldson, and your correspondent. Col. Sumner broke the pause by asking if they intended to disperse. With calmness and dignity, Mr. Thornton, President of the Senate, replied that the Senate had not yet convened, and could not make any reply. He asked Col. Sumner if he could convene the Senate, so that they could make a reply to him. Col. Sumner replied that his orders were to prevent them from meeting, and that they could not convene, but must disperse.

Here Postscript Donaldson stepped forward, and made the outrageous demand that the Senators should promise not to assemble again, or he would arrest every member. Monstrous usurping villainy for a Federal officer! if he had writs from a court to serve on either of these officers, it was his duty to serve them independent of any contingency; if he had none, he had no right to arrest or molest a man, and as little thus to insult popular representatives thus assembled. Several Senators told Col. Sumner that when thus dispersed by him, they would of course disperse. Mr. Pillsbury said that they were there in no condition to resist the United States troops, and must of course disperse. Thus was the Senate dispersed.

When Col. Sumner first entered the town, a Committee from the mass Convention immediately waited on him to ask if he intended to disperse the Convention or disband the military companies on parade? He replied that he did not—he merely intended to disperse the Legislature. While

the dragoons were thus drawn up, and while Col. Sumner made this reply, three cheers were given for Col. Sumner. Mr. Redpath cried three cheers for Governor Robinson, which were given very heartily, and then three cheers for Liberty. After Col. Sumner had dispersed both branches of the Assembly, and just as he proceeded to march off with his force, in order to show that they respected him for his gentlemanly conduct, and did not hold him responsible for the grievous outrage, three cheers were given for Col. Sumner again, three cheers for the National flag, three cheers for the State Legislature, three cheers for John C. Fremont, which were given as the dragoons were moving off, and three groans for Pierce.

Just as Col. Sumner entered the Legislative hall to disperse that body he was met by some ladies at the door, who addressed him and said "We are happy to see you, Col. Sumner." He gave a hand or two of them and said, "Ladies, I am sorry to disturb you, but I must do my duty."

Mrs. Gaines of Lawrence said: "O how, we have met to present a banner to one of these Topeka companies on this day of our would-be independence."

He replied: "Madame, I hope you will be independent."

I am not one of those who, in esteeming the politeness of the man, can forget the conduct of the soldier. I believe Col. Sumner to be a brave officer and a gentleman; but as I saw him make the tool to trample on the dearest rights of American citizens, and saw the national banner disgraced by the perpetration of one of the most grievous acts of tyranny of modern times, I saw the dark finger marks of Oregon Government, and perceived the infamous declaration of "We will subdue you" fearfully written.

AFFAIRS IN KANSAS.

From Our Special Correspondent.

LAWRENCE, K. T., Thursday, July 10, 1856. The mail to day has just brought us intelligence of the defeat of the bill to admit Kansas under the Topeka Constitution, in Congress. It fell like a cruel stroke at this moment of manly calamity. In all their trials the squatters of Kansas at least hoped that the National House of Representatives would stand their friend. When they contemplated the issue, or the vicissitudes here, which ought to have a tongue like thunder in the ear of the American lawyer, they had a right to hope Duty, honor, humanity, even policy were on their side, and when the cruel stab came, just on the heels of the despotism tramping on our constitutional rights by the Federal troops each felt like exclaiming: "Etu Brute!" Had Mr. Dunn and his colleagues heard the bitter words, and in some cases, deep curses, that were showered upon him, and seen the regretful expression of stern men who have hoped under trial and suffered much, he might, perhaps, have realized something more of a ruler's responsibility.

Gen. Smith arrived in Kansas a few days ago, and is now at Fort Leavenworth. His advent will make little change in the aspect of affairs. Like Col. Sumner, he is subject to the Governor of the Territory, and of course we must look to that functionary for directions how to use the military power.

It appears that Gov. Shannon is one of the things not easily got rid of. A week or two ago he left Kansas, having himself originated the reports of his resignation and its causes. Now he comes back, and coolly contradicts these reports. It appears that Gen. Smith found him in St. Louis and brought him back with him. I suspect the true cause of his return is a dislike on the part of the Administration to confess their weakness by such changes. Besides, were they to appoint a Southern fire-eater, it might have a bad effect in the North; and to appoint an honorable and impartial man, would damage their dear bought popularity in the South. As usual, Shannon is profuse of promises of future good behavior. Gen. Smith is to protect him against the Pro-Slavery mob about Leecompton, who, it appears, did not give the Governor a fair chance. Well, we shall see what we shall see.

I have just seen a gentleman from Oswattimie, who informs me that there is a large camp of Pro-Slavery men near that town, being on the Indian lands about a mile and a half to the south-east. They are chiefly young Alabamians and Carolinians. There is a company of dragoons in Oswattimie. These young Southerners, who are of the Buford regiment, profess to be there for the purpose of building a town; a very probable story for these young adventurers, especially when we remember the fact of their subsisting on the contributions of others. What these fellows really contemplate going we shall find out by and by.

It is stated that Gen. Smith intends to station part of his force near Kansas City, to watch Northern emigrants, and prevent those who may have arms entering the Territory. If this be so

the intention of the general Government to wrest the Constitutional right to bear arms from the people, must be deliberate and premeditated. Certainly there never was greater need for the exercise of their right than now in Kansas, where there is actually no security except in the right people have to defend themselves. The piratical espionage on the river has not been so strict for the past few days. Persons traveling alone, who have either pretended to be Pro-Slavery, or who were supposed to be not worth molesting, have succeeded in getting through.

THE EVENING POST.

SATURDAY EVENING, JULY 19.

(For the Evening Post.)
WHEN FREEDOM GOES FORTH.

When Freedom goes forth,
From her home in the North,
There's a trembling of tyrants and thrones;
And taskmen, whose music is groans
Of the slaves they have fettered and lashed,
Till the cloud of their woe has outflashed
In humanity's lightnings, to blast
The gyve and the fetter at last—
With terror awaft,
As from God's hand, their fate!

For Freedom's God-given!
And, wide as the heaven
O'er canopies Earth, is man's right;
His right! and the tower of his might,
If he clasp her bright crown to his brow,
And swear on her altars a vow
To wear it, his guardian of toil!
Free altars, free speech and free soil—
And if tyrants oppose,
Smite them down as man's foes!

O Freedom, go forth
From your home in the North!
From your mountains of refuge arise!
And flame o'er the land to the skies.
Your lightning, till terror makes white
Lips of tyrants and taskmen—O smite!
The red-handed, who've torn Freedom's crown
From the brow of the slave, trampled down!
Whelm Slavery's black night
In the glare of your light!

O Freedom, go forth
From your home in the North!
Till your mountains and valleys outpour
Their millions, to kindle once more
The fires on your altars of old;
By your thunders be tyranny told
"Thus far and no farther, your waves!"
And the taskmen, "thus far with your slaves
And no farther, or swift
Be overwhelmed without shrift!"

O Freedom, go forth
From your home in the North!
While hamlets and villages waken,
And trade-delving cities are shaken
By the rush and the roar of your tread,
Till races and nations are led
By your trump to the van of the fight,
Where man strikes for Freedom and right,
Until fetter nor chain
To enslave shall remain!

NEW YORK, JULY 18, 1856. C. D. S.

Newark Daily Mercury.

SATURDAY MORNING, JULY 19, 1856.

Political Power of Slavery.

The political power of slavery, as we think we have amply demonstrated in our previous articles, is such as properly to excite alarm among all who desire to see freedom become the preponderating and ruling principle in our government. How that power shall be abated and its extension arrested, is the question of the present hour, to which all true patriots will give their earnest and considerate attention—for all such feel persuaded that unless this influence is curbed and restrained, the future history of our government will be one of degradation and misfortune.

In our view, there is but one way in which to prevent its extension to slavery domination in the land, and that is to prevent its future extension, thus leaving the peculiar institution to perish from exhaustion of what it feeds upon within its present limits. No one will pretend to deny that if Kansas is admitted as a slave State, the sure result will be the more complete subjection of the North to the South. That territory, as has been stated before, is large enough to be carved out into twelve such States as New York, or forty two like Massachusetts. It contains 435,000 square miles of territory—more by over 80,000 square miles than is contained in all the fifteen free States. This territory, if added to the slave States, will give them 1,512,894 square miles, against the 454,844 of the

free States. In the matter of representation, the entire advantage, if Kansas is admitted with Slavery as one of her institutions, will enure to the Black Despotism; and by this, in every essential particular, both as regards territorial expansion and representative acquisition, Freedom will be a loser. If, however, Kansas shall come in as a free State, with her 435,000 square miles of territory, the free States will then nearly equal the slave States in area of territory, and the States that shall yet be taken from the side of the young empire, will all contribute to the equalization of federal representation, and to the permanent triumph of Free Labor, Free Speech, and Free Land in the Western Continent.

It may be regarded as certain that it will be impracticable to prevent Slavery extension thereafter, if Kansas shall be admitted as a Slave State. The additional strength and power which the South will acquire in such admission, will enable her to march triumphantly into whatever territory she desires to possess, and there establish her institutions. Backed as she already is by the Judiciary, in decisions to the effect that the slaveholders may carry his slaves into any free State and there hold them as property, and in other equally favorable to the spread of the Oligarchic influence of the South, with Kansas added to her possessions, could, indeed, be irresistible in whatever contest she might engage, and the Free North would retire, humiliated and vanquished, from every field whereon, animated by the old loyalty to principle, she might make a stand for the Right.

If these things be true—if it will be impossible to treat the slavery-extension policy, should Kansas come in as a slave State, then it becomes of the first importance that she should come in only as a Free State, or not at all; and to secure her admission in that form, becomes a part of the duty of every lover of Liberty and every friend of Free Soil. And here is the centre toward which all the political elements of the time must point. The admission or non-admission of Kansas as a Free State, is the great question which underlies all this contest which is already heating the land. Three parties are in the field, each with their candidates—but only one of these organizations and one of these candidates stands before the country championing the admission of Kansas with her Free Topeka Constitution. Only one of these parties is pledged to use its influence in behalf of the outraged people of the Territory, and only one of these candidates avows a determination to employ, should he be successful, the power of his Administration on the side of the people against sectional injustice and wrong. Front, the People's candidate, is for Free Kansas—against any more extension of slavery or any more strengthening of its political power. Buchanan, the Cincinnati candidate, stands pledged, John Van Buren to the contrary notwithstanding, to carry out the crusade against Freedom which Pierce and Douglas have begun, and occupying a platform dictated by the Slaveocracy, avows himself prepared to be the willing instrument of whatever faction may arise in opposition to the Free Soil sentiment of the land and Edward Fillmore, the K. N. candidate, having not even heard that Kansas is applying for admission into the family of States, has no word of encouragement for her brave hearted freemen, but plants himself on a pro-slavery platform, and preaches that the South will be justified in shivering the Union in pieces; that the North will not hereafter, as in the past, consent to be bound and humiliated in the dust, stripped of her rights, plundered of her territory, subordinated in the administration of the government, and lashed into devotion to slavery interests, as Haven and the entire Fillmore force in Congress have already been.

These are the candidates before the people, and these the principles and sentiments they represent. Do we say too much when we avow it as in our belief, a truth which cannot be disputed, that the only hope for the admission of Kansas as a Free State, and the extinction of slavery within its present limits, is in the success of Fremont and Dayton? The man who, like Martin Van Buren and others of that kidney, professes to be for Free Kansas and yet vote for any other candidates than those of the People's Party, is practically a liar, and there is no honesty in him.

It needs no argument to prove that it is right that Kansas should be admitted with her free Constitution. By the legislation of the last Congress, she was left free to choose for herself; under that legislation she was chosen; she comes with a free Constitution in her hand, with the evidences of Free Soil, Free Labor, and Free Men in all her appearance, and asks that Congress, which appointed unto her the privilege of determining her own character, will admit her as a member of the confederacy, with the government of her choice. Why, then, should she not be taken by the hand, led through the Union portals, and given a place among the younger children of our confederacy?

Why, indeed? Slavery demands that she shall be excluded, and Slavery is omnipotent. But the PEOPLE are stronger than Slavery, and they can, if they will, accomplish the overthrow of the enemy. Will they do it? Will you, people of New Jersey, vote for, or against, the extension of Slavery—for, or against, the further subjugation of the Government to its control? The question is a momentous one; let November show by a right answer, that you have fully appreciated its importance.

DAILY GAZETTE.

Letter from Rev. John Rankin.

Messrs. Editors.—As a citizen of the United States, I feel that, in common with all other citizens, I am under obligation to promote the safety and welfare of the nation, and that the sacred office which I hold does not release me from this obligation; but rather impels me to "lift up my voice like a trumpet, say aloud and spare not." It is the duty of the ministry to enlighten the people upon all questions of right and wrong, and that minister who sees his country going to ruin, and keeps silence, is a "dumb dog," and not a true minister of Jesus Christ. If our country is to be saved from impending ruin, it must be by giving light to the masses of the people, in relation to the party now in power; and to aid in doing this I send you an extract of a letter which I have from a source I know to be reliable. The writer says of Kansas, June 22: "This country is overrun with numerous bands of robbers. They dismount and rob every body they find and shoot all who offer any resistance. There will be no crops here this season. The Free State men, instead of plowing, have to fight, and almost all their horses have been stolen. And when a band of Free State men get together to protect their horses, the United States troops disband them and take their arms from them. If it had not been for the United States troops the difficulty would have been settled long ago. But at this time, if I must tell it, they would be unable to defend themselves. All of their leading men are prisoners, and they have lost so many of their arms that they are comparatively defenceless. The honest truth is, that if the North or Congress does not do something soon, Kansas is lost to Freedom. The Pro-Slavery party arrest any body they choose. I saw a man yesterday, who had been in prison two months before he could get his case investigated, and they informed him that they had no bill against him, and turned him loose. Six persons were released yesterday. They had been arrested to keep them from giving evidence before the investigating committee. There have been six arrests here since we have been at this place. This is their way of arresting persons. If a Pro-Slavery man gets a grudge at a Free State man he goes to Leocompton, and gets himself appointed Deputy Sheriff, gets a lot of United States soldiers, and then he takes whomsoever he happens to dislike. In no case do they have a written process. Those arrested generally get off again in a day or two. No man is safe from arrest. I am in as much danger of being arrested as any body else, as the crime is that of being a Free State man. A Deputy Sheriff shot a Free State man through the heart on last Sabbath; he died instantly. His name was Hopkins, from Indiana. Hopkins was a teacher at the Delaware Mission, twelve miles from this place." The facts stated in this extract show that there is a continued effort made by the party now in power, by murder, robbery and perpetual annoyance, to drive the Free State inhabitants from Kansas; and that the United States troops are used to accomplish the design of crushing Freedom out of that Territory. These and other facts from reliable sources prove that a party in the Free States are combined with the Slaveholding power to abolish the liberty of the nation. With the good and popular name of "The Democracy" they have deceived the people; and while professing to be in favor of popular sovereignty they have established in Kansas one of the worst despotisms the world has ever known; and while they profess to be friendly to the rights of foreigners, their representatives in Congress did not think the murder of a poor Irishman worth investigating, and thus they permitted a

the Constitutional right to bear arms from the people must be deliberate and promulgated. Certainly there never was greater need for the exercise of their right than now in Kansas, where there is actually no security except in the right people have to defend themselves. The piratical espionage on the river has not been so strict for the past few days. Persons traveling alone, who have either pretended to be Pro-Slavery, or who were supposed to be not worth molesting, have succeeded in getting through.

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The gyve and the fetter at last—
With terror await,
As from God's hand, their fate!

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O'er canopies Earth, is man's right;
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New York, July 18, 1856. C. D. S.

Newark Daily Mercury.

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Political Power of Slavery. NUMBER IV.

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Free States. In the matter of representation, the entire advantage, if Kansas is admitted with Slavery as one of her institutions, will ensue to the Black Despotism; and by this, in every essential particular, both as regards territorial expansion and representative acquisition, Freedom will be a loser. If, however, Kansas shall come in as a free State, with her 435,000 square miles of territory, the free States will then nearly equal the slave States in area of territory, and the States that shall yet be taken from the side of the young empire, will all contribute to the equalization of federal representation, and to the permanent triumph of Free Labor, Free Speech, and Free Land in the Western Continent.

It may be regarded as certain that it will be impossible to prevent Slavery extension thereafter, if Kansas shall be admitted as a Slave State. The additional strength and power which the South will acquire in such admission, will enable her to march triumphantly into whatever territory she desires to possess, and there establish her institutions. Backed as she already is by her judiciary, in decisions to the effect that the slaveholders may carry his slaves into any free State and there hold them as property, and in others equally favorable to the spread of the Oligarchic influence of the South, with Kansas added to her possessions, could, indeed, be irresistible in whatever contest she might engage, and the Free North would retire, humiliated and vanquished, from every field whereon, animated by the old loyalty to principle, she might make a stand for the Right.

If these things be true—if it will be impossible to treat the slavery-extension policy, should Kansas come in as a slave State, then it becomes of the first importance that she should come in only as a Free State, or not at all; and to secure her admission in that form, becomes a part of the duty of every lover of Liberty and every friend of Free Soil. And here is the centre toward which all the political elements of the time must point. The admission or non-admission of Kansas as a Free State, is the great question which underlies all this contest which is already heating the land. Three parties are in the field, each with their candidates—but only one of these organizations and one of these candidates stands before the country championing the admission of Kansas with her Free Topeka Constitution. Only one of these parties is pledged to use its influence in behalf of the outraged people of the Territory, and only one of these candidates avows a determination to employ, should he be successful, the power of his Administration on the side of the people against sectional injustice and wrong. Fremont, the People's candidate, is for Free Kansas—against any more extension of slavery or any more strengthening of its political power. Buchanan, the Cincinnati candidate, stands pledged, John Van Buren to the contrary notwithstanding, to carry out the crusade against Freedom which Pierce and Douglas have begun, and occupying a platform dictated by the Slaveocracy, avows himself prepared to be the willing instrument of whatever faction may arise in opposition to the Free Soil sentiment of the land and Millard Fillmore, the K. N. candidate, having not even heard that Kansas is applying for admission into the family of States, has no word of encouragement for her brave hearted freemen, but plants himself on a pro-slavery platform, and preaches that the South will be justified in shivering the Union in pieces, if the North will not hereafter, as in the past, consent to be bound and humiliated in the dust, stripped of her rights, plundered of her territory, subordinated in the administration of the government, and lashed into devotion to slavery interests, as Haven and the entire Fillmore force in Congress have already been.

These are the candidates before the people, and these the principles and sentiments they represent. Do we say too much when we avow it as in our belief, a truth which cannot be disputed, that the only hope for the admission of Kansas as a Free State, and the restriction of slavery within its present limits, is in the success of Fremont and Dayton? The man who, like Martin Van Buren and others of that kidney, professes to be for Free Kansas and yet vote for any other candidate than those of the People's Party, is practically a liar, and there is no honesty in him.

It needs no argument to prove that it is right that Kansas should be admitted with her free Constitution. By the legislation of the last Congress, she was left free to choose for herself; under that legislation she was chosen; she comes with a free Constitution in her hand, and with the evidences of Free Soil, Free Labor, and Free Men in all her appearance, and asks that Congress, which appointed unto her the privilege of determining her own character, will admit her as a member of the confederacy, with the government of her choice. Why, then, should she not be taken by the hand, led through the Union portals, and given a place among the younger children of our confederacy?

Why, indeed? Slavery demands that she shall be excluded, and Slavery is omnipotent. But the Pro-Slavery are stronger than Slavery, and they can, if they will, accomplish the overthrow of the enemy. Will they do it? Will you, people of New Jersey, vote for, or against, the extension of Slavery,—for, or against, the further subjugation of the Government to its control? The question is a momentous one; let November show by a right answer, that you have fully appreciated its importance.

DAILY GAZETTE.

Letter from Rev. John Rankin.

Messrs. Editors.—As a citizen of the United States I feel that, in common with all other citizens, I am under obligation to promote the safety and welfare of the nation, and that the sacred office which I hold does not release me from this obligation; but rather impels me to "lift up my voice like a trumpet, cry aloud and spare not." It is the duty of the ministry to enlighten the people upon all questions of right and wrong, and that minister who sees his country going to ruin, and keeps silence, is a "dumb dog," and not a true minister of Jesus Christ. If our country is to be saved from impending ruin, it must be by giving light to the masses of the people, in relation to the party now in power; and to aid in doing this I send you an extract of a letter which I have from a source I know to be reliable. The writer says of Kansas, June 22: "This country is overrun with numerous bands of robbers.—They dismount and rob every body they find and shoot all who offer any resistance. There will be no crops here this season. The Free State men, instead of plowing, have to fight, and almost all their horses have been stolen. And when a band of Free State men get together to protect their horses, the United States troops disband them and take their arms from them. If it had not been for the United States troops the difficulty would have been settled long ago. But at this time, if I must tell it, they would be unable to defend themselves. All of their leading men are prisoners, and they have lost so many of their arms that they are comparatively defenceless. The honest truth is, that if the North or Congress does not do something soon, Kansas is lost to Freedom. The Pro-slavery party arrest any body they choose. I saw a man yesterday, who had been in irons two months before he could get his case investigated, and they informed him that they had no bill against him, and turned him loose. Six persons were released yesterday. They had been arrested to keep them from giving evidence before the investigating committee. There have been six arrests here since we have been at this place. This is their way of arresting persons. If a Pro-slavery man gets a grudge at a Free State man he goes to Leecompton, and gets himself appointed Deputy Sheriff, gets a lot of United States soldiers, and then he takes whomsoever he happens to dislike. In no case do they have a written process. Those arrested generally get off again in a day or two.—No man is safe from arrest. I am in as much danger of being arrested as any body else, as the crime is that of being a Free State man. A Deputy Sheriff shot a Free State man through the heart on last Sabbath; he died instantly.—His name was Hopkins, from Indiana. Hopkins was a teacher at the Delaware Mission, twelve miles from this place." The facts stated in this extract show that there is a continued effort made by the party now in power, by murder, robbery and perpetual annoyance, to drive the Free State inhabitants from Kansas; and that the United States troops are used to accomplish the design of crushing Freedom out of that Territory.—These and other facts from reliable sources prove that a party in the Free States are combined with the Slaveholding power to abolish the liberty of the nation. With the good and popular name of "The Democracy" they have deceived the people; and while professing to be in favor of popular sovereignty they have established in Kansas one of the worst despotisms the world has ever known; and while they profess to be friendly to the rights of foreigners, their representatives in Congress did not think the murder of a poor Irishman worth investigating, and thus they permitted a

cold-blooded murderer, to hold his seat in Congress without investigation. They love the Irish and all foreigners, but then the murdering of an Irishman is too small a matter for investigation, or to exclude the murderer from a seat either in Congress, or a nominating convention, as an honorable man. They love all foreigners, and yet they are robbing by force of arms poor foreigners and all other poor men of the benefit of the Free Territory of Kansas, one of the most beautiful and fertile parts of the world, and in which any industrious man, whether home-born, or foreigner, might soon, if it be consecrated to Freedom, gain one of the fairest homes on earth. Yes, they love the foreigner and all the poor, but still their love does not prevent them from planting Slavery in Kansas to shut them all out. Let not the foreigner nor the poor be deceived with a good name and profession of love. When the devil intends to perpetuate the greatest villainy he puts on the cloak of an angel, takes a good name, and appears as an angel of light. So the present administration and the party that sustains it have taken the fair name of "The Democracy," profess to be in favor of popular sovereignty, to love the foreigners and all the poor, while they have established the worst despotism on earth, and have shed the blood of the innocent foreigner and the poor. The present administration and the party sustaining it are justly held responsible for the horrible despotism now in Kansas, and for all the innocent blood shed there. The law-enforced in that Territory by the present administration ought to make a Nero blush. It is amazing that any in the Free States should adhere to such a party. The tickets that support it should be printed with blood as the true emblem of the power to be sustained, and it would remind every Irishman, who sustains the party, of poor Keating's murder.

JOHN RANKIN,

Pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church of Ripley, O.

Atchison on Fremont.

In the course of a debate in the Senate on a bill for the relief of certain California claimants, now DAVID R. ATCHISON, the leading spirit of the Border Ruffians of Missouri made a speech on the 4th of April, 1848, in which he said: "He gave it as his opinion, not only that the conquest of California was effected by COLONEL FREMONT, but that the United States had derived the advantages of this conquest at comparatively little cost. He justified Col. FREMONT in all that he had done. If he had done less he would have deserved and would have received the execration of the whole country. He made some references to the course which Col. FREMONT had pursued—in course in some instances rendered in dispensable for his own preservation, and always characterized by skill and promptitude."

The *Enquirer* seeks to make capital out of a statement that none of the money subscribed in aid of Kansas has been received in that Territory, but it cannot be ignorant of the fact that little money was subscribed for any other purpose than to aid Free-State men who desired to emigrate to that Territory as actual settlers. The cry from Kansas was for men, and not for money.

CINCINNATI ENQUIRER.

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CITY NEWS.

SATURDAY MORNING, JULY 19

WHICH renders the affair still more odd, is that Mr. W. has lately returned from a trip through Kansas.

We cannot account for it—indeed it is impossible. A tour in Kansas has not, in general, tended to the multiplication of Buchanan men.—*Commercial.*

So says our cotemporary in speaking of the accession of Dublin Ward, Esq., a distinguished Old-line Whig lawyer, of Warren County, in this State, to the Democratic cause. How the *Commercial* can consider it "odd" for Old line Whigs to go for Buchanan is very strange, inasmuch as it knows that no one who is faithful to the national principles of the Whig party, as expounded by Clay and Webster, can do anything else. In fact, it is not "odd," for hundreds of thousands of Mr. Ward's old political associates are supporting Buchanan, he being the only man who, in this contest, "carries the flag and keeps step to the music of the Union."

Even, aside from this general and main reason, Mr. Ward's return from Kansas, where he has had an opportunity of seeing how atrociously the Black-Republican press have misrepresented and falsified the events transpiring there, would, of itself, cause any decent sensible man to flee from an organization that would countenance such villainy. No man at all, who is posted up in Kansas matters, will vote the ticket of Black-Republicanism.

A Western Character.

The *New York Sunday Dispatch* dishes up a few extracts from the *Banker*, a paper just started by a chap named Seth Paine, at Lake Zurich, Illinois. We copy the extracts below as we find them in the *Dispatch*. Seth pitches into Henry Ward Beecher thus:

"Put up thy sword!" said Jesus. "Put down my church for twenty-five Sharp's rice!" says Henry W. Beecher. "I have not where to lay my head!" said Jesus. "I have \$5,000 per annum from my church, and charge fifty cents a head for my lectures," says Henry Ward Beecher. "I could call ten legions of angels to my assistance!" said Jesus. "It's all Electricity or Animal Magnetism," says Henry Ward Beecher. "Do as you would be done by," said Jesus. "I move an amendment," says Henry Ward Beecher. "I second the amendment," says R. W. Patterson, Dr. Cox and the Pope of Rome. (A voice from the chairman at Yale College, "Let the amendment be reduced to write up—Do as you EXPECT to be done by.") "All the damned leap from their fire of retention, and about the loud "Amen!" "glory to the talented Henry Ward Beecher!"

Letter from Mr. Douglas—A Black-Republican Clergyman Placed in a Bad Position.

We invite attention to the following excellent letter from Senator Douglas to a political lang-whannet who is allowed to degenerate a pulpit in Chicago. It ought to make him and many others of his cloth hide their heads in shame. The *Gazette* and *Commercial* have repeatedly published the same villainous libel, and if they have any manhood will now retract them. Here is the letter to which we allude:

(WASHINGTON, July 4, 1854.)

"Sir: I learn from the newspapers that on Sunday, the 1st day of June, in a sermon preached by you in the Plymouth Congregational Church of Chicago, you deemed it your duty to assail me personally and by name.

"Referring to the affray between Mr. Sumner and Mr. Brooks you say: 'Douglas, of giant injury, stood by with his hands in his pocket'

"Although I have no personal acquaintance with you, or knowledge of your character as a citizen or a minister of the Gospel, my respect for your profession and for those Christian principles which it is your duty to proclaim and observe, induce me to take it for granted that you would not knowingly utter an unmitigated falsehood in the pulpit on the Sabbath day, with the intent to injure the character of a fellow citizen, and that, having committed such an act of injustice, you will feel it both a duty and a pleasure to repair the injury in the same place, and before the same audience where the injury was done. With the view of enabling you to do me and yourself and the cause of truth the act of justice indicated, I now state to you that it is not true that I stood by with my hands in my pockets at the time; that I was not in the Senate chamber when the affray took place; that I did not witness any part of the transaction; that I was engaged in consultation on public affairs, with several Senators and Representatives, in another part of the Capitol at the time, and had been so engaged for more than an hour previous; that I had no knowledge, intimation or belief that

any such transaction was to take place at that or any other time; nor had I any knowledge or reason to believe that either Mr. Sumner or Mr. Brooks was in or near the Capitol at the time, and when I returned to the Senate chamber the affray had been over and quiet had been restored for some time.

"These facts are not only susceptible of proof by the Senators and Representatives referred to, but are so well known to the Senate and to the whole community here, that no gentleman would hazard his character for truth and veracity by intimating his belief in the truth of the charge which you, under some strange misapprehension, have made against me in the pulpit of a Christian Church, on the Sabbath day.

"You are also represented as having made another charge against me, equally unfounded and untrue, which I quote from the newspapers, not having seen a copy of the printed sermon: 'This and the Kansas crime reveal a new step in the policy of slavery: that physical force must and shall be used to carry out its measures. The instigator of all this crime (Douglas) a short time since ventured to divulge the secret policy, when he declared to its first victim, 'We will subdue you, sir,' and no one knows but this very thing was in his mind at the time.'

"In the passage you attribute to me language which I never uttered, and a sentiment which I never conceived or harbored. It is true that the *New York Tribune* and other unscrupulous partisan sheets attributed to me several months ago the same sentiment, but it is also true, and the official debates of the Senate attest the fact, that I promptly denied it in open Senate in the presence of Mr. Sumner and all others to whom it was alleged to have been directed; and not one of them intimated or pretended that the charge was true. Yet the same charge which had thus been branded in open Senate as base calumny, and admitted to be such by the silence of all the Senators to whom it was said to have been directed, is now repeated, after the lapse of several months, in the pulpit of the Plymouth Congregational Church of Chicago, and made the foundation of a series of inferences equally unfounded and unjust. I have never advised, or failed to rebuke a resort to physical force as a substitute for truth and reason in the discussion and decision of public questions.

"Whether the Nebraska Bill was a crime or a wise and just measure, is a question which I have always held myself ready to discuss calmly and dispassionately on all proper occasions; and if physical force or mob violence, or any other improper means have been used to destroy the freedom of speech, either in Chicago or elsewhere, it has not been approved by me or my friends. I send this letter to you, instead of the newspapers, for the purpose of giving you an opportunity of doing justice to me and to the cause of truth, which I trust you will regard a Christian duty, in the same pulpit where the injury was committed.

"I have the honor to be,
"Very respectfully,
"Your obt. servant,
"S. A. DOUGLAS.

"Rev. J. E. Roy, Chicago, Illinois."

Fraud on the Postoffice Revenue by a Fremont Member of Congress.

We have lying before us a pretty illustration of the honesty of at least one Congressional friend of "Free Kansas and Fremont!" It consists in a bill of \$2 in favor of S. Bailey, for one year's subscription to the *National Era*, and the envelop in which it was inclosed to a gentleman in this city. The envelop contained nothing else than this bill, and it was franked by "J. Pike, M. C."

Here are three cents saved—but saved to whom and for what? Are they all saved to Dr. Bailey? or to the cause of "Free Kansas and Fremont?" or to Dr. Bailey and "J. Pike, M. C." jointly? And is "J. Pike, M. C." retained by Dr. Bailey to frank all his letters and bills? This is a way of "turning an honest penny" that should receive the prompt attention of the Postmaster General. For we entertain no doubt that this mode of making the expense of running the Washington Fremont office involves as gross a violation of law as if Dr. Bailey drew a like amount from the Treasury on forged drafts.—*Rochester Union.*

THE RALEIGH REGISTER.

"Ours' are the plans of fair, delightful peace,
Unmolested by party rage to live like brothers."

RALEIGH, N. C.

SATURDAY MORNING, JULY 19, 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 reconsideration 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 reconsideration. The motion to reconsider 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 deal was done, says the "Richmond Whig," 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 reconsider 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-con-

sideration. 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 reconsider, 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 locofoco 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 the best Southern man among us. 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 Democratic party of the country! Long may he wave!

Daily Democrat.
JUN 21 1856.

PROGRESS OF COLONEL BENTON.

Speeches at Parkville and Weston.

Weston, Mo., July 19, 1856.

Col. Benton enters the northwest triumphantly. After speaking on Thursday at Independence, he started en route for the Platte district, and stayed all night at Kansas City. Friday morning, in company with ex-Governor King, he crossed the Missouri river at that city, and entered the great Platte purchase. A few hours drive up the Missouri brought the old hero to the famous city of Parkville, a young and growing town, full of enterprise and promise, and somewhat notorious for having a newspaper destroyed by a mob (not of its own citizens however) some time since, because it dared to stem the tide against the wild spirit excited by Atchison and Stringfellow.

He made the acquaintance of a host of old line whigs, who avowed a purpose to support him in view of his conservative position. He spoke about two hours and a half, and to the point upon the Kansas question, and I am proud to say that his views met with the greatest favor. The people on this frontier are sick and tired of the border troubles, and the good men of all parties sigh for more peaceful days, and are fast coming to the belief that Benton's policy is the only sound one. They are therefore rallying to his support. Well informed persons tell me that a powerful reaction is going on in favor of Benton in this quarter, and that he will beat Polk largely in this congressional district. Set down Benton's vote in this district at 6,000.

How shall we sustain the Credit of Missouri.

St. Louis, July 19, 1856.

To the Editor of the Democrat:

I observe, from the quotations of sales of Missouri State bonds, made from time to time, by the writer of the money articles for your paper, that our bonds are selling at a low price in the New York market, viz: at 85 cents on the dollar! While I regret, that our credit is so low, in the eastern market, I am nevertheless, not surprised at it; for the course pursued by Atchinson, Stringfellow, and those who are under their influence, has brought our State to be a by-word, and a reproach. I have seen letters from the east, which say, that our State is in such bad moral odor, that even many capitalists, who usually look more to cent per cent, than anything else, will have nothing to do with Missouri bonds, and Col. Benton, I observe, in some of his speeches, has referred to the low condition of Missouri credit, attributing it to the state of things in Kansas; brought on us, by the violent course of Atchinson and company, together with the connivance, of the present administration of the general government.

What a spectacle! to see a great State, like Missouri, with resources equal to any State in the Union of her age, with her securities selling at 8 to 10 per cent, lower than Virginia, which has a debt, of nearly quadruple that of our own State! But there is a remedy, and this remedy must be applied, else we shall sink still lower, in credit and character.

In my opinion, the only remedy is to turn out of office, the men who rule us, and who have brought on us all the Kansas difficulties.

Pierce and Douglas, must be "subdued," and those men who sympathize with them, and are determined to carry out their policy, if elected to office in this State, must also be put down, and we must elect men to office, who will give character and credit to our State—hence, Mr. Editor, I shall vote for Col. BENTON, for the office of Governor, and for those who support him in the contest.

This will be the first vote, I have ever given for Col. Benton, but I am sure in now voting for him, I am "right" and I shall therefore, "go ahead," and advise other whigs, to do likewise.

H. D.

AN OLD WHITE MERCHANT.

DAILY ADVERTISER.

July 21 DETROIT, 1858

The *Free Press*, speaking of the Toombs Kansas bill, (hark from the Toombs for freedom, if it is passed) says that Gen. Cass assured the Senate that the man to be appointed by Franklin Pierce would "be selected impartially from the different shades of party in the country, and the best men that could be got," and with triumph he adds, "of course Gen. Cass' authority for saying this is derived from the President himself." We have no doubt it was so derived, but we are astonished that Gen. Cass should state it to the Senate, as an inducement to pass the bill, for can it be that he would have any confidence in a promise from the President. Is it not known, has he not often said, and do not his friends say that the President, but a very short space of time before vetoing the bill passed some two years ago, for the improvement of the St. Clair flats, promised this same Gen. Cass that he would approve of the same—and can it be that with this breach of faith—so recently—he would have the country believe that fair men would be appointed because the President promised it?

AN ASTONISHING STATEMENT.—The *Boston Chronicle* is informed by a gentleman of high respectability and intelligence, who has resided for several years in Missouri, that when Thompson delivered to the Border Ruffians 300 muskets and two brass cannon, from the United States Arsenal at Liberty, our informant asked him if he was not afraid he would get into difficulty with the Government at Washington. He replied, "no; he had telegraphed to PIERCE, and it was all right."

The President promises to appoint fair men, for the purpose of Kansas Commissioners. We can judge somewhat of his idea of fair men from the appointments he has heretofore made for Kansas; of course he will say even now "all is fair."

THE WORK OF THE NEW KANSAS BILL.—THE CLEARING OUT GOING ON SWIMMINGLY IN THE TERRITORY.—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 isolated in Kansas, and everything 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 has paved the way, and in the late order for 20,000 extra 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 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 five 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?—*N. York Herald.*

The Daily Republic.

WYOMING, N. V.

MONDAY EVENING, JULY 21.

The Montgomery, (Ala.) *Journal* gives the following extract from a letter received by one of its compositors from a relative who went out to Kansas in Major Buford's company, dated June 22d:

There is sufficient in this letter, whose genuineness no one will dispute when told that it comes to us through the *Journal of Commerce*, to establish all the charges of murder and ruffianism made against these southern marauders. While these scoundrels are trying to "make a raise" by robbing the settlers, they are allowed to go about as enrolled militia, and General SMITH, just sent out by PIERCE refuses to interfere with their operations. In no other civilized country, have such atrocities been permitted for so long a period. And yet, with evidences of them from every quarter, there are those who try to ease their consciences by pretending not to believe them.

The Reign of Terror.

We are in the midst of it. It overshadows—it surrounds us. Its agents, its servants, its ministers, its allies, its armies, its officials, its priests, its police, are everywhere around us and among us, whispering, persuading, appealing, warning, threatening, driving, "subduing" to its purposes, a long-suffering, too credulous, and too selfish people. We are told and impressed in every possible way, that justice and reason are no longer safe guides for political action. Demonstration gives no efficacy to principles. Even the precedents, examples and traditions of our fathers, have become useless as guides.

The whole machinery of terror is now in full operation in Kansas. It frowns with its batteries and battalions over the Missouri river, the emigrant's highway to the west. It speaks in the anathemas of the border ruffians, it flashes from the blades of their bowie knives, it bristles on the United States bayonets, it flashes up in the blaze of burning dwellings, it drives the husbandman from the field in seed time, making the field of promise only the promise of famine, it strips women of their ornaments and of that ornament which is dearer than life; it rides rampant and blaspheming over the land.

Terror rules in conventions, and in the halls of legislation. It dictates the constitution and organization of conventions; it dictates sentiments and platforms; it dictates candidates and their opinions. In legislation it ignores precedents, flouts at justice and right, respects only the obstinate and threatening will. It sneers at humanity, tramples on moderation, scoffs at religion, and defies everything. It answers argument by abuse; reason by the bludgeon; opposition by murder. It intimates its will, and announces disunion and civil war as the alternative.

In the city of Charleston, terror proposes to raise forced contributions to enslave Kansas, appointing secret vigilance committees to deal with such as fail on their assessments; it closes men's mouths, it trammels the press, it overawes the pulpit, and everywhere through the slave states it suppresses the words, thoughts, and instincts of freedom, and offers a bounty to brazen violence. Ramifying through all the states and towns in the Union, terror suborns the mercenary, silences the doubtful, subdues the timid, and fills the mouths of the babblers with nonsense and twattle, when men ought to be thinking of reason and duty. It fills men's hearts with the fear of the devil when their souls ought to be elevated by trust in God.

Terror blinds men so that they cannot see; it makes them deaf so that they cannot hear, it takes away their judgment so that they cannot reason. They mistake shadow for substance, and, seeking salvation, rush upon destruction.

The republican party asks for nothing but what is right. Its worst enemies utterly fail in any attempt to show by reason, that what it proposes is either unreasonable, unjust, or unconstitutional. And yet such is the influence of terror, that many persons—some even who were JACKSON men twenty years ago, and whose hearts seemed to respond to his, when he de-

for nothing but what was right, we would submit to nothing that was clearly wrong—are now so subdued by the logic of threats and violence, as to regard the republican party, its principles and its growing strength, not as the hope of the nation, but as its most dangerous enemy: The timid horse, struck by terror, sometimes springs from the safe dugway over the precipice.

Failing utterly to find in the propositions of the republican party anything to condemn—anything but what reason tells them should be applauded, received and acted on, they fly to the allegation that it is a sectional party, and think they sustain that allegation by pointing to the fact that not many delegates from slave states attended the convention, or assisted in the nomination. Unfortunate allegation! Unfortunate proof to sustain it! Why were the people of those states not fully represented by their own delegates? Obviously because of the reign of terror. UNDERWOOD from Virginia did attend—did represent the people of Virginia, and the oligarchy of terror have expelled him from his state. And the fact that they have done so, the fact that such is considered the necessary rule and practice of slaveholders, proves, of itself, conclusively, that there is a contrary sentiment of the people in those states, which would be expressed, which would be represented, if it were not suppressed and overawed by violence and terror.

This violence and terror would not be resorted to, if it was not necessary; and its prevalence at the south is as strong evidence of the existence of free principles among the people there, such as would have led southern people to participate more universally in the republican movement, as the repeated incursions of Missourians to vote in Kansas is, that the people of Kansas themselves preferred freedom. In neither case has slavery done a work of supererogation. Invasion was necessary to carry slavery into Kansas. Violence and terror are necessary to suppress the expression of sentiments of justice and freedom among people at the south.

Rightly considered the small representation of southern people in a convention announcing principles so catholic and just as those of the republican convention, is at once the most eloquent fact and argument in favor of the great necessity of the reform; and correspondingly it is no evidence of the justice or fairness of other principles and candidates, that they receive the approbation of the oligarchy of oppression, tyranny and terror at the south, but on the contrary it is the most convincing evidence of their corruption and wickedness. The suppression of free speech, does not prove that free speech is in imminent danger.

And yet how foolishly men will talk in this reign of terror. PRESTON S. BROOKS in his letter to the committee in Charleston, declining to attend the BROTHAN ratification meeting there, charges that the republicans "hover around us with the emblems of death at their head, and rule or ruin for their motto." Yet see how plainly, in the same letter, he admits himself to be acting on the same principle which he falsely ascribes to his opponents!

"The issue," says he, "in the pending election of a president, is the issue of union or disunion; for if the strength of the fusionists, who now predominate in the Lower House of Congress becomes augmented by Presidential power and patronage, as surely as there is a heaven above us, the temple of republican liberty which our revolutionary sages erected in moderation, wisdom and honor, will crumble into ruins, and every fragment of the wreck will be stained with blood." That is, if the republicans elect the president the union will be dissolved, and civil war ensue. And why? Because, he continues, "It can never be that the people of fifteen sovereign states" that is, the people of the slave states, "will passive-

ly walk under the yoke," that is, will submit to the decision of the people, the constitution and laws—"while weapons of defence are to be found, and there are the hands of white men to use them." And then, with characteristic consistency, he says—"Let us do our duty to the constitution and the country, in an earnest and concerted effort with the law-abiding and conservative men of every state."

And Mr. FILLMORE adopts the slanderous charge against the republicans, adopts the solemn warning against the success of his opponents, adopts the denunciation of consequences, and justifies them in effect, by saying that we would do the same thing; and the shaking knees, and quivering tongues, and chattering teeth of the cowards, flunkies and knaves, all over the country, echo and re-echo the sentiments, as if they thought that in their universal prevalence are to be found safety and honor.

The reign of terror is surely far advanced, when any considerable portion of the people of our country, can be persuaded that there is more safety in compromise of principles, in suppression of convictions and submission to arbitrary domination, than there is in eternal justice.

"Man had served the Devil, and men had very imperfectly served God; but to think that God could be served more perfectly by taking the Devil into partnership, this was a novelty of St. Ignatius. And this is now no novelty; to such an extent has the Jesuit chloroform stupefied us all."

Lines for the Daily Republic.

BY ALFRED RANDALL.

To arms, to arms, ye brave!—uprear your standard high;
 Neath each star-spangled fold,
 Your freemen, true and bold,
 Shall make the South behold,
 A firm array of men this day to conquer or to die.
 The foes in the field, but FILLMORE and BUCHANAN
 Are met by an unflinching will—
 By principles to nerve us still,
 On open plain or fortress'd hill,
 And free suffrage our wrong assuage, or mighty roar of cannon!

Our chieftain FREMONT leads, while slavery recedes,
 And crowds back to her den.
 We should be less than men,
 To let her forth again.
 Remember stains on Kansas plains—Missouri's ruffian deeds.

The territories free, behold, from sea to sea,
 From slavery's northern line,
 How pure the sunbeams shine
 Upon free soil divine,
 The blessed light, devoid of night—the light of liberty!
 BUFFALO, July 19th, 1856.

The Atlas some three weeks since charged the State Kansas Committee with embezzlement of the Fund entrusted to their care, and with using it for political ends, instead of applying it to the relief of the Settlers. So grave an accusation against gentlemen of such respectability and standing as HENRY H. VAN DYCK, C. B. COCHRANE, D. WRIGHT, C. P. WILLIAMS and the other members of the Committee, naturally attracted public attention. A general desire was expressed that the Atlas should state the facts, whatever they were, upon which its charge was based. The Committee themselves, through our columns, demanded such a statement as an act of justice to themselves and to the community.

Three weeks have elapsed, and the Atlas has not produced a single fact, a single witness, or a single iota of evidence. The public are brought to the inevitable conclusion, that this gross personal libel was started merely for political ends, and without a shadow of fact to warrant it!

And who is it that assails the integrity of men engaged in the humane and Christian duty of relieving the oppressed and scattered Settlers of Kansas? The Albany Atlas!—the Atlas that is as chary of its own integrity as a courtesan is of her virtue—that cracked its throat for "Free Soil" in 1848 and has wheezed and sputtered for "Slave Soil" ever since—that set up the "Corner Stone" and knocked it down to the highest bidder—that fell into such merited contempt that it would have starved to death but for its jingling bags with its fellow-beggar, the Argus;—the Atlas that paraded the "murdered Sheriff" JONES, for public sympathy, while that unchanged villain was still alive, and stealing cattle—that picks out of the gutter John Van Van Buren's stale slanders of Gov. SEWARD, "Uncle" Butler's worn out calumnies of Senator SUMNER, and the Brooks's inventions about Col. FREMONT, long after their originators have been shamed into discarding them. This is the immaculate print that sets up for a censor morum of worthy and honorable citizens—cursing daily "like a very drab—a scullion," and pocketing for it a daily stipend from the Treasury Vaults in Washington. Let it go on by all means. No man's reputation can suffer from the drivelling of a common scold. Its vituperation—as the daily and increasing contributions for Kansas prove—only swells the number that are determined by voice, by vote, and by every lawful means, to uphold Constitutional Rights and Territorial Freedom.

government! Tyranny, in this country, hardly go farther than this, without hanging or imprisoning the citizens—but even this last Franklin Pierce has done, and for no offense against the government of the United States. Who in the days of John Q. Adams' administration, could have believed that such a villainous state of things could have existed in this year 1856?

The Evening Press.

HARTFORD:
 MONDAY, JULY 21.

A Voice from Lawrence.

[The following letter was intended for publication in the Hartford Times. The editors of that paper, however, refused to insert it in their columns, and it has been handed to us, with the request that we would print it.—Ed. Press.]

SUFFIELD, June 30, 1856.

ED. TIMES:—In your weekly edition of May 17, I noticed among other Kansas matters the following:—

"Mr. PEASE of this city, who recently went out to Kansas with Mr. LINES' company, has returned. He says that Lawrence city presents an unfavorable appearance. There is no thrift—no prosperity apparent—but whisky, poor whisky too, is poured out and poured down on every hand. It is dealt out in almost every building. Drinking is the principal business, and it is backed up by idleness—the people generally waiting for 'aid' from the east. Sharps' rides, he says, were offered to him for ten dollars each. The price in Hartford, where they are made, is \$25 and \$28. Exaggerated stories are started in Lawrence city, and sent off to keep up the excitement at the east, and bring in more aid to support the idlers in doing nothing except to drink whisky, circulate false reports and talk politics. Such is the state of things in Lawrence, the result of unusual efforts to manufacture slavery agitation with reference to the coming Presidential election."

Believing this statement entirely unfounded in fact, I copied it from your paper, and sent it to my brother-in-law, (JOHN L. CRANE,) who has been a resident of Lawrence for nearly two years past, and I requested him to inform me whether or not such was the condition of things there. I have received from him the following reply:

LAWRENCE, K. T., June 4, 1856.

DEAR BROTHER:—Your letter containing the statements of Mr. PEASE in regard to this place and its inhabitants is received. I look upon those statements as a malicious and cowardly attack upon Lawrence and its citizens—a thrust at its and their present and future prosperity—too full of falsehoods and lying insinuations to pass unnoticed, though I should fail to do them and their author justice.—Such attacks from pro-slavery men, and the pro-slavery press, are no uncommon thing. They are in fact among the agencies made use of by them in carrying out their diabolical purpose of forcing slavery upon Kansas. As yet it is due to them to say, that thus far they have been unable to invent anything in the way of falsehood so well calculated to injure the best interests of Lawrence, and through it the freedom of Kansas, as Mr. PEASE has done in the statements referred to.

Says Mr. PEASE—"There is no thrift—no prosperity apparent." I do not know what he may consider as appearance of thrift and prosperity. But I am quite certain, that any man at all noted for candor and good sense, and with any practical knowledge of the settlement of a new country, would have passed quite a different judgment upon the town of Lawrence than he has done.

It is my fortune to have had a longer acquaintance with Lawrence than Mr. PEASE, and I know perhaps better than he does, the difficulties it has had to encounter and overcome, in becoming what it is. Of the scarcity of building material—the severity of the winters—the invasion last fall of a large armed force from Missouri, compelling us to expend our time and money, in making preparations for defence, when both were needed in making



MONDAY EVENING, JULY 21, 1856.

A man, while acting as Secretary of a meeting at Lexington, Mo., was called out during the meeting, and forcibly dragged into a wagon, under the threat that, he being an Abolitionist, he should be hung. Before the threat was carried out, the Ruffians were overtaken and the man released.

KEEP IT BEFORE THE PEOPLE!—That a Bill has passed the Senate in Washington, declaring void the obnoxious laws of the Kansas Legislature, and giving passage to that distracted Territory; and that the Black Republicans in the House refuse to vote for it! [Atlas and Argus.]

Will the Atlas and Argus also KEEP IT BEFORE THE PEOPLE, that a Bill has passed the House of Representatives, providing for the admission of Kansas as a FREE STATE; and that the black BUCHANANITES in the Senate refuse to vote for it!



NEW HAVEN:

MONDAY, JULY 21, 1856.

PROGRESS OF DESPOTISM.

In an account of the Congressional proceedings of Wednesday, it is stated that "resolutions will be offered making enquiry as to the right of the President, to break up the Free State Legislature of Kansas."

How difficult it is to realize that in this year, 1856, there could be an occasion to offer such a resolution in the American Congress! We have read of Cromwell's violence in breaking up a British Parliament; but that was a revolutionary act. Here the people, whom the Constitution declares may peaceably assemble, are dispersed by the bayonets of the

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operations for the coming winter. In addition to these misfortunes, we have been deprived of the use of two of our saw mills, by the explosion of two of their boilers. We have also been the past winter and spring, kept in a state of constant excitement, by the threats of an enemy, who has attempted, but not quite dared to kill and subdue us. Notwithstanding all these drawbacks, we can now show as marks of thrift, more than two hundred buildings completed, and others in progress of erection. Ten stores, now in successful operation, some of which in size, and stocks of goods, and amount of business done, will compare favorably with many in Mr. PEASE's own city. One church is already commenced, and grounds selected for two others. All the fruits of less than two years labor.

For these indications of industry and enterprize, and the obstacles we have had to encounter, Mr. PEASE gives us no credit. But every evil that exists among us, he can see with the clearness of an eagle's eye, and is ready to hold it up to the world in its worst light magnified by falsehood.

I speak now of the whisky which Mr. PEASE says, "Is poured out and poured down on every hand." There are not, to the best of my knowledge, but two places in Lawrence, where liquor is sold by the dram, nor were there when Mr. PEASE was here, and in these places, it is sold against the wishes, and in defiance of the opinion of a large majority of our citizens. I will not say that Mr. PEASE is a drinking man. I do not know him to be so. But this I do say that nine out of every ten temperate men, would have remained in town the same length of time that he did, and gone away in perfect ignorance of there being but one shop, where liquor is poured out as extensively as he has stated. And if he did know of more than this one place, he certainly knew more about it than nine-tenths of Mr. LINES' company.

Mr. PEASE says that Sharps' rifles were offered to him for ten dollars each. I will let this statement pass for what it is worth to him, knowing that he will be pronounced a consummate fool from one end of money-making Yankeedom to the other, for not buying them up, and taking them back where he could have more than doubled his money.

With regard to the exaggerated stories started here, and sent off to keep up excitement, I will say nothing, as you will soon be favored with the report of the investigating committee, from which you can learn whether the accounts sent from here of outrages, invasions, fraudulent voting, &c., are true or false.

What Mr. PEASE's real object was in making these statements, I do not pretend to know, but evidently he made them to give vent to pent up malice, where the poison of his serpent tongue would have the most deadly effect, and himself be the safest from being called to an account. Or he made them for base political effect. Or perhaps, not having the courage and strength of purpose, to encounter the hardships, inconveniences and dangers incident to the settling up and founding a new State, and maintaining in it that Freedom which is our country's boast; and being invited by the comforts and luxuries of Connecticut life to return, he invented them to shield himself from the ridicule to which he would be justly exposed. Yours, with respect,

JOHN L. CRANE.

MR. EDITOR:—If it is your wish to give your readers the truth of the Kansas question, I shall expect you will give this communication a place in the columns of your weekly paper [the *Hartford Times*].
G. GROSVENOR.

The Times and the Missouri Compromise.

The people of Kansas have no right to settle the question whether we in Connecticut shall or shall not have slavery among us. The people of Connecticut alone have a right to settle that question. Nor have we, the people of Connecticut, a right to settle this same question for the people of Kansas. They alone have a right to decide whether slavery shall or shall not exist in their own midst. We, in Connecticut, cannot settle that question for the people of Kansas, if we would. We can control it here, but not in Ohio, Kansas or Virginia.—*Times*.

The *Times* is not consistent with itself nor with truth, when it places a *State* and a *Territory* on the same footing as regards questions pertaining to sovereignty. Connecticut has all the independent rights and powers of any independent nation or government, except such as she has voluntarily relinquished and are specified in the Federal Constitution,—Kansas has not this independent position. All her governmental power and rights she derives from the federal government, and holds them at the will and pleasure of that government, until she shall assume the position, attitude and sovereignty of a State. The *Times* ought not to be muddy on this subject, for the distinction between the rights and powers of a State and a Territory have been clearly and distinctly defined in its columns, before it surrendered itself to the nullifiers. This mixing up Ohio, Kansas, Virginia and Connecticut in a common shuffle, and as co-equal, is the gambling trick of which the *Times* justly complained in 1854.

Until a Territory becomes a State, Congress, as the authorized organ and agent of not only Connecticut but all the States, shapes, directs and modifies the laws and institutions of the dependent provisional community. The Senate has recently passed a law in behalf of Connecticut and all the States, repealing, amending and declaring void certain territorial laws enacted by the legislature of Kansas. Congress has the power and the right to exercise this supervisory control over the territories, but is vested with no such authority as regards a State.

The States created the constitution, gave it being, and clothed Congress with all the powers it possesses, expressly declaring in the instrument itself, that all powers not delegated are reserved. But the central government creates the territories, defines their limits, tells them what powers they may have in their territorial capacity, and exercises sovereignty, the necessary attribute of a government, until each territory becomes a state and assumes for itself sovereign power and authority. Is the *Times*, since it has fallen under Nullification influences, incapable of discriminating between the rights of a sovereign state and a dependent territory? Over one Congress exercises unlimited supervision—over the other none, except such as the State in its own sovereign and independent capacity assents to. Yet the *Times*, once a democratic, state-rights paper, knows no difference between "Ohio, Kansas or Virginia," but puts them all in the same category.

The federal constitution then, is the charter or authority of the central government, contains certain specified grants of power, and expressly forbids the government which it creates from exercising powers not granted. Among the objects to be attained and preserved by the constitution, the very first sentence of that instrument declares, it is intended to "establish justice" and "secure the blessings of liberty." It no where recognizes, authorizes, or permits Congress to establish slavery or delegate to others the power to establish it. The institution of slavery is incidental to sovereignty. Hence in States it exists, but cannot be established in the territories which are not sovereign, without the assent or permission of Congress, for the whole of the powers of a territory are derived from Congress which creates it. But Congress being invested with no power to establish the institution of slavery, it cannot authorize the territories which it creates to establish it.

The Missouri Compromise was objected to by the free States, and by the opponents of slavery everywhere, because it permitted slavery south of the parallel of 36° 30', not because it established and consecrated the territory north of that latitude to freedom. But slavery, having secured a foothold south of that parallel, by the act of 1820, and in violation of the constitution, claimed in 1854 that it should be national and extend over the whole territory. The concession to slavery exacted by the act of 1820 was made the justification for perfidy and wrong, and more extended aggression in 1854; and the *Times*, with innocent simplicity, often asks why we do not ask to have the Missouri Compromise, the first and lesser wrong and violation of the constitution, re-established, in order to relieve the country of the later and greater wrong. Congress ought

never to have surrendered the territory south of 36° 30' to slavery. It was bound to "secure the blessings of liberty" to all under its sovereign jurisdiction. In the States, which are each sovereign, they decide and dispose of this question for themselves, and with the institution in the States Congress can not interfere. But it is otherwise in the Territories. These, Congress is bound to "secure the blessings of liberty," to see that there is no "abridging the freedom of speech or of the press," and that "the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances," be preserved. The constitution also declares that "no person" shall be "deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law." How have Congress and the government discharged those duties in Kansas? How can these provisions of the constitution be reconciled with the institution of slavery? When the constitution was adopted, slavery was prohibited in every foot of territory owned by the federal government, and it was designed that the institution never should go, under the authority of Congress, into any part of the public domain. When a territory emerged from its dependent condition, and took upon itself and was recognized and acknowledged as a State, the people assuming to themselves the powers, responsibilities and attributes of government, decided for themselves in their organic law, in relation to their own institutions.

These were the doctrines and principles of JEFFERSON and the state rights men of former days—they are the doctrines and principles of those who hold to the same faith now. The *Times* maintained these doctrines in all their rigor down to 1854, and ridiculed and denounced the scheme of squatter sovereignty, and the consolidating centralism of State and territorial equality. The editors do injustice to themselves and to their columns, when they represent that their opposition to the policy of the administration in 1854 was not from any principle, but to avoid "Abolition agitation." They may have thought it their "duty," after the Missouri compromise was repealed, to unite with the sectionalists whom they had opposed, but in surrendering and going over to the Nullifiers and disunionists they committed a fatal error. It would have been better for them to have consistently adhered to their original principles.

But having abandoned its fact and taken up the absurd doctrine of squatter sovereignty, at a time when its advocates find it impracticable and indefensible, we should be glad to hear from *The Times* whether Mr. BUCHANAN has any fixed and settled opinion on this subject, and what that opinion is.—That paper says that the people of Kansas "can settle the slavery question to suit themselves." The *Times* sustains this principle." We quote its own language.

Now if such be the fact, the editors are "waging a sectional warfare against the South"—a "bitter warfare against one-half of the Union;" for it is denied through the whole South, that the people of Kansas can prohibit the extension of slavery into that territory. They claim it as a right to carry their slaves into the territory, and retain them in bondage, and deny that the people have any authority to prevent them by any territorial law. They support Mr. BUCHANAN because he subscribes to their views, and is to carry them out. In a late debate in the Senate, Senator TRUMBULL of Ohio, put the question direct to DOUGLAS to state frankly to the Senate, whether the people of the territory had authority to "settle this question for themselves," because there were different interpretations among the supporters of BUCHANAN on this subject. DOUGLAS, after quibbling and equivocating, and trying to evade the question, finally declined to give a direct answer. The southern Senators repudiate the ground taken by the *Times*,—the southern press repudiate it—the *Times* is waging a "bitter sectional warfare" against them—taking what the editors themselves call "disunion" ground. Mr. BUCHANAN will never admit that the views expressed by the *Times* are his views. The editors can get no word or authority from him sanctioning their position. It would ruin him at the South, and cut off all his sectional support. Why does the *Times* sup-

port a candidate whose principles are so diametrically opposed to its own? Why deceive itself, and try to deceive its readers on this subject?

In order to subjugate freedom, the laws prohibiting slavery in Kansas were repealed, and in order to palliate and excuse the act, the sectionalists who were guilty of this perfidy, represented that it was for the purpose of establishing squatter sovereignty, letting the people rule, putting the territory on an equality with the States. The *Times* very properly opposed the absurdity. But the act of 1820 was repealed, and now those who repealed it deny the people of the territory all right to settle the question, and our neighbors reverse their position and take grounds with the sectionalists for reasons which it once controverted, and which the nullifiers themselves now repudiate. We wish the *Times* to publish any word, or opinion from JAMES BUCHANAN, or from leading Senators or presses of the South, since the Cincinnati convention, that the people of Kansas can prevent the introduction of Slavery into that territory, or that "they alone have the right to decide whether slavery shall or shall not exist in their own midst." The supporters of BUCHANAN through the whole South scout these late twaddling doctrines of the *Times*.

The only excuse which the *Times* offers for its inconsistency in going over to the nullifying and disunion sectionalists is, opposition to the Abolitionists, without being aware that the reason it gives is denounced as abolition at the South. Names seem to have greater influence with the *Times* than principles, or truth, or right, and hence its constant resort to epithets, in the absence of argument, to vindicate its course. The editors, for mere party purposes, disregard the welfare of the country, the cause of freedom and the constitution itself. It unites with the nullifiers in their schemes for the abolition of freedom in Kansas, lest it should be associated with those who would have slavery in the territories abolished. The constitution recognises liberty as national, but ignores slavery, which is local and sectional, the creature of the States, and not of the general government. Were the *Times* to regard the country more, and party less,—to maintain right and oppose wrong,—to look at truth instead of epithets,—it would find its course pleasanter as well as more useful.

In supporting Mr. BUCHANAN, whose nomination it has steadily and strongly opposed for the last twelve years, and whose intrigues for a nomination have been rejected by successive National Conventions, the editors of the *Times* must be doing violence to their own feelings and convictions. They make too great a sacrifice when yielding their independence to the mandates of party.

The Courant.

HARTFORD:
MONDAY MORNING, JULY 21, 1856.

"The people of Kansas, can settle the slavery question to suit themselves."—*Times*.

What a mockery of the reality this assertion is! The laws of a Legislature, which the House of Representatives has already marked as fraudulently elected, threaten imprisonment for any attempt to prevent the introduction of slavery. These laws are upheld and enforced by the Federal officers of the Territory—Shannon, Lecompte, and Donaldson—and the men who endeavored "to settle the slavery question to suit themselves," are in prison.—Lawrence has been burned and plundered by order of the Federal officers and by a Federal posse, for endeavoring "to settle the slavery question to suit themselves." Free State men throughout the Territory are hung or shot or plundered, unless they declare themselves to be pro-slavery. The whole of one of the boundaries of Kansas is bristling with bayonets and cannon, to exclude Free State men, and the Hartford *Times* says "The people of Kansas can settle the slavery question to suit themselves!" Does the *Times* really believe that there is any freedom left in Kansas?

Gazette & Courier

AND

AMERICAN REPUBLIC.
Greenfield, Mass.

MONDAY, JULY 21, 1856.

THE DOUGLAS AND TOOMBS KANSAS BILL, WHICH lately passed the Senate, is a cunningly devised affair for making Kansas a slave state, and as such ought to be opposed by every friend of liberty. Great efforts will be made to get it through the House, which, if successful, will seal the fate of that bleeding and oppressed territory.

The commissioners for taking the census, enrolling the voters and regulating the elections are (according to the bill) all to be appointed by the President, and all who know of the wrongs heaped upon Kansas through his instrumentality, and for which he is and ought to be held accountable at the bar of his country, can very well understand what kind of men they will be if thus selected. To be sure the bill provides that one shall be appointed from each of the political parties. But what of that? It would, while seeming to comply with the law, be an easy matter to get round it. There would be no security for freedom if the appointment of commissioners is left in the hands of Frank Pierce. Through his partialities for slavery, the miserable, drunken rowdy of a Shannon was appointed Governor of Kansas, and we can expect men of no better stamp if the appointment of commissioners is left in his hands. Kansas has suffered too much already, and no further power to degrade and injure ought to be given to her Presidential oppressor.

The bill places arbitrary and unlimited power in the hands of the commissioners, and though the great Michiganander has promised that they shall be impartially chosen from all parties, who is there so verdant as to believe it! The "impartiality" of this administration is already pretty well known and appreciated. If any wish for further information as to that particular, let them inquire of the persecuted and oppressed free state citizens of Kansas.

Hundreds of emigrants from the free states, on their way to Kansas, have been driven back, (after being insulted and robbed of their arms, money and provisions) by the border ruffian mobs of Leavenworth, and other places. The reason is quite obvious. They would, had they been allowed to proceed, reached the territory before the 4th of July, and therefore would have had a right to insist upon being "enumerated" as residents entitled to vote at the November election. This is according to the provisions of the Douglas Kansas bill, and this feature of it was undoubtedly communicated to the border ruffians, and explains the reason for their great activity in driving back our northern emigrants.

It was a well planned scheme, and the manner in which it has been executed shows how determined the south is that Kansas shall be made a slave state. But the plot we trust will fail. The bill did not get through the Senate until the 3d of July, and there is not much probability that it can pass the House for several weeks to come.

We hope it will be killed in the House. It should be, and if our northern members are all true, it will be. The danger is that some of the Fillmore members will be induced to vote with the friends of the administration, and so force the bill through the House and thus be the means of entailing slavery upon Kansas forever. If Mr. Fillmore and his friends are ambitious of a position of this kind, why then let them take it. We can tell them in advance, that they will not find it either a pleasant or an honorable one. The north and succeeding generations will remember it.

ELOQUENT AND BEAUTIFUL.—We give the following extracts from speeches delivered in the U. S. 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. Keitt—Give it to him, Brooks! Let 'em alone—damn you. Let 'em—damn your soul.

Truly, most eloquent and beautiful, and establishing the claim of the south for patriotism and elo-

The Republican.

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SPRINGFIELD, MASS.
MONDAY MORNING, JULY 21, 1856.

Outrages in Kansas.

There is no cessation to the reign of terror in Kansas. Gen Smith's presence fails to afford the hoped for relief. Indeed we cannot see why he was sent to the territory except to supersede or over-ride Col Sumner as too lenient to the free state settlers. He is subordinate to Gov Shannon and Marshal Donaldson in the execution of the Missouri code, and those worthies only call in the U. S. troops when they get a job on hand for which their enrolled border ruffian militia are unequal or afraid. The free state people will fight the ruffian militia, but not the U. S. dragoons. Of course there can be no peace so long as the laws and officers of the false legislature are maintained in authority, and all the lawless bands of Missourians and South Carolinians and Georgians made official instruments enforcing this authority, and doing what else seems to them best. Indeed, Gen Smith, in his reply to the appeal for protection from the parties robbing and driving back the free state emigrants, virtually withdraws the little semblance of protection which the free state interest had experienced from Colonel Sumner.

Mr Branscomb of this state, agent of the emigrant aid company, arrived at Lawrence July 3 in safety, by way of the Missouri river.

A third company of free state emigrants, seventeen in number, had been plundered, and sent back down the river. Their goods, or such of them as the robbers do not want for immediate use, are placed in the store of Majors & Russell at Leavenworth, who are the agents of the southern or slavery society for subduing Kansas.

The troops have left Topeka and the people gone home. A free state man named Hudson, a Quaker, who lived a few miles from Lecompton, while returning to the convention at Topeka, on the evening of July 4, was met near home by three pro-slavery men, who sprang up in the grass and shot at him. He was wounded, and thrown by his frightened horse, but succeeded in getting on his horse and getting home.

THE SLAVERY RUFFIANS COMING BACK.—Messrs Brooks and Keitt are to be returned to Congress by their constituents in double quick time. Special elections are ordered in their districts for the 28th inst. The Columbia *Times* says they will be sent back without opposition and by a large complimentary vote. Their resignations were simply for dramatic effect. They will have the endorsal of their constituents to their ruffianism, and the country another evidence that the slavery party adopts the assault on free speech in the person of Mr Sumner. No longer, certainly, can it be said that that assault was a purely personal matter. It has become a party question whether members of Congress can any longer be allowed to speak their own and the sentiments of their constituents.

The Daily Transcript.

MONDAY JULY 21, 1856.

KANSAS CONVENTION.

The Kansas Convention of the 9th inst., at Buffalo, was exceedingly interesting and its action important. About one hundred delegates were present, including many solid and noble men, who are all able to do great service to Kansas by influence and money. The feeling of the Convention was that Kansas must be a free State at whatever cost; that it can be made free by peaceful means; that a body of armed men sufficiently strong to defend themselves and their neighbors from the assaults of Border Ruffians should be immediately sent to Kansas, to ensure protection to emigrants, and

Kansas Meeting in Melrose.

To the Editor of the Telegraph:

On Thursday evening last a meeting was held at Lyceum Hall, Melrose, to take into consideration the appointment of a committee to collect funds for the suffering people of Kansas. The meeting was organized by the choice of Samuel E. Sewall, Esq., as Chairman, and Levi S. Gould as Secretary. The Chairman addressed the assemblage with a few brief, yet appropriate and forcible remarks upon the objects for which they were convened, &c., after which D. W. Gooch, Esq., submitted the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That Kansas of right ought to be, and must be, a Free State.

Resolved, That the Free State sufferers in Kansas challenge our high admiration and warmest sympathy, and that they should at once receive our pecuniary aid.

Rev. A. J. Sessions of the Orthodox Society supported the resolutions, and in a very earnest and eloquent speech denounced the outrages in Kansas, and arraigned the government of the country, as accessories to the crimes there perpetrated. So long as the government offered no protection to the liberties and lives of the citizens of Kansas they must protect themselves; therefore, he believed in the efficacy of Shap's rifles. In conclusion he gave his hearers to understand that the Clergy of New England were thoroughly aroused upon the Kansas iniquity; not that they wished to thrust themselves into politics, but, a great moral wrong had been committed, and they, as guardians of the morality of the people, therefore considered themselves as fully justified in the interest they have evinced in this matter. The Rev. gentleman was enthusiastically applauded many times during his speech.

Messrs. Dennis, Jameson, Stone, George, and Messrs. D. W. Gooch and P. B. Holmes spoke at intervals during the evening upon the subjects under consideration, each evincing by his speech, the manly and decided stand he had assumed.

The following gentlemen were appointed a Committee to solicit subscriptions throughout the town: Rev. A. J. Sessions, Rev. J. S. Dennis, Rev. T. C. Jamison, Rev. Mr. George, Rev. Mr. Munroe, Rev. Mr. Pierson, Jona. Cochran, Esq., and Mr. William E. Fuller.

A Committee of nine ladies are to be appointed by the above named gentlemen to render their valuable assistance in the collection of funds.

A subscription paper was prepared and circulated in the hall, which resulted (notwithstanding the thin attendance, caused by the oppressive heat of the evening) in the collection upon the spot of the respectable little sum of *one hundred and eighty dollars*. The people of the town are thoroughly awake upon the subject, and a large donation may be expected from them. Perhaps it would be well to state in this connection, (as we have heard of so many votes taken at fishing parties,) that at one of those excursions, made by a few of the citizens of Melrose on Wednesday last, the following Presidential vote was taken: Fremont 110, Fillmore 13, Buck 2.

AN INFERNAL OUTRAGE IN KANSAS. [Topekka Correspondence of the Cincinnati Gazette.] I heard to-day of an outrage which exceeds any that I have heard of during the Kansas troubles. A man by the name of Richards, formerly of Ohio, residing on Pottawatonic creek, in the southern portion of the Territory, having occasion to go to Westport, left home on Thursday last, with the understanding that he would be back in four days. During the first day of his absence, two men came to the house and inquired for him; finding that he was not at home they left, saying that they would call when he returned, his wife inviting them to do so, stating that he would be home in a day or two. About ten o'clock that night, after the family had retired, a knock was heard at the door, Mrs. Richards asked what was wanted, the reply was, we want to see Mr. Richards. She replied that he was not at home. They then demanded Mrs. Richards to open the door. He is a G-d-d Abolitionist, we must have him. She again replied, he is not at home, and refused to open the door. It was then broken open, and seven or eight men entered the room and commenced searching it for Richards. Not finding him, they accused Mrs. Richards and her daughter, an intelligent young lady about 19 years old, of secreting him. The ladies, completely bewildered by terror, protested that they had told the truth, and that they had not secreted him—that he was really gone to Westport. One of their men then replied, "Then God-d-n you, we want you," and dragged the daughter from the bed, and from the house into the bushes close by, and there proceeded deliberately to violate her person.

Her mother, Mrs. Richards, was treated in the same manner, and both left for dead. How long they remained in the bush, they were unable to tell, but she managed finally to reach the house, where they were found by one of the neighbors the next morning, who, after providing for their personal comfort, immediately started to raise a company to pursue the villains. In an hour a company of terribly excited men

question of slavery or freedom to Kansas, and all west and south of it, will be speedily decided. A vigorous effort will give all to freedom. Lukewarmness will give all to slavery.

The convention was eminently successful in attaining the objects for which it was called. A plan, wise and efficient, was devised—concert of action among the friends of Kansas from all parts of the North secured—and confidence of success imparted. If the plan of the convention is carried out, Kansas is sure to be a free State; and three months will settle the question forever, and the days of blood and robbery in that unfortunate Territory will be over. And we believe that the money will be freely given, and men will flow into the Territory so rapidly that Border Ruffians will soon give up the contest.

CIVIL WAR.

For nearly a year Kansas has been in a state of civil war. The effects of the war show who has been the aggressor. What party has been overpowered by armed men at the polls? Who has been proscribed by the laws which the Legislature of these armed men passed, which Mr. Crittenden says "are a disgrace to the civilized world?" Who destroyed Lawrence, burned the residences of citizens, and cast the printing presses into the river? What party has been arrested for treason because they would not obey the disgraceful laws of the Territory? While Missourians have committed these crimes, and made life and property insecure, by the perpetual invasion of the Territory by bands of armed men, who have made it their business to rob and murder; while they have arrested, imprisoned, robbed and murdered men indiscriminately on the Missouri river no one can be in doubt as to who is responsible for this civil war. Thus far it has been mostly on one side. But little effort has been made at self defence. A few Border Ruffians have been shot, while attempting the lives of citizens. But not a case of aggression on the part of the Free State men has occurred. Yet men are found at the North so unjust, so forgetful of duty and manliness as to defend the Ruffians, and curse the emigrants from the North.

The administration press of the North accuse them of rebellion against the laws, of treason, and every imaginable crime.—Nothing can be more base and vicious than this. We might expect this from the South. But these men curse and abuse, belie and injure their own neighbors, who have migrated to Kansas, and whose only fault is love of freedom, and in some instances, self defence, when assailed by Ruffians. These men are traitors to freedom, false to their neighbors, they deal out slander and abuse upon those they ought to defend and apologize for the murderers of their brethren. The Tories of '76 were gentlemen, patriots, in comparison to them; they disgrace themselves, and the land that gave them birth, by their conduct. For this there is no excuse or apology. It is deliberate, inexcusable mendacity, designed to serve the enemies of freedom and good laws, and to injure the institutions and the friends of liberty. Such men would sell the Union, Constitution, and freedom of the Nation for a mess of pottage.

64 preserve peace and order, in case the United States Government is too weak or too wicked, as it has been, to protect them; that these armed men shall act on the defensive, and if not invaded, to turn their attention to the arts of peace, and become permanent settlers in the territory. If the United States Government had not utterly failed to protect the emigrants from robbery, arson and murder, the emigration from the North would have decided the question of slavery before this time; but they will not seek a home where property and person have no security; and as government will not guarantee such security, it becomes the duty as it is the right of citizens to defend themselves. Such was the feeling of the Convention, and in harmony with it, they arranged their plan of operations. A Central Committee of wise, able men were appointed to receive and disburse money, and to have the entire direction of the cause. Their office is to be at Chicago where a quorum of the Committee reside; with one member in each free State, confidence that the money will be wisely used, and concert of action will by this means be secured. Money and men will secure freedom to Kansas. And it is resolved to send five thousand sober, earnest men into the Territory as soon as the means can be secured to do so. All agreed that the men could be collected in a month's time, if the money to arm and feed them is only furnished. It is useless to send men into the Territory without arms and means of subsistence, while the Border Ruffians continue the war upon them, for this would only invite assault. The means and ability of defence is the only way to preserve peace, as it is the only means of safety. It was the unanimous opinion of the convention that Kansas will be a free State, if emigrants from the North are permitted to peaceably settle there; and that they must and shall have protection in effecting such settlement. Bodies of armed men prowl over the Territory, robbing, murdering, burning; and pirates infest the Missouri river, so that the Free State men in the Territory have no security, and those who wish to emigrate to it are either robbed or sent back. Hence the convention resolved to select a new route through Iowa, when arrangements have been made to convey baggage, &c. in wagons. Eight hundred men have already gone over this route, and report that it is very desirable. In future, emigrants will go through Iowa, where they will be protected from Pirates and Ruffians. The West will furnish the men and as much of the means as possible to carry out the plans of the convention, but a large share of the money must come from the East. It is not expected that any one will receive any pay for his services; there will be no lack of volunteers, who, for love of freedom and country, will freely give their time and risk their lives to save Kansas. No intemperate men are to be sent out, and none who do not possess a character for honesty and obedience to the laws of the land. Five thousand men will be needed, and at least one million of dollars to pay their expenses. The money is the most difficult to secure. But it is believed that the people will respond, and speedily furnish all the funds that are needed. What is done must be done quickly. The great

about thirty, who, under the command of a Mr. Smith, started on the trail. They traced them to a camp of about one hundred men, situated in a deep ravine some distance from the creek. Finding that they were not strong enough to fight, some of the company started for assistance. The others remained to watch their proceedings. The watchers were however, unfortunately, discovered, and consequently had to leave, and by the time their comrades returned the camp had been moved and the ruffians escaped.

This affair has caused great excitement throughout the Territory, and is almost too horrible to believe. I had the facts from Mr. Richards himself, who has been to acting Gov. Woodson, to endeavor to get justice done, but without avail, and has come to Topeka to get the citizens to help him to arrest and obtain the perpetrators of this most diabolical outrage. It has since been ascertained that the scoundrels were part of Buford's men, who are armed with United States muskets, and in the pay of the United States Marshal.

Daily Citizen and News.

Lowell, Monday, July 21, 1856.

Gov. GARDNER'S LETTER. The reply to the fire-eating epistle of the governor of Alabama noticed by us some days since, is one of the noticeable documents of the times, and as such we give it at nearly full length. It is refreshing to notice the change that has taken place at the north; our officials no longer meekly pocket the insults of the southern aristocrats but pay them back with the best of weapons—argument and manly rebuke:—

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS,
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
Boston, July 5th, 1856.

DON'T DARE TO. Franky Pierce declines to grant the request of the governor of California to lend the U. S. troops to restore law and order there, but says the governor should first call the legislature together for consultation. When the tipsy Shannon was prompted by the Missouri ruffians to ask for the U. S. troops to put down the people of Kansas, they were forthcoming; but California has some votes to give in the coming election, and therefore if they choose to rebel the president prefers it should be against their American state government rather than the democratic national administration. Pro-slavery winks at revolution among voters, but murders Kansas men who have no votes and no revolutions, but simply go for a free state.

The Connecticut Kansas Colony is well, and happily located. They have some 400 acres under cultivation and are now erecting their saw-mill. The population now numbers over 100. The report of the death of E. J. Lines at the hand of a Wyandot Indian, is not true.

DAILY FREE PRESS.

BURLINGTON:

MONDAY EVENING, JULY 21, 1856.

The Border Ruffian Press.

We have been favored by our townsman, Mr. Bigelow, who has recently returned from a visit to Kansas, with a copy of the *Squatter Sovereign*, the organ of the Ruffians, of recent date. We copy several pieces from its columns, not because they contain anything very new, but because they illustrate so clearly the spirit with which the contest is carried on by the pro-slavery party on the border. The desperate determination of these men should but nerve the North to a more energetic effort. The following is the leading article of the *Squatter Sovereign* of July 1.

IN TIME OF PEACE PREPARE FOR WAR. Now that the territory is comparatively quiet, the Law and Order party should not be led to think that this state of affairs will be permitted to last any length of time. Already rumors are current, and said to be well founded, that large bodies of abolitionists, from Wisconsin, Illinois and Michigan, are congregating in the upper part of the Territory, under the lead of the traitor Lane. Their object is openly proclaimed to be the establishment of a new government in Kansas, and the punishment of all citizens who have heretofore assisted in enforcing the Territorial laws. How soon this revolutionary movement will again be set on foot we are not able to say, but it does seem to us, in view of the existing state of affairs in the Territory, that we should be prepared to take up our arms in defence of the laws at a moment's notice. We should have our horses saddled and bridled, our guns in good trim, with ammunition in our cartridges boxes, and the determination in our minds to SUBDUCE THE FOE THAT THREATENS US, OR DIE IN THE ATTEMPT!! We hope each individual citizen will heed our advice, and be ready, if necessary, to start to-morrow to drive these outlaws out of Kansas. It is evident that two governments cannot exist at one time. Anarchy and confusion will be the rule of the day, so long as such an experiment is being attempted, and all those who desire speedy and permanent peace in Kansas, must themselves take the field against these outlaws, who have caused this state of affairs in the Territory. The Law and Order party of Kansas must submit to be made vassals and crouch to the dictators of the North, or take up arms and fight for their rights! The time to choose between two alternatives is at hand! Do we hesitate! No! with the consciousness that we are in the right, we enter into this war, however bloody it may be, and strike at our oppressors until the last vestige of abolitionism is wiped out of Kansas. We now give the order to "Shoulder arms!"

We extract the following from another editorial article:

If the people of the North, who emigrate to this Territory for the purpose of bringing about a civil war, expect to meet with no resistance, they will be woefully mistaken. We know the Southern people well enough to assure them, that they will not find it an easy matter to carry out their damnable designs. If it is their desire to engage in a bloody war, unequaled in the annals of history, let them continue the course they are now pursuing. We are determined to repel this Northern invasion. Though our rivers should be colored with the blood of the victims, and the carcases of dead abolitionists should be so numerous in the Territory as to breed disease and sickness, we will not be deterred in our purpose. Let those who desire graves in Kansas, engage in this unholy and unjust war that is now being waged against the South by the fanatics of the North. We regret this issue that is forced upon us, but rather than submit to Northern dictation, we will willingly sacrifice our lives in defence of our constitutional rights.

The following are among the *Sovereign's* items of news:

MORE ARMS CAPTURED! THE FLOWER OF THE ABOLITION ARMY TAKEN!—A BLOODLESS VICTORY. The Steamer West, having on board seventy-eight Chicago abolitionists, said to be a picked company from the army of eight hundred then congregated there, was overhauled at Lexington, Mo., 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 Lawrence 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. On their way up the river, they were boasting of what they would do should any one attempt to molest them, and even went so far as to load their guns just before coming in sight of Lexington. When they arrived at the "Political Quarantine," the whole party of seventy-eight, all of them "armed to the teeth," surrendered to a company of twenty "Border Ruffians." Here is bravery displayed on the part of the abolitionists, unparalleled in the annals of history! The flower of Lane's army are now prisoners of war, and will be shipped back home, disgraced and cowed! If this is the material we have to encounter in Kansas, we have but little fear of the result. Fifty thousand of such "cattle" could not subdue the Spartan band now in possession of Kansas.

ANOTHER CAPTURE. More abolitionists sent back. A party of about twenty-five abolitionists from Illinois and Indiana, on their way to the Territory, were recently captured in Platte county, disarmed and ordered back home. We learn that they had two guns apiece, with pistols and bowie knives in proportion, all of which fell into the hands of the "Border Ruffians." They were boasting on their way that they intended to march through the fortress of the "Ruffians," and land in Kansas opposite Platte county—the hot-bed of "Border Ruffianism." Their expectation was not realized, however, and in Platte county they received the orders to "bout face" and march for home, which they promptly did just as all "good soldiers" should do. Kansas is a hard road to travel.

Buchanan's nomination has been received in every quarter of the Union with that enthusiastic delight, which betokens the entire satisfaction it affords, and evidence that all hearts and that 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.

PROVIDENCE JOURNAL.

MONDAY MORNING, JULY 21, 1856.

MASSACHUSETTS AND ALABAMA.—Gov. Winston, of Alabama, has returned to Governor Gardner, of Massachusetts, the resolutions passed by the Legislature of the latter State upon Kansas. Gov. Winston says that the resolutions returned are "in conflict with the truth of history, unconstitutional and treasonable in design," and adds:

"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."

Gov. Gardner replies in a long letter, from which the following are extracts:—

"Your Excellency may rest assured, notwithstanding your denial, the exact accuracy of every historical fact here spoken of is known to and recognized by every reader of these Resolves; whether he lives North or South. The truth of history is too stern and inexorable to warp itself to suit your Excellency's wishes. These shameful occurrences are written as with a pen of fire on the broad skies for the whole world to read, and they will exist until history itself shall be no more, a damning disgrace to our country, our age, our humanity, to those who dared to do them, and to those who with equal hardihood dare deny or defend them.

But if you mean that the whole truth of history is not expressed in those Resolves, then I agree with you. They do not give the half, nor the worst, of these inhuman outrages. They make no reference to the rilling of the mails, the organized usurpation of the citizens of another State to control elections, arrests without judicial authority, mockery of legislation, inhuman laws, destruction of printing presses, theft, arson, and last, that great and final crime, beyond which human depravity has no power to go, cold blooded and deliberate murder. Should your Excellency invoke the whole truth of history, it must bring to your view the vision of murdered men, of wives driven to madness, and to your ear the agonized cry of the orphan—and all

for the crime that their husbands and fathers opposed by vote or voice the introduction of human beings into a region your father and my father, dedicated, a third of a century ago, by a solemn national compact, to freedom forever.

Your Excellency concludes your letter in the following words:—"And [we] 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. Your allusion I cannot fail to understand. You advance as your chief and closing reason for desiring no farther intercourse with our State, that one of her Senators has declined a summons to a personal combat, and the other it is well known would do so, in obedience not only to the laws and sentiments of Massachusetts but also of the rules and orders of Congress and even of the Statutes of the State of Alabama itself. I find the following provisions in the Code of that State, published in pursuance of an Act of your General Assembly: Every person who gives, accepts, or knowingly carries a challenge in writing or otherwise, to fight in single combat with any deadly weapon, either in or out of this State, on conviction, must be imprisoned in the penitentiary two years. Because a Senator of Massachusetts refuses to do what the law of Alabama makes a penitentiary offence your Excellency wishes, no further intercourse with our State!

In a prior portion of your letter you arraign Massachusetts for an alleged disregard of the laws of the land, and with singular inconsistency at its close you assert as the crowning reason of your displeasure that she will not violate, in the person of her Senators, a law common alike to Massachusetts, to Congress and the State whose representative you are."

THE RELIGIOUS PRESS AND PARTY POLITICS.

As a portion of the religious press has already embarked on the sea of party politics, it is desirable to know, and indeed we are in a fair way to learn, whether in the discussion of such topics, they mean to leave their religious principles and even common honesty behind them, and descend to the lowest arts of unprincipled demagogues. Judging from the specimens thus far presented, of their contemplated course, it is to be feared that instead of elevating party politics to the level of true religion, they will degrade religion, so far as they are its representatives, to the level of party politics. Certainly in none of the partisan papers have we seen any worse perversions of honest truth. Of course, we do not speak of motives and intentions, but only of the fact. The Albany Argus exposes some of these perversions,—a very few of them,—in the following extracts:

From the Albany Argus.
Beecher on Knaves and Liars.
Surely it is time for men who fear God and keep his commandments, to carry their religion into politics. It is high time to expose, and denounce the notion that a man may be a respectable man, a good man, a Christian man, and at the same time a knavish politician or the political associate and confederate of knaves and liars.—*N. Y. Independent.*

One of the editors of the Independent enlisted early in the Republican ranks in the service of the political demagogues who control and keep up this Kansas excitement, by converting his church into an armory, from which rifles, instead of the gospel of peace, were sent forth to do bloody execution on those western prairies, which, by the efforts of fanatics and "knavish politicians," have been converted into battle fields. The paper itself, started and obtaining countenance and circulation as a religious journal, has now openly entered the political arena and become a partisan supporter of FREMONT and DAYTON. As is apt to be the case with new converts, its zeal quite surpasses that of such old campaigners in the Seward ranks as the Tribune and Albany Journal, and it is not only more thoroughly partisan, but, notwithstanding its religious pretensions and its strange intermixture in its columns of exhortations to piety and FREMONT, more unscrupulous and less regardful of the truth and of the decencies of fair discussion, than either of these journals. Its misstatements of the issues now pending, and of the positions of its opponents, are more flagitious and reckless in a bold spirit of calumny, than is exhibited by any prominent paper on our exchange list. We are not all surprised that the idea of "knavish politicians" and of "knaves and liars" should be present to its writers in penning some of their partisan articles. Surely they do not need to travel far from their sanctum to find such characters—not half as far as to find "men who fear God and keep his commandments." A few illustrations of what constitute the "knavish politician" and of the frauds which are perpetrated by those who traffic in philanthropy, may not be out of place.

In one of its first articles commending the support of FREMONT to its readers, the Independent urged upon them as a prominent reason for enlisting under his standard, that he was in favor of a railroad to the Pacific, and that the Democratic party was opposed to such a project. Yet this religious paper knew perfectly well in publishing this falsehood that the Cincinnati Convention passed a resolution in favor of such a communication to the Pacific. We ask all honest men to judge whether an editor, whether his journal be secular or religious in its pretensions, can write and publish such an article without fairly delineating himself as (in the Independent's language) "a knavish politician, or the political associate and confederate of knaves and liars."

But this religious newspaper is not content with such minute falsification as the above. It has a genius for misrepresentation on a more extended scale. It delights to belie the whole Democratic party—imputing to it doctrines which it has never even remotely embraced, and thus making up an issue, which presents a crisis, calling upon "men who fear God and keep his commandments to carry their religion into politics." We clip the following passages from a copy of the Independent lying before us:

There is but one issue now before the people; and that is whether slavery shall be set up by law, under the sanction of the Federal Government, upon all which is free by nature and by the consent of man.

The only question before the people is, shall slavery be adopted and extended as a national institution? Upon that question there are but two sides, and two sets of candidates; on the one side the Cincinnati platform, with Mr. Buchanan as its representative; on the other the Philadelphia platform, with Col. Fremont as its representative.

The people of the United States are called upon before God and man to decide whether the system of slavery with all its abominations shall be adopted as a national institution, or shall be legislated into being by act of Congress, and transmitted to posterity as their heritage. This is the one question, the only real question at issue in the Presidential election.

There are but two sides to this question represented by the candidates for the Presidency. On one side is Col. Fremont; and on the other are Messrs. Buchanan and Fillmore. It is a religious question.

These passages are deliberate and studied falsifications of the positions of the Democratic party—known to be so by the author of them, and put forth to mislead readers who are supposed to have confidence in the paper in which they appear, from its pretensions to piety. There is not one word in the Cincinnati Platform or in any authorized exposition of the views of the Democracy of the Union, to warrant, or even excuse these perversions. Nobody has proposed—certainly the Democratic party has not—that "Slavery shall be set up by law, under the sanction of the Federal Government;" nor that "Slavery be adopted and extended as a national institution;" nor that the "system of Slavery with all its abominations, shall be adopted as a national institution, shall be legislated into being by act of Congress, and transmitted to posterity as their heritage." These charges, as applied to the Democratic party, are base falsehoods, which it is im-

possible could have been inadvertently uttered. Certainly they could not come from "men who fear God and keep his commandments," and it is difficult to understand how they could be put forth by any but "knaves and liars."

The Democratic party, as a political organization, does not engage in a crusade either for, or against slavery. It is composed of citizens of every portion of the Union, who entertain diverse views on this subject, and who in their own locality enforce their own opinions in their own way. The only position to which the Democratic party is committed on the slavery topic is that it shall be kept out of national politics and national legislation—that the people of each State and Territory shall dispose of for themselves, as they do other questions of domestic government, and determine for themselves whether it shall exist among them. The assertion of the Independent that the Democratic party proposes that slavery "shall be legislated into being by act of Congress" is an unmitigated, audacious falsehood. No Southern advocate of slavery has ever proposed such legislation. On the contrary, the Kansas bill, which is the only recent legislation on this subject, in no manner establishes or sanctions slavery, but has a clause expressly guarding it against any such construction, and declaring that "the true intent and meaning of the act is 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.

If the men whom the Independent invokes to "carry their religion into politics" possess a piety which will allow them to be guilty of such shameful falsehoods as characterize the political columns of that paper, we incline to the opinion the cause of morality would be inclined to the opinion the cause of morality of the subject to be promoted by leaving the management of whether the "world's people," we especially doubt whether the "dignity of political journalism will be promoted by introducing into the editorial brotherhood clerical "knaves and liars."

What reward the Independent expects to reap from thus prostituting its columns to such base uses, we shall not undertake to conjecture. It announces that "it has not counted the cost," and that it expects "thrift to follow profaning," may be inferred from the fact, that it goes on, it states in the cant slang of the day, that it goes on, for "Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Men, and Fremont," and appeals to the party which adopts this motto to increase its circulation. An appeal to that quarter is certainly more appropriate than to the religious community, which will hardly be able to conceal its disgust at an exhibition so repugnant to the principles of true Christianity.

From the Albany Argus. Religious Lying.

The action of the House on the Senate's bill for the so-called "pacification of Kansas" will be awaited with thrilling interest. It is virtually and really the question of freedom or slavery in Kansas. It is so designed, and it will be so in fact. The object of the bill is to place the question of freedom or slavery in the control of the persons actually in the Territory at the present moment—when it is notorious that by a series of outrageous outrages, which have so paralyzed the moral sense of the country, the large part of these settlers who are in favor of a free State, have been either harassed and driven from the Territory.—*N. Y. Evangelist.*

We clip the above from a religious paper published in the city of New York, and pretty well known to the public. From the professions of this journal, one would expect its editorials to state matters of fact with tolerable correctness. At least we should expect them to be free from downright falsehoods. Now let us examine the above passage. It represents the question of freedom or slavery to depend on the passage of the Senate Kansas bill. And the only objection which it makes to the bill is that it places this question "in the control of the persons actually in the Territory at the present moment"—and then it proceeds to allege that the Free State men have been driven out, &c.

We have a copy of the Kansas bill, as it passed the Senate, lying before us. The 11th section prescribes the qualifications of voters at the election (to be held on the day of the Presidential election) of delegates to a Convention to form a Constitution. They must have been inhabitants of the Territory on the 4th of July and have resided in the county where they offer to vote three months before the election. Then follows this further provision, intended expressly to meet the case of persons who have left the Territory in consequence of the disturbances.

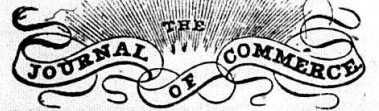
And all persons who shall possess the qualifications for voters under this act, and who shall have been bona fide inhabitants of said Territory at any time since its organization, and who shall have absented themselves therefrom in consequence of the disturbances therein, and who shall return before the first day of October next, and expose bona fide inhabitants of the Territory with the intent of making it their permanent home, and shall present satisfactory evidence of these facts to the board of commissioners, shall be entitled to vote at said election.

In the face of an express provision of this kind, meeting the very point of the objection stated by the Evangelist that religious paper falsely charges—not only that the bill places the decision of the question of freedom or slavery "in the control of the persons actually in the Territory at the present moment,"—but that such is the "object of the bill." A more malicious untruth could not well be invented. If religious journals will resort to such falsehoods to advance their party preferences, what may we not expect from the secular press?

Newark Daily Mercury.

MONDAY MORNING, JULY 21, 1856.

The outrages in Kansas, and along the Missouri river, upon Free State emigrants and settlers, continue without abatement of the atrocity. Every day the telegraph flashes over the country intelligence of some new outrage by the border ruffians, and every mail furnishes a budget of news of the most aggravating character. Gen. Smith, whose arrival in the territory has been noticed, is said to be powerless, so far as the



NEW YORK, MONDAY, JULY 21, 1856.

Correspondence of the Journal of Commerce.
WASHINGTON, Friday July 18.

The House will not, I fear, get rid of privileged questions for ten days to come. The majority of the Committee on Elections think differently. They expect to finish all the contested election cases this week. They reckon without the host. These questions cannot be evaded, nor postponed; and each one, particularly that of the delegates from Kansas, will occupy some days.

Will Gov. Reeder be here to take his part in the Kansas election question? I doubt whether he will appear, but the question will not be the less zealously contested on that account.

I understand that some doubt exists as to the authority of the Courts of this District to deliver him over to the Kansas territorial jurisdiction, upon the demand that will be made for his surrender. The question is now under consideration, in anticipation of the occurrence of the case.

If it occurs, it will, as I have heretofore predicted, add much to the political capital of the black republicans, whose strength and enthusiasm are already too great, though much underrated. The old adage of "a despised enemy making a bloody battle," seems to befit the present circumstances.

It is very true that Fremont cannot be elected without the vote of every Northern State except Pennsylvania. But, if, unfortunately the result, on one side or the other, should depend upon the vote of California, we should be involved in a sea of trouble. Persons from California, and others here, who are acquainted with the present political condition of that State, say that, under present circumstances, all party ties are dissolved. Who can say that quiet will prevail in California on the 4th of November next. And if she present two or three distinct sets of electors for the Presidency, how difficult will it be to decide which is legitimate and which not. It is to be hoped that the election will be carried by the people and not left to the House. But if the result should happen to depend upon a disputed electoral vote of California or any other State, it will make a fearful question.

I see no reason, as yet, to doubt the election of Mr. Buchanan, by the people; and any other result will, it is feared, open a new and disastrous chapter in our history. A direct, instead of an indirect, election may be submitted to. But there is "a won't submit party" on both sides of the question, neither of which will be content with an indirect or doubtful choice.

prevention of border ruffianism is concerned, and the free State men must, therefore, endure, as best they may, the wrongs which are heaped upon them. The time will come when the oppressors shall be smitten to the dust, and all the wrongs they have suffered be avenged in their complete deliverance. To that end the true men of the country are rallying to day, with unprecedented enthusiasm, to the support of the People's Candidate for the Presidency, who is pledged to see justice done, "though the heavens fall."

ILLINOIS—The accounts from Illinois are of the most encouraging character. The Chicago Tribune says that Dr. Thomas Judd, late President of the L. 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 4th, denouncing the atrocious outrages in Kansas. It also says:

"On Monday last, the Galena train was loaded by large delegations of the Black D. mocracy from Chicago, among whom was the editor of the Times and Col. Richardson, the Border Ruffian candidate for Governor. The delegations from Lake, McHenry, Boone and Winnebago counties, were on board, all bound for the Congressional Convention at Freeport. Said one of the nigger drivers, after the train left Rockford, "Every vot-I have seen this year has been for Fremont. A trial on the train to-day, with all these delegates aboard, would tell another story."—"Try it—try it," said a Fremont man, sitting by his side, "even here we can beat you."

Try it they did, and the result was that in the eight cars the Pathfinder of Empire had 105 majority over both Fillmore and Buchanan. The counter-math in which this unexpected result caused was visible in every slave-driver's countenance. They were not content with this expression, but insisted that ladies should express their preferences. They did, with the following result:—Fremont, 45; Buchanan, 0; Fillmore, 5.

THE PASS OF THE SIERRA.

BY JOHN G. WHITTIER.

All night above their rocky bed
They saw the stars march slow,
The wild Sierras overhead,
The desert's death below.
The Indian from his lodge of bark,
The gray bear from his den,
Beyond their camp fire's wall of dark,
Glared on the mountain men.
Still upward turned with anxious strain,
Their leader's sleepless eye,
Where splinters of the mountain chain
Stood blank against the sky.
The night waned slow: at last a glow.
A gleam of sudden fire,
Shot up behind the walls of snow,
And tipped each icy spire.
"Up, men!" he cried; "yon rocky comb
To-day, please God, we'll pass,
And look from Winter's frozen home
On Summer's flowers and grass!"
They set their faces to the blast,
They trod th' eternal snow,
And faint, worn, bleeding, hailed at last
The promised land below.
Behind, they saw the snow cloud tossed
By many an icy horn,
Before, warm valleys, wood-embossed,
And green with vines and corn.
They left the Winter at their backs
To flap his baffled wing,
And downward, with the cataracts,
Leaped to the lap of Spring.
Strong leader of that mountain band!
Another task remains,
To break from Slavery's desert land
A path to Freedom's plains.
The winds are wild, the way is drear,
Yet, flashing through the night,
Lo! icy ridge and rocky spear
Blaze out in morning light!
Rise up, Fremont! and go before:
The hour must have its man;
Put on the hunting shirt once more,
And lead in Freedom's Van!

—National Era.

EVENING CHRONICLE.

Monday Evening, July 21, 1856.

[Correspondence of the Baltimore Sun.]

Hot Contests on Contested Elections—The Kansas Case—Inter-State Extradition Law in Gov. Reeder's Arrest—Capital for the Black Republicans—The Naval Retiring Bill—The Presidential Election in the House.

WASHINGTON, July 18.—I do not find that the hot weather lessens the ardor of members of Congress for debate. There is no chance for the disposition of the contested election cases either this week or next week. Each one, and particularly that of the Kansas case, is to be hotly contested. The Kansas case will be aggravated by the appearance of the contestant, Gov. Reeder.

There is some obscurity in the inter-State extradition law as regards the questions that will arise here upon a warrant for the arrest of Gov. Reeder, issued by Judge Lecompton of Kansas. The question is now under consideration, in anticipation of the occurrence of the case. But the decision will no doubt be that upon the endorsement of the Court of this district the warrant will be good, and that upon a *habeas corpus* the Court would decide, in conformity with other decisions, that they would not look to the merits of the case, but only to the competency of the Court from which the process is issued.

I do not know that Governor Reeder will come to this city at present. The Black Republicans have capital enough already in the non-slaveholding States, and it would be vastly enhanced by the arrest of Reeder and his transfer to Lecompton. That this event is anxiously awaited by the Black Republicans is probable enough. They have now a large share of misguided enthusiasm on their side, and it pervades every non-slaveholding State except California.

A doubtful or disputed election, whether by the people or by the House, promises trouble. Several contingencies might be indicated, upon the occurrence of which the country might be thrown into even more than Spanish-American confusion.

The Daily Journal

R. M. RIDDLE, Editor & Proprietor.

PITTSBURGH:

MONDAY MORNING, JULY 21, 1856.

Considers Calling for Help.

A meeting of emigrants in Kansas from the State of Georgia, was held at Kansas City on the 1st of July at which the following preamble and resolutions were adopted:

Whereas, It is deemed necessary and highly important that a colony of Georgians should be planted in the Territory of Kansas; and, whereas, there are many patriotic sons of Georgia now in the Territory, who have expended their means and labored with untiring energy in behalf of Southern rights, and who are now incapable of rendering further defence to the institution of Slavery without aid and assistance from their native State, whose interests they have peaceably attempted to represent, as long as an honorable peace could be maintained, and who have gallantly and meritoriously flocked to the standard of our rights when they were threatened with destruction by the base and unmanly conduct of the fanatics of the Territory, whose avowed intentions are to drive from the Territory every Southerner who has dared to give publicity to his principles. Therefore, be it

Resolved, 1st. That in consideration of the above related facts, we, as Georgians, do organize ourselves into a colony, with the intention of becoming actual settlers and law-abiding citizens of Kansas Territory, and, furthermore, the representatives of Southern rights, institutions and interests in the same.

Resolved, 2d. That we have done all that our purses can do, and that though our persons are worn and fatigued, we are still ready to discharge our duty as Southerners; and with aid from you, we will still be able to maintain the supremacy of Southern institutions in the Territory.

Resolved, 3d. That we appeal to you as a brother would to a brother, for assistance in this, our day of troubles, and we feel confident that our appeal will be heard and heeded by all true Georgians.

Resolved, 4th. That we have chosen Capt. E. M. McGee, of Missouri, and Capt. R. Jones, of Georgia, to canvass the State and receive all contributions that Georgians may feel disposed to make, and further, that Capt. McGee has the confidence of all who know him—is a warm hearted Southerner, and has hospitably received and liberally aided, to the extent of his means, all Southern men who have emigrated to the Territory; and that we commend him to you as a man to whom you cannot show too much respect.

Resolved, 5th. That we came here to defend and further the institution of Slavery, and though Georgia prove recreant in her duty as a Southern State, we will not prove recreant in our duty as Southerners.

Resolved, 6th. That we look upon all Georgians as brothers in this struggle, and feel assured that they will continue to merit the distinguished position which they have heretofore occupied, as leading defenders of Southern rights, by giving us that aid which is necessary to success.

DAILY GAZETTE.

GAZETTE CO. Proprietors.

Office—N. E. Corner Fourth and Vine Sts

Plain Questions.

Is there an Ohio? If so, has she nothing to think about besides a "Kansas outrage"? Has she no sympathy but with runaway negroes? Has she no interests but those of the African race? May not some slight attention be given to our own concerns? We are, by no means, losers of that charity which never walks abroad, but still the best evidence of the purity of that virtue is that it begins at home.—*Enquirer.*

Yes there is an Ohio, as you will learn next November. She thinks, too, about something besides Kansas, she thinks about your corrupt party; the wholesale robberies that are being committed by office holders, and she also thinks there must be a change. Her sympathies are not confined to the Africans, in proof of which she means to save the White race from the necessity of working side by side with the black Slaves. To "our own concerns" we are giving more than a "slight attention." We mean to have a Bank Law—to reduce our taxes, by having our affairs honestly administered—to secure from Congress appropriations for the improvement of the navigation of the Ohio river, in spite of the opposition of the Cincinnati platform and its supporters. Here are several things we are thinking about. As for your losing charity, we agree with you. It would be difficult for a man to lose a thing he never had; and for your virtue that begins at home, we think with DAVID PAUL BROWN, that it ends just where it begins, if it makes a beginning at all.

The New York *Independent* recommends a measure which, if carried out, will save the Post Office Department from any deficiency this year. It is that "every voter write briefly, promptly and decidedly," to his representative in Congress to this effect: "If you are faithful to Kansas, be assured of my support."

(From the Presbyterian of the West.)

What Can We Do!

The following article is a reply to an editorial in the Louisville *Presbyterian Herald*, with reference to the duty of religious newspapers in relation to political matter. The Louisville editor favors the do-nothing policy, or in other words non-interference.

We are often puzzled, especially when we have on borrowed spectacles, to find the line between politics and religion. We think it would be well to have a corps of theological and metaphysical engineers to run the line, so that preachers and religious editors may stay on one side and politicians on the other. Perhaps a joint committee of preachers and politicians would do better. Mason and Dixon's line is a great convenience, and so was 36deg. 30min. until it was abolished by the Nebraska Bill. We are quite willing to have definite metes and bounds.

We have been wont to look up to the "Presbyterian," and to the pastors of our Eastern City Churches, for precedents and light in regard to this unsurveyed line, and we have found out from them a few things, and yet we have not the chart, the line stones, or the witness trees, to enable us to be sure we are right in all cases. The traditions of the elders have enabled us to know that it is not meddling with politics for ministers to preach in favor of submission to the Fugitive Slave Law; that Dr. Witherspoon did not leave the word of God to serve tables, when he accepted of civil office and labored with much

success, infusing Presbyterianism into the Republicanism of our Government; that President Davies was preaching the Gospel when he urged resistance against the oppressions of George III; that the death penalty is a proper theme for a gospel minister; that a prohibitory liquor law is a theological topic, and should be urged from the pulpit. All these have we found out, and yet we can not tell how to decide in any new case that arises. We can not reconcile the course of the fathers and scribes on the question of the extension of slavery with what has been settled on other subjects. We can not tell why it is that we must be dumb in regard to Kansas, and yet we may lift up our voice for the women and children that suffer from the intemperance of drunken fathers and husbands. Must we be dumb about slavery extension, because slavery propagandists are numerous, or because they have the control of one or more political parties? "Say why?—say why?" Suppose that the Democratic Convention at Cincinnati, had said that Utah, when her squatter sovereigns are numerous enough to ask admission as a State, shall come in "with or without" a plurality of wives, "as the people may decide," would it then become the duty of the ministers to ignore the subject of polygamy? If as many States as legalize slavery, shall abolish the death penalty, must theologians give up the subject of capital punishment to politicians? Is it safe for us to urge the claims of the American Colonization Society upon the Church, inasmuch as it is said that this Society is to work the cure of slavery, which is a political institution? We need light.

If all these questions were answered, the probability is, that we would still be in some difficulty and might have to publish a larger catechism before we could get along. We ought to say, however, that our difficulties arise entirely from the course of our ecclesiastical patricians. The differences and relations of the things "which are seen and temporal," and "the things which are unseen and eternal," are not obscure to our mind to such extent as to cause much hesitation on our part. We shall fight the devil, whether he is in the church or among the politicians.—The weapons of our warfare shall be directly against sin, which is the transgression of God's law, whether committed by individuals or nations. We shall urge repentance, which means turning away from every sin. If politicians enact or administer laws violating the Sabbath by running the mails, or opening the post offices on the Sabbath, we will cry aloud for the rest of God's holy day. If political conventions endorse free whisky, we will urge law makers and voters to secure a prohibitory law. If the legislature of Wisconsin abolish the death penalty, we will still preach from the text, "whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed, for in the image of God made he him." If Congress repeals the duelling law, we shall still pronounce the duellist a murderer, and shall meddle in politics until it is again on the statute book, or until we are done "with things seen and temporal." If half the States of this Union shall go into the transportation and domestication of the peculiar institution of "Salt Lake City," we shall still write and speak, and pray, and vote for the abolition of polygamy. We may add that when politicians attempt to introduce slavery with all its disruption of parental and conjugal ties, its festering enmity to national morality and prosperity, and all its train of ills, into territory devoted to freedom, we enter the list of opposers, and the more we do battle every day, the better we rest at night.

In answer to the question "What can we do?" we say we "can do all things through Jesus Christ which strengtheneth us." We will try to know his will and will write and print it, and send it into all the world, and so we advise Bro. Hill, and all the editors of our Church. If you think that it is His will that slavery shall be extended, say so, for you will sin if you shun to declare his counsel. If you think it should go no further say so. We can do good by such a course. If the South can be brought to acquiesce in the restoration of the Missouri Compromise, and to the reception of Kansas as a free State, the Union is safe. Conservative papers and men must go for this settlement of the question, and it seems to us that men, who are not pro-slavery at heart, should make no delay to occupy this ground. This is the ground on which the Presbyterian Church stands, as any one may learn by examining the acts of her highest judiciary.

"Put up thy sword!" said Jesus. "Put down my church for 25 Sharp's Rifles!" says Henry W. Beecher. "I have not where to lay my head!" said Jesus. "I have \$5,000 per annum from my church, and charge 50 cents a head for my lectures," says Henry Ward Beecher. "I could call ten legions of angels to my assistance!" said Jesus. "It's all Electricity or Animal Magnetism," says Henry W. Beecher. "Do as you would be done by," said Jesus. "I move an amendment," says Henry Ward Beecher. "I second the amendment," says R. W. Patterson, Dr. Cox, and the Pope of Rome. (A voice from the chairman at Yale College,) "Let the amendment be reduced to writing—do as you EXPECT to be done by."

All the damned leaped from their fire of retaliation, and shout the loud "Amen," glory to the talented Henry Ward Beecher!

THE INTELLIGENCER.

SAINT LOUIS.

TUESDAY MORNING, JULY 22, 1856.

GOD AND OUR COUNTRY.



Gunpowder for Lambs.

Under this head the New York *Observer*, an able and truly consistent religious weekly, administers the following rebuke to the clerical politicians who prove, by the abdication of their divine office in favor of the calls of party, that they are really infidels at heart, and despise the religion of Christ:

Gunpowder for Lambs,—for the lambs of Christ—for the lambs of Christ in the Territory of Kansas. A minister of the blessed Gospel of the Son of God,—a minister in the State of Massachusetts—a minister, we are sorry to say, who inherits the name of Winslow, says, in a meeting of ministers, even on the floor of the General Association of that State: "In sympathy with the direction of our Saviour, 'Feed my lambs'—we propose to feed the lambs of Kansas—to feed them with bread and powder too, to protect them against the wolves of Missouri."

Now we desire to ask, in all humanity, is there any sympathy with the direction of our Saviour, in this proposition to send gunpowder to feed the children of God? We have not so learned Christ. If this is the religion of the Gospel, the love, the forbearance of the meek and lowly Jesus, then frankly we confess that we have never felt one emotion of the Saviour's love! Not one. If Mr. Winslow's spirit is religion, we have not the faintest conception of what religion is, and, we do not wish to have. We would not, for ten thousand worlds, put our own soul, or the soul of our worst enemy, on the platform of such a religion as this man preaches, with the expectation that this religion would save the soul.

Nor do we expect to reach him or any of the gunpowder divines by these words. But we know there are many who have not yet bowed the knee to Baal; many who still say and love to say with that glorious preacher of olden times, "the weapons of our warfare are not carnal," and to them we speak. Brethren, pray for these deluded, misguided men. Pray for these ministers who have forgotten the words of Him who said, "My kingdom is not of this world." Pray for these preachers who teach that rifles are better than Bibles, and that gunpowder is good for the lambs of Christ.

But to what a wretched pass have we come, when the men who are set for the defence of the Gospel, thus trample its holy principles under their feet, and bid defiance to the whole system of the Christian religion. It is not for a wonder that the General Association of Vermont unanimously declare and lament that "external and agitating questions of the age, have diverted us from attention to personal piety, from duty in our closets and families, and from direct individual efforts to save souls." Ah! there's the truth. Put sackcloth on your heads, ye political preachers, ye ministerial agitators, ye worldly divines, and go down into the dust of humiliation.

LOUISVILLE COURIER.

LOUISVILLE

MONDAY JULY 21

A Western Character.

The N. Y. *Sunday Dispatch* dishes up a few extracts from the *Banker*, a paper just started by a chap named Seth Paine at Lake Zurich, Illinois. We copy the extracts below as we find them in the *Dispatch*. Seth pitches into Henry Ward Beecher thus:

REDPATH ON THE STUMP IN KANSAS.

SPEECH OF A FREE STATE SQUATTER.

The Squatters of Kansas had a rousing Fremont Ratification meeting two or three weeks ago. Many good speeches were delivered; among others we find one from "Redpath," the Kansas correspondent "for the papers."—It is rather rich and we give it for the wit and truth it contains:

MR. REDPATH'S REMARKS.

Mr. James Redpath was next called on and said:

MR. PRESIDENT—Not many months ago, the Editor of the Richmond Enquirer, the organ of the Virginia Democracy, opened an essay on Common Schools, with the declaration that he had begun to hate everything with the prefix FREE—Free Society, Free Schools, Free States and Free Territories. He is a bold man, and I admire him for it; but even he had not the hardihood to add that he hated FREE SPEECH. He has said so recently, and thereby completed the Virginia Democratic creed, for he eulogized the cowardly assassin of our great and eloquent champion, Charles Sumner. [Cheers for Sumner.]

Hatred of every phrase of Freedom is the cardinal doctrine of the Virginia Democracy.—That State and sister, South Carolina, control the action of the National Democracy.

I cannot adopt the Virginia creed. I love everything with the prefix FREE—Free Speech, Free Society, Free States, Free Territories, Free Kansas and Fremont. [Applause.] That is the platform of the Young Democracy.

The Republican party is the old Democratic party purified—I say purified—purified and revived; not that Democratic party of which Herbert the murderer, Pierce the traitor, Douglas the debauchee, Bill Poole the rowdy and Brooks the assassin are the ornaments and pillars—but that great and glorious organization which Jefferson founded and Andrew Jackson led on to repeated victories. [Applause.]

The Democratic party is a sectional party.—Samson's strength lay in his hair; but the strength of the Democracy lies in its wool.—Where the negro is, there are the Democrats gathered together. [Laughter.] The clanking of the negro's chains is "the music of the Union" which binds the Democracy from Texas to Missouri, from Delaware to Florida. [Laughter.] The Democracy North is a name rather than a party; Tammany Hall is merely the shadow of the Charleston Sugar House. As with the substance so with the shadow. Slavery is a social moral and political blessing, says the Southern Democrat, as he calls on the South to support the Democracy which supports Negro Slavery. The free Negro is a nuisance, says the Northern Democrat as he calls on the North to support the party whose strength is in its wool. The Democracy South live by loving wool; the North by hating it. Verily verily I say unto you, Great is wool, and Buchanan is its prophet. [Laughter.]

The Southern Democracy hate Free Schools; Free Schools are sectional institutions—"peculiar" to the North! It is the peculiarity of Free Schools to make Free men—and when working men are educated, living in a Slave State, they soon discover that where there are slaves there must be tyrants, and that poor white Americans, no less than Africans, are the victims of the Black Institution. So the Black Oligarchy hate Free Schools, and therefore we of the White Democracy love them.

The Southern Democracy hate Free States.—In the Free States political equality is a fact; in the Slave States it is a theory only. It is the nature of Slavery to create aristocratic distinctions in society. So the Black Oligar-

chy hate Free States, and therefore we of the Young Democracy love them.

For the same reasons—that they hate Free States, they hate Free Territories also.

For the same reason that we love Free States, we love Free Territories also—love them well enough to live and vote for them, or even fight and die for them if necessary.

The Southern Democracy hate Free Speech. The Barons of Kansas who assembled at the Shawnee Mission, were all of them "sound, reliable, National Democrats." You know how they hate Free Speech. You have all read the gag laws they passed, and all of you—traitors—defied them! You violated them, as if you had no fear of Frank Pierce before your eyes! The Young Democracy are the friends of Free Speech.

The Southern Democracy hate Fremont.—They hate him because he is a Southerner by birth, but a Northern man—an anti-slavery extensionist—in principle. Fremont was born in the ultra pro-slavery city of Charleston—as charming a city, by the way, its slaves and its Sugar House apart, as there is on the Western Continent—was an eye-witness, at an early age, of the innumerable evils which follow in the footsteps of Slavery, and has never, at any time, bowed his knee to the Southern Baal.—They hate, we honor him for it.

They hate Fremont because it is his courage and decision that the North owes its preponderances in the U. S. Senate. Frank Pierce said of the Republicans that they were men who had no blood to shed when their country wanted defenders. When Fremont was in California, a war was about to break out between Mexico and the Union. England foreseeing this event, had sent a ship of war to seize California, as security for a debt that Mexico owed to her or to her citizens.

The ship of war was in the bay when Fremont came in sight of her. He saw that if an American, availing himself of the war news, should plant the American flag in California, England would desist; for England had no idea of going to war with the United States about a tract of land on the Pacific supposed to be valueless. Well, what did Fremont do? Rallied a small band of Americans around him, and California was added to the American Union. [Applause.] It was owing to his efforts afterwards that California is now a Free State.

Fremont is a young man and I like his nomination for that reason. In the language of the Psalmist, "I'm one of the boys, and wouldn't be anything else." [Laughter.] I think we've had old men, and old fogies, and old wives (in pantaloons) in the White House long enough. [Applause.] Young America wants a President, and Fremont is the Representative Man of Young America. [Applause.] Young America South is a fillibuster. Fremont is the only fillibuster who ever extended the boundaries of our country; for it was fillibustered into the American Union. [Applause.] Young America North is a pioneer. Fremont is the Prince of pioneers. [Applause.]

Fremont is the representative of another great clan of our countrymen—the Dumb White South. There are tens of thousands of men in the Southern States who, like Fremont, have seen with their own eyes and felt the innumerable evils of negro slavery; and are opposed like Fremont, to their extension over new and fertile Territories. They dare not openly avow their opposition to slavery extension; for the Oligarchy "hate everything with the prefix FREE" and hostility to the extension of slavery is called FREE SPEECH.

Fremont has one great fault, according to the Democratic newspapers. He is the chosen standard-bearer of the Republican party.

That party, according to the same authorities, has two vices—its color and its sectionalism. They say it is black! Well, boys, if it is black, I think we may say of it, as Solomon said of his favorite bunette—It is "black but comely, too. O ye daughters of Jerusalem. [Applause.] It is as black as Freedom is, as black as Justice is, as black as God's eternal Truth is—just so black, but "nary" shade blacker. [Applause.]

You've all heard of the preacher who "played upon a harp of a thousand strings, spirits of just men made perfect."

He said "he had—"

to have no shell at all." Wherever Slavery has had time to develop itself—in the strongholds of Democracy—the Government of the State is an Oligarchy; Republican only in name.—Like the preacher, gentlemen, I would rather be a Black Republican than no Republican at all." [Laughter.]

I was a Democrat once. I left the party, or at least the "National" wing of it—at Richmond, Virginia. I was in an auction room. A young mother—black, it is true, but still a loving mother—was put up for sale with her infant child. The auctioneer told her to mount the platform—it was something like the Cincinnati platform, [Laughter], and she was sold by auction to the highest bidder. I won't say how I felt; I'll only say that as I had moral objections to swearing, I commenced in order to give my feelings vent, to do the next worst thing—I commenced to talk politics. I heard that the brutal men around me, whom I found make so many filthy remarks about the unfortunate woman, were "sound reliable, National Democrats."

I concluded to leave their party instantly, try to find another party.

I found it at Pittsburg. [Applause] John C. Fremont is the nominee of that party for President, William L. Dayton its candidate for Vice President.

That party propose to prevent such scenes as I witnessed at Richmond being enacted in Kansas. Black, white, or mulatto, whatever it be, I intend if life be given me, to act with that party. [Applause.]

Is our party sectional? If freedom is national the Republican party is a national party; if not, not. If freedom is sectional, it is time we had a sectional party. [Applause.]

Just as when wickedness was universal, it was necessary to have what was once a sectional faith—the Christian religion.

Douglas says that the Democrat is the only man who can carry his principles wherever he goes. It is no proof that principles are bad that you cannot carry them everywhere. An angel could not carry his principles into the burning lake. [Laughter.] Curses on the principles that can be carried in the Blue Lodge or the negro auction room! You might carry the Cincinnati Platform in the Blue Lodge or the auction room, for it has been carried there—like to like, you know; but wherever you could carry it, I know you couldn't carry it into Heaven. Whether it could go to the other place I won't pretend to say. [Laughter and applause.]

Gentlemen, I agree with Mr. Holliday that no Free State man can consistently support the Cincinnati Platform. Yet I have heard of one man—albeit an office-holder—who says he intends to do so. He says that Buchanan is a conservative man, although he admits that Atchison, Stringfellow, Buford and others support him. But, he said, Buchanan is a conservative man.

The Border Ruffian papers support him.—The Leavenworth Herald says the Cincinnati nomination is a "whole team." I guess he'll find out it is an ox team and that the Philadelphia ticket is for a lightning train—for that team I venture to say, won't reach Washington for ten years at least. Still, this office-holder says that old Buck is a conservative man.

This reminds me of a story of a lovely woman who stooped to folly, and found too late that men betray. She had a baby. She was a member of a church, and that sort of thing, you know, is against church discipline. It's a great sin, sister, said the clergyman. The young woman admitted it. The good man then asked her if she was truly and sincerely repentant? Well, she didn't know that. She was proud of her child, even though its father had never said "I will." It's a dear, sweet baby, she said. She thought that the baby's goodness should excuse the mother's sin!

In like manner has this Free State office-holder admitted that the Border Ruffians were our bitterest foes; admitted that they supported and eulogized Buchanan; but when asked if he would oppose their candidate. Well, he didn't know that. Buchanan is a conservative man, said he. He seemed to think that Buchanan's conservatism should excuse his followers' crimes against Kansas. [Laughter.]

70 Hang such conservative candidates! I wouldn't give "ten cents a day" for them.— (Laughter.) I shall vote for Fremont. All in favor of his election will signify by saying aye. A tremendous aye was shouted, and the speaker sat down.

Citizens of Jackson County arrested, robbed and turned back from Kansas by 300 armed Missourians.

Several of our citizens started for Kansas last month with their families and teams.— They met with other emigrants on the way and formed a company of fifteen wagons and sixty-one souls; fifteen of them voters the balance women and children. Our friends got along very well until they reached the State of Missouri. Subjoined is a statement made by Mr. Wm. H. Brakey, one of the emigrants who has just returned home. Our citizens are well acquainted with Mr. B. and also with Mr. McCandless, and know them to be men of truth and veracity. We ask them to read and calmly reflect upon this outrage. It will be very difficult for the Border Ruffian apologists in our midst, to lie down the testimony of some of our best citizens. The reality of this statement comes right home to the honest portion of community. Mr. McCandless is a poor man and could not very well afford to be victimized by these ruffians. His money was in a drawer of a chest and was seized by some one during the search.

Mr. Brakey is an industrious, hard working man and has been caused to suffer considerable loss. All were honestly intending to make themselves claims and become permanent settlers of Kansas. The Missouri patrol had suspicions that they would vote for a Free State in Kansas, hence they forbid their settlement and escorted them back at the point of the revolver and Bowie-knife. Read the following which we copy from the *Davenport Gazette*:

Mr. H. W. Brakey, recently of Maquoketa, where his parents still reside, was in our office yesterday, and gave us an account of his and some other movers attempting to get to Kansas. The party which left Maquoketa consisted of men, women and children, having three wagons. On the route they were joined by twelve wagons from Illinois, when the whole party numbered sixty-one persons, of whom fifteen were men, and the remainder women and children. They were equipped precisely like the movers whom we see going through our streets every day, having only the ordinary arms which movers always carry. The party from Maquoketa lost all the goods they possessed in the wagons with them, that from Illinois, had sent a portion of theirs by the Missouri river. They intended settling as agriculturalists in Kansas, and had not the remotest idea of engaging in any of the disturbances of that territory.

When they reached Platte county, Missouri, and were twelve miles from Fort Leavenworth and four miles from Platte City, they were stopped on the 24th of last month by a band of three hundred armed Missourians, who on the pretence of looking for Sharpe's rifles, unloaded their wagons, searched every kind of box and package, and finding no Sharpe's rifles, and having finished their researches, they told the movers they might load up again.— This having been accomplished, the Missourians held a short consultation, at the conclusion of which they took from the emigrants the guns and ammunition they had, and told them they must go back. Of course resistance was out of the question and a guard of ten armed men escorted the party as far back as Liberty in Clay county. One of the "citizens of Missouri" stole \$150 from W. McCandless' a member of the Maquoketa party, and brother-in-law of Smith Hanill, of Keokuk.

The Missourians, who said they were acting as citizens of that State, gave receipts for the guns and ammunition they took, and the one given to Mr. Brakey reads as follows:

Received of W. H. Brakey one long rifle marked on the barrel D. C. Allen, Bellevue, to be returned at the close of the war and by the Clerk of Platte county.

W. B. Folsen,
Robert Tate.

Received also 1/2 Pig Lead.

Robert Huter.

June 24, 1856.

Mr. Brakey is known to some of our citizens, and there is not the least doubt about the entire correctness of his narrative. According to this, Kansas would seem to be a mere appenage of the State of Missouri, but we suppose the ruffians must not be hindered in any such proceeding for to oppose them might endanger the duration of the Union!

Out of this proceeding has been manufactured another Border Ruffian lie. The story has been circulated in Missouri, that 300 "Law and order men" captured a box of 80 Sharpe's Rifles from a band of emigrants. Our friends heard the report on the second day after the outrage above described; such is being deemed necessary to justify their "Law and order" proceedings. The whole story was manufactured out of this very identical affair. Mr. B's gun is to be returned at the "close of the war." That is decidedly cool.

Grand Rapids Eagle.

CITY OF GRAND RAPIDS:
TUESDAY MORNING, JULY 22, 1856.

The Kansas Code.

The *Detroit Free Press* has the audacity to say and repeat, day after day, that the Republican Senators voted against the abrogation of the Kansas laws. This statement is based on the fact that the DOUGLAS bill, "for the pacification [!] of Kansas," proposed to abrogate some of those laws, and the Republican Senators voted against that bill.

Now, what are the facts. The proposition to abrogate those laws which Gen. Cass declared to be "disgraceful to the age," was an amendment to the original bill, offered by Mr. GEYER, and every Republican Senator voted in favor of its adoption.

Mr. WILSON offered an amendment to abrogate and declare void all acts passed by the legislature of Kansas, which amendment was rejected by yeas 8, nays 35—every Republican Senator voting in its favor, and every Buchanan Senator against it.

In the face of these recorded facts, what sort of a cheek must the *Free Press* have to insist that "the Republican Senators voted to perpetuate the Kansas code!"

The Daily Journal.

Indianapolis - Ind.

TUESDAY MORNING, JULY 22 1856

One Charleston Mercury on the New Kansas Bill.

From an article on the "Bill of Pacification" in the Charleston Mercury of the 2nd inst., we clip the annexed passage:

"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 of 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 *Mercury* has one virtue which is an exception to the general characteristic of the Old Line press, viz: It is candid, and "acknowledges the corn" when it sees it.

Correspondence of the Journal.

Things in Kansas.

FORT RILEY, KANSAS T.,
July 4, 1856.

MESSRS. EDITORS:—While throughout Kansas Territory wars and rumors of wars are alarming all but "peaceable law abiding citizens," and sometimes even them, we, in this remote quarter of the world and the Territory, are comparatively free from the troubles, strife and turmoil of belligerent factions. Dependent, however, on Missouri chiefly for provisions &c., it occasionally becomes necessary for a "neighbor" to venture down into Egypt to buy corn. His adventures among the Border Ruffians are matters of importance and neighborhood gossip, and the news he brings, though traveling by ox-team, is the very latest from "the States."

A short time ago, "yours respectfully" and a friend of his, actuated by a laudable desire to have something to eat, accompanied and preceded by sundry cattle, ring streaked and speckled, started on the perilous trip to "the State" in quest of bacon &c.

Since you know more about what the great men of the country are doing than I do, and since low life constitutes a considerable share of humanity I will try and entertain you with some account of the manner in which those in the latter manage. As we go along I will describe the things to be seen along the road. Well, as I said before, he started. The weather had been quite dry for two weeks, but it took occasion to rain copiously the very day we off. That of course, I never knew to fall, consequently we did not make very great headway that day. Late in the evening we arrived at Ogden. This is 7 miles from the Fort on Seven Mile Creek. Since the destruction of Pawnee, it is the county seat of Riley County. It has two grocery-stores and three or four dwellings, and a small log shanty used as a Court House. In the vicinity of Fort Riley, no less than four cities have been commenced. The first of these in importance and progress was Pawnee, one mile below the Fort. Of it but three houses remain, the rest having been demolished by order of the Secretary of War, immediately after the destruction of Pawnee, some of its citizens laid out a town immediately opposite on the south side of the river, and called it Riley City. It now contains three stores and several other houses. Millard is situated three miles above the Fort on the left bank of the Smoky Hill River. It as yet contains but three houses, one of them designed as a hotel. The site is a splendid one, and its position, commanding as it does the great valleys of the Republican and Smoky Hill rivers, together with their numerous tributaries, will be in a few years one of the best in the territory. The great short line road to Santa Fe, now under construction by government contractors, passes through this place, and will make it in a short time an important outfitting point. The town is owned by a Cincinnati company, who contemplate some useful and important improvements at an early period. Shetola is situated on the right bank of the Smoky Hill at the mouth of Lyons creek, six miles nearly south of the Fort. The only improvements in the town are the long rows of stakes that mark the lots. West of Fort Riley the country is comparatively undeveloped. A number of families have settled between the Smoky Hill and Republican rivers, and on the north side of the Republican river nearly all the claims are taken for 12 miles from the Fort. On Smoky Hill river the settlers are scattered along as far as Chapman's Creek—12 miles. The country

below, though emigrants are apt to be told differently by the people in the eastern end of the Territory.

"Yours Respectfully" seems to have forgotten he was on his way to Kansas City after Bacon, &c., &c., but now recollecting himself he will proceed to state that traveling on much after the fashion of those who travel with ox teams, in due time, that is about noon, he reached Manhattan. This town is at the mouth of Blue river on the west side, and north side of Kansas river. It contains some 20 houses, a saw mill and several stores. On the east side of Blue river, 3 miles from its mouth, is Juniata; and opposite Juniata, on the west side of Blue, is Turoni. These towns each contain a store and two or three houses. It became desirable to ford Kansas river at Manhattan. The river had been in fine fording order, but was now a trifle deeper. That of course. However, we crossed. Firstly we waded, secondly we swam, thirdly we floated. Our most serious loss was the jug of molasses, which signally failed to do as we did in either of the three above mentioned particulars. That evening we reached Wabonsa. This is the center of a settlement made by eighty Connecticut men this spring. It is a promising settlement. Six miles above on the north side of Kansas river, is St. George, containing a store and house or two. Wabonsa is thirty miles from the Fort. Two or three miles east of it, the Pottawatomie Reserve begins and extends thirty miles east. In the Reserve, twenty-three miles from Wabonsa, is Uniontown, an Indian village. The road from Uniontown passes the Baptist Mission to the Pottawatomie, where it intersects the old California road, which crosses the river near this place. Three miles out of the Reserve is Topeka. This is the third town in the Territory, containing over one hundred houses, many of them stone and composite. The site is a good one, and has good stone quarries upon it. The country about Topeka is nearly all taken up. Five miles east is Tecumseh. Here are three stores, a tavern, a dozen dwellings, and a very good two-story brick court house in process of erection. Four miles from Tecumseh, is Washington hotel and two or three other houses, and one mile further are the Big Springs, where the Free State Convention met last year. They have laid out a town there, and several houses have been put up. Fifteen miles from Big Springs is Lawrence. Blanton is four miles south of Lawrence on the Waukarhsa, and Franklin is four miles east, on the road. The country about Lawrence, which is a beautiful one, is all taken up, and looks like an old settled country. One mile east of Franklin commences the Shawnee Reserve, and extends to the Missouri line. Four miles from Franklin is Fiske's Shawnee Hotel. This place we reached late one evening. From Topeka down we had heard the rumors of war. We were told no Free State man could pass along the road without molestation. But some said they would not stop ox-teams. The Southerners who came up with Buford were posted at several points along the road and were stopping teams, appropriating or "pressing" as they called it, horses, wagons, provisions, arms and money, and maltreating travelers. In several cases men having too broad a Yankee brogue expiated by their lives the crime of being born in New England. Such stories as this we heard along the road, and they proved to be facts. At Fiske's we concluded to wait one day, in hopes the U. S. troops would go and clear the road of these pirates. Now he it understood, the Free State men are and were fully able to take care of themselves. But Uncle Sam proclaimed peace, and compelled and persuaded the Free Soilers to go home, and then for many days scandalously permitted those southern robbers to infest the road and plunder and murder travellers. At Fiske's we met Mr. Hutchins, who told us how three days before he lost a pair of horses valued at three hundred dollars. He had been at Kansas City and was returning with provisions &c. When he reached the Gun Spring, near Turkey Creek, 8 miles from Westport, where a party of pirates were camped, four men stepped out from behind the bushes, with cocked guns, and commanded him to stop. They then proceeded to break open his boxes and tumble out his goods and scatter them over the road. Having made a complete search and finding nothing they wanted, they unhitched one of the horses, and suffered him to gather up his things, and

five yokes of oxen he had and drove away, before a mile further. Here he was arrested by twelve men, who rummaged his goods and took the other horse. The same day a young man from Pennsylvania was robbed of a load of flour. A man by the name of Root was hung until nearly dead and then sent off. Dozens were robbed of money, every one of arms and horses, some of life and some of all they had. One load of goods for Topeka from Kansas City was taken with oxen, wagon and everything, and driven back into the streets of Westport. I have since learned Mr. Hutchins recovered one of his horses. He found it in the stable of Milton McGee, a tavern-keeper between Kansas and Westport. As a specimen of the manner in which justice is administered in this country, I will relate Mr. Hutchins's attempt to get his property back. He went to the camp of the United States Dragoons in company with the young Pennsylvanian, to get some soldiers to go down and help him recover his property. Here he found Gov. Shannon, who promised to do everything in his power to assist them. He (the Gov.) was going down himself, would take some soldiers—desired Mr. Hutchins and the other man to go along and identify the robbers and their property, and he would certainly get back what they had lost. Accordingly the two men hired horses and accompanied the Governor and his troops several miles. Hutchins and his friend had got some distance ahead of the party, when after awhile looking back, they perceived the Governor's wagon alone, and no soldiers. Riding back to the Governor, they were astonished with the explanation, that the troops were merely the Governor's escort, and having no further use for them he had sent them back. The Governor advised the men to go down to the camp, identify the men and get out a writ for them. He said everything of that sort must be done in due course of law. Hutchins wanted to know who would issue the writ—there are no officers in the reserve. The Gov. did not know. He wanted to know if the border ruffians would give up the men if a writ were presented. The Governor supposed not. He asked if he thought he would loose at least the horse he rode if he ventured down to the camp. The Gov. supposed he would. "Well gentlemen," said Shannon, "if I can do anything I will be glad to do it, if I can't, perhaps, you had better go back." Hutchins told the Gov. to go to hell and he returned to Fiske's. While we were ruminating and considering what to do, the stage drove up on its way from Westport to Lawrence. Among the passengers was a large good natured looking man with a red face. He was one half drunk, and a large proportion of the other half also. He as soon as acquainted with our prospects and intentions, volunteered to give us a pass. He said giving passes was very ridiculous, but no doubt it would be of service to us. He sat down and wrote, saying repeatedly it was very ridiculous—and he hoped the ladies present would not write about it to eastern papers. He finally handed us the paper saying, "Maybe I'll ask a favor of you sometime—you will have to yarn a little you know—just say you are all right &c. you understand." Here is a copy: "To all friends of Law and order or Proslavery men—you will let the bearers of this pass as I know them to be all right—they are en route for Kansas from Fort Riley My respects, Wm BARBEE, Pres. Atty 4th Dist. Kansas. Also, B. Gen 2d Reg 4th Div. Kan. Militia. There was no danger to be apprehended, you see, except from peaceable, law abiding citizens. There is some logic in the conclusion that if the law breakers were such dangerous villains the law breakers must have been pretty good men. This argues badly for the law. We did not need to use the above paper, for when we reached the ruffin camp they were just breaking and preparing to move. They had been quarreling among themselves and quite a number went back to Kansas and left for the South. They were cursing Buford for having deceived them. Having safely reached Kansas and made our purchases, our friends kindly volunteered to give us a letter to Col. Boone, P.M. at Westport, who they assured us could "put us through." Here is a copy of their letter to Col. Boone: COL. A. G. BOONE, Westport, Mo; DEAR SIR:—The bearer of this, Mr. _____ is a resident of Fort Riley, a peaceable man, and his goods have been purchased from us, and there is nothing contra-band, as you will see from his bill. He is desirous to proceed without interruption, and if you will give him a letter of permission it may aid him; and by so doing you will oblige, Your Friends,

Col. Boone said it afforded him great pleasure to give the following "letter of permission": WESTPORT, June 12, '56. To all good law abiding citizens of Kansas Territory: The bearer of this is recommended to you, and you are earnestly requested to permit him to pass to Fort Riley without being molested. Respectfully, A. G. BOONE.

How did Col. Boone come to have so much influence with the law and order loving pirates of Kansas? Col B. is a Missouri P. M. We turned our heads homeward. The U. S. troops had finally frightened the robbers out of the Territory, and we met no delay except from high water, (that of course,) breaking of vehicle, and sundry perambulations performed by our motive power during a space of four days, when their whereabouts was comparatively unknown to "Yours Respectfully" and others.— Finally we reached Lawrence. Here Uncle Sam having undertaken to execute the laws(?) we witnessed the modus operandi. A few days previously a free-soiler, a hard case, undertook to break into the house of a proslavery man named Haney. Haney shot him dead in the attempt. There was no arrest of Haney for trial, as there would have been had he been a free-soiler, but pretending to believe there was a conspiracy against him, he went to the authorities and was appointed Deputy Sheriff, and had a company of Dragoons placed under his command. With these he marched through Lawrence, and picking out such men as he saw fit, arrested them in the "name of the United States" without writs, accusation or papers of any kind. Ner did the arrested know the cause of their arrest in so summary a manner.

You see how the law works. If a Free Soiler is to be arrested, anybody can have the authority and force enough to do it without writs, but if a pro-Slavery man should be arrested, the thing must be done according to law. And now I'll give you a specimen of how it is done according to law: A man near Ashland, ten miles east of Fort Riley, on the south side of the river, had a horse stolen by some of the pro-Slavery robbers. He pursued them and found them at Tecumseh. He found several witnesses to prove the men had the horse in their possession, and finally succeeded in prevailing on the Justice to issue a warrant. This was given to the proper officer to serve, but he said he did not believe the accused stole the horse and he would not arrest him. In the meantime the Ruffians threatened to shoot the Free Soiler if he did not leave, which he at last considered it most prudent to do, finding justice rather tardy and uncertain. Do you suppose we would permit such a state of things if left to ourselves? If Uncle Sam had not taken sides with the Border Ruffians, we would "clean them out" in a reasonable short time. But it is hardly worth our while to undertake to whip our guardian although he does disregard our interest. We must keep on the right side of him till he agrees to consider us of age. Then we think to do as we please, if not before.

"YOURS RESPECTFULLY."

DAILY TRIBUNE.

PUBLISHED BY WRIGHT, MEDILL & CO., No. 33 CLARK STREET. J. C. VAUGHAN, C. H. RAY, EDITORS. CITY OF CHICAGO.

Tuesday Morning, July 22, 1856.

(For the Chicago Daily Tribune.) MESSRS. EDITORS:—I am a reader of your Daily and like it much, with one exception. Upon this one point I ask the privilege of expressing a few thoughts.

The outrages in Kansas are notorious, and are of such a nature, as to demand and justify an immediate armed intervention of the free States, and nothing will save the cause of freedom there but this. The President, Douglas & Co., have trampled the Constitution of the United States under foot. One of the great highways of the nation is blocked up, except for Southern robbers and pirates. They can go armed by companies into Kansas, and be enrolled as a part of the militia of the Territory; while companies of men from the free States going there to settle, are disarmed and sent back. These things are sanctioned by the President and his supporters. Under these circumstances, respect for, and obedience to the laws as administered by the present executive, are treason to God and liberty. The free States

DEAR SIR:—The bearer of this, Mr. _____ is a resident of Fort Riley, a peaceable man, and his goods have been purchased from us, and there is nothing contra-band, as you will see from his bill. He is desirous to proceed without interruption, and if you will give him a letter of permission it may aid him; and by so doing you will oblige, Your Friends,

are released from all obligation to the general government; even more than our forefathers were from the government of King George. Hence the peace and forbearing policy advocated by your paper, and the Chicago Kansas Committee, and the recent Buffalo Convention will not do. In my opinion a bad matter is made worse—the difficulties are increased, and the triumph of freedom thrown far in the future. The circumstances are momentous and require the most prompt and decisive measures—such as told upon the British at Bunkerhill, Lexington, and Saratoga. The election of Fremont will not prevent bloodshed—even that event will hasten the latter. I most devoutly hope he will be elected, and shall do all that I can to accomplish it. But I have no doubt that the hosts of freedom must come in bloody collision with the minions of the slave power, or be slaves. The government of California is corrupt; but not more so than the general government, and there the people under the Vigilance Committee have taken the work of reform, and of executing the laws, into their own hands. The citizens under arms are arrayed against the government, and the work of reform goes bravely on.

Give us a Vigilance Committee at the North, with back-bone, under whom the hosts of freedom can rally, and rush to the rescue. Thousands are now waiting for this move. Money is withheld. Our subscriptions here are not paid over because there is a want of confidence in the present movement.

Yours for Freedom,
I. E. AMBROS.

SENA, Ill., July 21, 1856.

DAILY HERALD.

A. HARRIS, A. W. FAIRBANKS, GEO. A. BENDIS.

OFFICIAL CITY PAPER.

CLEVELAND:

Tuesday Evening July 22, 1856.

We delight in giving specimens of sentiment from Democracy (?) South Carolina, as just now the Northern Democracy, whose love for the Union is so intense, are treading square in the footsteps of CALHOUN. It is interesting to see the fruit of the seed sown in the life-time of that arch nullifier, upon his own soil, and from which the Free men of the North—the real lovers of the Union—can judge of the crop which will be raised from like sowing at the North. The Cincinnati platform is a Calhoun platform, and Calhounism is to force Slavery into every portion of the United States at the will of the Slaveholder, or dismemberment of the Confederacy.

The Fourth of July seems to be a day peculiarly set apart by South Carolinians on which to give utterance to their treasonable sentiments. At a celebration at Healing Springs, among the sentiments were the following:

Nebraska Correspondence.

NEBRASKA CITY, N. T., }
July 12, 1856. }

Possibly the editors of the HERALD may care enough about Nebraska to relish a letter from that Territory. Having a leisure hour, I write at a venture.

Glancing at a modern map, you notice a section extending from the parallel of 40° to that of 50°, and from the crest of the Rocky Mountains on the West, to the Missouri River on the East, embracing an area more than five times as large as entire New England, and more than eight times as large as Ohio. Of this region, its minutest geography, its climate and its natural resources, little is generally known. Col. FREMONT's explorations, it is true, embraced observations in this Territory, and possibly the romantic adventures of BONNEVILLE, as narrated by IRVING may afford glimpses of life on its western borders.

Fifty-two years ago, LEWIS and CLARKE, with their exploring party, made their laborious ascent of the Missouri River, on their route to Columbia. The name of Council Bluffs, given

generally to a long range of hills along the Missouri, is derived from the Indian Council held near what is now Florence, in 1804. Floyd's Bluff, on the Iowa side below the mouth of the Sioux River, is a permanent "in memoriam" of Sergeant FLOYD, of LEWIS & CLARKE's party, who was buried on that hill, and whose grave is still marked by the cedar posts they planted there.

The Missouri River is toilsome enough to ascend, even in these days of steam. So strong is its constant current, and so devious and shifting its channels, that a good steamer can hardly make more than 100 miles a day against the stream. Yet numerous well-appointed boats are engaged in the Upper Missouri trade, carrying each huge freights of merchandize and crowds of passengers to various points in Iowa and Nebraska, on the River.

No one doubts that there is much waste and worthless land in the northern, central, and Western parts of Nebraska. But it is equally true that the south-eastern portion, along the Missouri for some 200 miles, and including a breadth inland of from 100 to 150 miles, possesses all the elements of agricultural wealth, and invites settlement as strongly as any part of the North-West, not excepting Kansas. A fertile soil, producing in abundance to the hand of the tiller whatever crop is proper in similar latitudes; a climate as mild as that of Central and Northern Ohio, and salubrious as any in the world; timber in moderate plenty; water in abundance by spring, rivulet and creek, of Castalian purity; and, not least millions of acres of land for the taking, seeming to beseech the emigrant to "come and till me." These, as it seems to me, make a combination of natural advantages not easily surpassed.

The principal "city" north of the Platte River, is Omaha, the Territorial Capital—a busy, bustling place, at present of magnificent distances. The site of the Capitol—on the top of a ridge, and about a mile from the River—is conspicuous, and the edifice, when complete, will be a noticeable object to a great distance.

South of the Platte, the chief city is Nebraska; or, to speak strictly, the cities of Kearney and Nebraska—having a fine location, a landing of rock which the mad Missouri can never disturb, and many great advantages to make it the depot of the trade of Nebraska south of the Platte. The adjacent land is of the very first quality, and is already cultivated, more or less, to the distance of several miles. This is the site of old Fort Kearney—a block-house built here some ten years ago, and abandoned about 1851. The population of the city is perhaps 1,000—I think not more—but is rapidly increasing.

Two circumstances have contributed to swell the emigration to Nebraska the present season. The Kansas troubles deter settlers who seek a peaceful home for their families; so they generally choose not to go there. The Iowa land offices are closed, so that neither land warrants nor gilt can wrest an acre from the grasp of railroad companies. Missouri, with her immense tracts of unoccupied lands, invite the settler, but there is in the breast of the north-western emigrant an undefined but invincible dislike of a certain Missouri institution. Nebraska on the west and Minnesota at the north, are the only open territories.

There has been, however, from the stress of the circumstances mentioned, a considerable emigration to Northern Missouri, in spite of her Slavery. So desirable are many of the vacant tracts north of the Missouri River, that a considerable quantity has been taken up by men from the Free States. Whether the "institutions" of Missouri are not menaced by this quiet invasion, let ARCHBISH judge. At any rate, the price of improved farming lands has advanced in consequence; farms in the vicinity of towns, having recently been sold, (so Missouri papers say) at the incredible price of ten dollars per

acre! A dangerous state of things, truly! When land becomes so valuable, possibly live stock may depreciate. Enough for once. A. H. L.



TUESDAY EVENING, JULY 22, 1856.

The Systematic Relief of Kansas.

Chicago was very properly selected by the National Kansas Relief Committee, as the outfitting station for the emigration of the present summer, and the coming fall. A quorum of the Committee resides in that city. The route to Kansas is henceforth to be by land, and through the good State of Iowa. The Committee is charged among other things with the duty of facilitating the travel upon this highway of Freedom.

This National Committee is strictly a disbursing agent. Upon the motion of Gerrit Smith, Eli Thayer of Massachusetts was appointed to systematize the organization of all the States friendly to Kansas, to afford her relief. He has adopted and begins to execute his plan. It is to have a State Relief Committee in each free labor State, and a County Committee in every County, which shall appoint an agent for every town, who shall appoint a solicitor for every school district. These District solicitors make returns of their collections in duplicate to the agents, and they to the treasurers of the County Committee, and these to the State Treasurers, who remit finally to the National Committee at Chicago. In this way all expense will be avoided, and the most malignant supporters of Buchanan can have it in their power to be satisfied that every cent given to make Kansas free is faithfully applied to that holy object.

Norwich Evening Courier.

TUESDAY, JULY 22, 1856.

The Missouri delegates, (Anti Benton,) to Cincinnati have issued an address since their return which contains the following passage, showing James Buchanan's views:

"Both of the nominees have given a hearty and cordial assurance of their entire concurrence in all the principles of the platform. Mr. Buchanan has said emphatically, that he would have voted for the Kansas-Nebraska bill if he had been in the Senate—and it was wise and just in itself, and ought to be and should be sustained—that President Pierce in recognizing and enforcing the validity of the acts of the Kansas legislature, had fulfilled a plain public duty—and finally, that the platform in all its parts met his full approbation and would be carried out by him, if elected, without adding a plank to it or taking one from it."

The Evening Press.

HARTFORD:

TUESDAY, JULY 22.

THE KNOW NOTHINGISM OF THE HARTFORD TIMES.—For some days past The Times has been indorsing and commending the Senate bill in relation to Kansas. That bill contains a provision inserted on motion of Mr. ADAMS of Mississippi, a leading Know Nothing, excluding Germans and other foreign-born citizens from the right of voting.

—a privilege that has been granted them in other territories, and which was incorporated into the existing Kansas act. They are still allowed to vote in Nebraska, but the Senate bill, which *The Times* advocates, will exclude them in Kansas. It is one of the intrigues to make Kansas a Slave State, for the Germans are opposed to Slavery. But since *The Times* has become the Fillmore organ, it has changed its course. The Fillmore men, under whose control it is, are very hostile to Germans and all foreigners, and have revoked the charter of the more liberal Americans.

SLAVERY IN OREGON.—Since Slavery has been forced upon Kansas, which was ordained to Freedom, why is it any more difficult or any more audacious to foist the black curse upon Oregon? *The Rochester (N. Y.) Democrat* makes the following remarkable statement:

"We expect soon to publish communications from a gentleman of the highest intelligence and of entire reliability, in reference to the purpose of many of the Southern settlers in Oregon of establishing slavery there as soon as they can induce a majority of the people to consent to a State organization. But for the Wilmot Proviso, which was incorporated into the Territorial Act, these men would now claim the right, under the new-fangled doctrine of the Buchanan party that the Constitution tolerates and protects slavery in the Territories, to hold slaves in Oregon; and the influence of Government would be used to support the claim.

"We learn that the failure of the attempt to organize a State Government was in part owing to the fact that the leading schemers were known to have their plans perfected for making Oregon a slave State: They have not abandoned their purpose, but are necessarily obliged to postpone it until the present Indian difficulties are settled."

The Courant.

HARTFORD:
TUESDAY MORNING, JULY 22, 1856.

THE INDIANAPOLIS DAILY JOURNAL gives a very glowing description of the immense mass meeting of the friends of freedom in Indiana, held at Indianapolis on the 15th. Large deputations came from the Fremont clubs from all parts of the State—many of them as early as the Monday before, to form their camps in the neighborhood of the place, knowing that the city could not possibly accommodate them. The day was ushered in by the firing of cannon, and the citizens of the place were ready to meet in procession the delegates that came by every train. It is estimated by some that forty thousand strangers were in Indianapolis that day. The Editor of the Journal says there could not be less than thirty thousand. It was like one of those immense gatherings of the people that characterized the campaign of 1840.

In the regular procession there were a hundred large banners, besides a countless number of small ones. The delegation from one county were in wagon singing glee songs as they moved on. The Journal says:

"The finest feature in the procession was thirty-two young ladies in a large canoe drawn by horses, representing, by banners, the thirty one States of the Union and the Territory of Kansas. The one representing Kansas applying for admission into the Union was draped in black, as was also the banner she bore. The motto exhibited by those young ladies was, 'We are opposed to old Bachelors'."

Nearly every delegation had a band of music. The printers of the city had a press on a wagon and worked off, as they passed, Fremont songs which were scattered among the people.

The speeches and resolutions were of the right stamp, and the whole convention was a sign of the state of political affairs in Indiana, too glaring and powerful to be mistaken. *The Prairies are on fire!*

Keep it Before the People!

That the Democratic party is doing everything in its power to dissolve the Union, unless the North will admit slavery into territory now free!

That it is endeavoring to make a sectional institution national;

That it recognizes polygamy as consistent with our laws and institutions;

That it encourages and incites civil war;

That it employs the ruffians of Missouri to take

the lives and destroy the property of the Free State men of Kansas;

That it justifies the murders and robberies of innocent and unoffending citizens of Kansas;

And that it arrests and imprisons FREE State men there, who have committed no offence, and have always been true and loyal citizens, and firm friends of the Free Institutions of our country.

The Republican.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.
TUESDAY MORNING, JULY 22 1856.

Kansas Notes.

In response to the circular issued by clergymen of Boston, \$200 has been contributed at Great Barrington to the Kansas relief fund, and the same amount at Sheffield. There was an informal Kansas meeting at Great Barrington, Friday evening, in front of the Congregational church, which was addressed with good effect by Increase Sumner, G. P. Lowry, secretary of Gov Reeder, who had accidentally arrived in the afternoon, C. N. Emerson and Rev Mr Greely.

The Kansas party notified to leave Boston on the 21st, has postponed its departure to the 29th, Tuesday next. Persons wishing to join the party can communicate with T. W. Higginson of Worcester. It is understood that extra inducements are held out to those who join this party. The Vermont Kansas committee propose to send a party to Kansas on the 12th of August. Persons wishing to join it can communicate with the state agent, B. B. Newton at St. Albans.

The system of organization for the aid of Kansas adopted at the recent Buffalo convention is likely to prove efficient. The location of a majority of the active members of the executive committee at Chicago, Ill., was a wise provision, as henceforth the emigration will be from that point through Iowa. Eli Thayer of Worcester has already entered upon the important duty assigned him of organizing the aid committees of the various states and districts, and that essential part of the work will of course be done promptly and well. It is proposed to make the organization complete in every town and school district of the free states, and with such connections that every dollar contributed can be traced from its source to its distribution in Kansas.

"Border Ruffian Gems."

COOL READING FOR HOT WEATHER.
[From the Atchison (Kansas) Squatter Sovereign, an official democratic organ, and supporter of Buchanan.]

MORE ABOLITIONISTS TURNED BACK.—The steamer Sultan having on board contraband articles, was recently stopped at Leavenworth City, and lightened of forty-four rifles, and a large quantity of pistols and bowie-knives, taken from a crowd of cowardly Yankees, shipped out here by Massachusetts. The boat was permitted to go up as far as Weston, where a guard was placed over the prisoners, and none of them permitted to land. They were shipped back from Weston on the same boat, without even being insured by the shippers. We do not approve fully of sending these criminals back to the East to be reshipped to Kansas—if not through Missouri, through Iowa and Nebraska. WE THINK THEY SHOULD MEET A TRAITOR'S DEATH, and the world could not censure us if we in self-protection have to resort to such ultra measures. We are of the opinion if the citizens of Leavenworth City or Weston WOULD HANG ONE OR TWO BOAT LOADS OF ABOLITIONISTS, it would do more towards establishing peace in Kansas, than all the speeches that have been delivered in Congress during the present session. LET THE EXPERIMENT BE TRIED.

SLAVES IN KANSAS.—During the past six months the slave population in this portion of the territory has greatly increased. Many settlers from South Carolina, Virginia and other southern states have wisely brought slaves with them, as being the most effectual way of settling the question of slavery in the territory. These are the kind of settlers we need here now.

A NICE GAME.—Old Bullion and his satellites, Blair and Brown, are playing it out pretty strong. They pretend to be for Buchanan, when in fact they are his deadly foes. If they succeed in dividing the democratic vote, in go the know nothing presidential electors, and Missouri is lost to Buchanan. This will bring that beautiful son-in-law of Old Bullion's into the House, when all the black republicans and know nothings will unite on him and make him president.

THE PALMETTO RIFLES.—28th of JUNE.—The memorable 28th having been decided upon as the

anniversary of the Palmetto Rifles of Atchison, the day was duly celebrated by a parade and banquet.

At the head of the table hung THE "BLOOD-RED FLAG," with the lone star, and the motto of "Southern Rights" on the one side, and "South Carolina" on the other. The same flag that first floated on the rifle pits of the abolitionists at Lawrence, and on the hotel of the same place—in triumph, now hung over the heads of the noble soldiers who bore it so bravely through that exciting war.

The following are among the toasts drunk:—
3. *Kansas*—Our chosen home—stand by her. Yes! sons of the South, make her A SLAVE STATE, OR DIE IN THE ATTEMPT! [This toast was received with loud and continued applause.]

5. *South Carolina*—Our mother—she lives in our hearts. While true to her, we know she will be true to us.

6. *Missouri*—Our ally—nobly has she stood by her younger sister. All hail to the gallant "Border Ruffians." We owe them one.

7. *Gen. D. R. Atchison*—Recognized by South Carolina as one fit to command—he has but to give the order, and, to a man, we will haste—

To the just and glorious strife,
With our knives, southern rights shielding;
May resist, if it must be done, even life,
But die, at least unyielding.

10. *The Hon. Preston S. Brooks*—By whipping crazy Sumner, he has furnished the 2d edition of what the abolitionists call "Border Ruffianism"—that is, the determination of honorable minds to resent injury and insult from a mouth-piece of fanaticism, coming from what quarter it may.

11. *Disunion*—By secession, or otherwise—a beacon of hope to an oppressed people, and the surest remedy for southern wrongs. (Enthusiastic cheers.)

The Squatter Sovereign—May it ever receive a hearty support from that South whose interests it has so warmly defended.

This sentiment was received with applause, and after a few remarks in response from Col R. S. Kelley, three cheers were given for the Squatter Sovereign. In sitting down, Col Kelley offered the following:

The City of Atchison—May she, before the close of the year '57, be the capital of a Southern Republic. (Ch.-ers.)

Kansas—The pro-slavery party will assert and maintain the supremacy of the white race or die in the attempt.

The Press—Unmuzzled, it breathes the air of Freedom.

Kansas—WE WILL MAKE HER A SLAVE STATE, or form a chain of locked arms and hearts together, and DIE IN THE ATTEMPT.

The Palmetto Flag—We brought it here in honor, let us return it the same.

The Distribution of the Public Lands—One hundred and sixty acres to every pro-slavery settler, and to EVERY ABOLITIONIST SIX FEET BY TWO.

Sheriff Jones of Douglas County—A martyr to southern rights; may he long survive his attempted assassination, and may his revenge be, Kansas a slave state.

Mr Jenkins gave—"The health of D. R. Atchison, the Border Ruffian Chief." (Drunk standing.)

FOURTH OF JULY IN SOUTH CAROLINA.—The patriots of the great state of South Carolina amused themselves on the fourth of July with sentiments like the following:

The Union—May it speedily be dissolved, and the Hon P. S. Brooks the first president of the southern republic.

May South Carolina always afford Brooks enough to cleanse such wild, dastardly lepers as Sumner, Wilson & Co.

The Abolitionists of Massachusetts—The birth-place of know nothingism so much cherished by office-seekers and demagogues of the south: Remember, b-o-y-s, that Brooks has several new canes!

The Hon Charles Sumner, Senator of Massachusetts—His sympathy for the black race of the South has caused him so far to forget his native dignity as for a while to submit with impunity to a chastisement more humiliating than that inflicted on our most disobedient slaves. Oh—Do the negroes of the South retaliate his sympathy?

L. M. Keitt—One of South Carolina's brightest stars.

May South Carolina always be prepared to make a simultaneous blow with Brooks.

The company of Illinois emigrants robbed and sent back by the ruffians at Leavenworth on the 5th, numbered 17. William Strawn, one of the most wealthy citizens of Illinois, agent for the company, and four others, escaped, and are now in the territory.—Mr Strawn, immediately upon the seizure went to the fort, and upon his representation the officer in command came down with a force of dragoons, arriving before the southerners had dispersed. The officer inquired of the ruffian captain what he had done and endorsed it as all proper and right. But Mr Strawn did not let the matter drop here. He determined to test every legal measure in his power to recover his property pillaged from him. He determined to ascertain by every means possible if it be true that the power of the national and territorial government are combined in a conspiracy, as principal and agent in these wholesale acts of robbery committed on our national thoroughfares, and at our commercial depots. He proceeded to Leavenworth, and repre-

74 sented his case to secretary Woodson, acting governor. Woodson told him, his only remedy was by civil process; he must get a writ from Judge LeCompte, for the arrest of the persons who had taken his property. Judge LeCompte was at his residence six miles from Leavenworth. Mr Strawn told the governor that he dare not travel in the neighborhood of Leavenworth, that the men who had robbed him were watching every approach to this town, in order to capture him, and that it would be impossible for him, without an escort, to procure an interview with Judge LeCompte. Woodson then granted him a requisition upon Col Sumner for an escort of troops. He found Gen Smith in command at the fort, who told him that the troops could not be had on the governor's requisition for any such purpose. So that it seems the troops cannot be used even by the governor for the protection of the people, but only to assist the posse in arresting such as LeCompte and his gang may choose to indict for high treason and other crimes. Gen Smith was asked if he would state the extent and nature of his powers as commander of the United States troops in the territory. He replied that he was directed by the president to act in subordination to the civil authorities (i. e. the ruffians), to aid the governor in enforcing the laws. Mr Strawn made up his mind that there was no legal redress to be had, and that the complicity of the administration in this monstrous system of robbery and violence was not only a fixed fact, but a demonstrated fact.

Slavery on the Scent for other Fields.

In the anxiety of the North for the freedom of Kansas, the other territories have been forgotten; and it is with no small degree of surprise that it is now ascertained that the pro-slavery schemers are at work in Nebraska and Oregon. The Chicago Tribune publishes a letter from J. H. Kape, dated at Nebraska City, the 28th of June, which says that of the four newspapers in Nebraska, not one has ever dared to utter a word for freedom, either there or in Kansas. Every man who dares to express a word of sympathy with Kansas is loaded with every disgraceful epithet. So great is the prejudice against anti-slavery men that many of the prominent ones hardly consider their lives safe. They place no confidence in the courts, for murderers find in them protection, not punishment. In a conversation between Judge Bradford of Nebraska and Gen Whitfield, the latter offered to take up an army, if necessary, to carry the election of last fall, for the election of the pro-slavery ticket, if the former required it, stating, at the same time, that the border ruffians were determined to make Nebraska a slave state. The following is the programme of operations:—

Gov Izzard, and most of the other appointees of the president, are warmly in favor of the introduction of slavery. Until the commencement of immigration the present spring—since which time the new settlers have been of a more northern character than previously—the majority of the population of the territory, especially of the portion of it lying south of the Blue River, were in favor of ignoring freedom, if not directly establishing slavery. By ignoring freedom is understood the policy which the slavery propagandists have deemed best to pursue in that territory—that of branding as treason every attempt to make it free, and finally establishing a conspiracy entirely silent on the question. The legislature, it is claimed, could easily regulate that matter; but that body would also adopt the ignoring principle, until the stampede of a few slave-sided by whites, would make it necessary to directly acknowledge its existence, by providing for the punishment of persons giving such aid. Slavery already exists here; and in so thinly populated a country with no laws as yet to punish the citizens away of slaves, it is necessary to treat them kindly; and northern men—especially doughfaces—are pointed to this good treatment, and told that such is universal at the South—that slavery is not half so bad as they are accustomed to suppose it. More slaves are on their way there; and it is asked of the ignorant from all sections, what is to be done with the slaves in the territory when a constitution is formed? For nearly all the southern people, and many from the North would much prefer seeing slavery legalized, to having a few free negroes about them.

We quote the following paragraph, as illustrative of the popular feeling on the subject:

A train of emigrants which passed through Nebraska on their way to Kansas, by the Big Horn route, found many who have heretofore been considered to be rather partial towards the institutions of the free states, to be in reality strongly in favor of the establishment of the peculiar institution. One addressed a man of considerable influence in the southern part of the territory something like this: "I tell you what, friend, I've got sick of trying to farm it in the North; they won't allow a fellow to hold slaves, or let him treat a white laborer otherwise than as an equal; I want to go where I can drive things; I believe that Kansas will be a slave state—that our glorious democratic party will make it one, and I'm going there." "Oh," replied the gentleman addressed, "you need have no fear of stopping in Nebraska if that is your politics; for there is a strong determination here to make Nebraska a slave state, and I'm no kind of doubt but that we shall triumphantly succeed."

In regard to the scheme for establishing slavery in Oregon, the Rochester Democrat promises soon to publish communications from a gentleman of the highest intelligence and entire reli-

bility, showing the intention of those residing in the southern part of the territory to establish slavery there, as soon as they can induce a majority of the people to consent to a state organization. We quote from the Democrat:

"But for the Wilmot proviso, which was incorporated into the territorial act, these men would now claim the right, under the new framed constitution of the Buchanan party that the constitution to be adopted protects slavery in the territories, to hold slaves in Oregon; and the influence of government would be used to support the claim. We learn that the failure of the attempt to organize a state government was in part owing to the fact that the leading schemers were known to have the plans perfected for making Oregon a slave state. They have not abandoned their purpose, but are exceedingly obliged to postpone it until the present Indian difficulties are settled."

It is under the protective shadow of an administration sold to slavery that these foul schemers are fastened upon soil which had been supposed to be secure against slavery. Let us undo all this business in November.

The Daily Transcript.

Z. K. PANGBORN, Editor.

WORCESTER, MASS.,
TUESDAY MORNING, JULY 22, 1856.

Massachusetts and Alabama.

We publish this morning the correspondence between Gov. Winston of Alabama, and Gov. Gardner of this State. The letter of Winston is characterized by nothing but its direct and implied falsehoods, its impertinence and a very evident feeling of uncomforableness. The reply of our own Chief Magistrate is worthy of Massachusetts and of Gov. Gardner. It is one of the most thorough, scathing and manly documents that has ever been published; dignified yet severe, just yet sarcastic and defiant, it is one of the most richly merited and most thoroughly administered castigations ever bestowed upon a Southern braggart. Gov. Winston in himself considered, or judged by his letter, deserved no elaborate answer, but as Governor of a sovereign State and addressing a sister State, his misssive has been treated by our Executive precisely as it should have been, and Massachusetts may well be proud of the greeting which Gov. Gardner has sent in reply to the insulting and ridiculous message of Alabama. The contrast suggested by these two gubernatorial letters is very striking, and if Alabama desires to be made ridiculous in the eyes of the whole country, she had better keep such a hot-headed fool as Gov. Winston writing to the Executives of the free States. The letter of Gov. Gardner shows how completely lame and impotent the slave States are to even defend themselves, and how utterly contemptible are their endeavors to justify the wrongs for which they make themselves the apologists and defenders. In no one attitude do they appear more weak and ridiculous, than when they undertake to assume a position of arrogant superiority over States like Massachusetts. Governor Gardner has pretty effectually exposed the conceit of Alabama in this instance and we think the "negro driving" Governor of the slave States will not be in a hurry again to provoke such a course of treatment as this Alabama Magistrate has brought upon himself. This extraordinary sensitiveness and touchy impudence of the pro-slavery party at the South indicates their consciousness of the fact that the days of their political supremacy in the nation are numbered, and they mean apparently to die in as unbecoming and ugly a manner as possible, and certainly no class of men seem to possess such facilities for making a ludicrous show of their weakness and bad manners.

Gov. Winston to Gov. Gardner.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
Montgomery, Alabama, June 19, 1856.

SIR:—Believing the Resolves you have forwarded to this department, in relation to the territory of Kansas, to be in conflict with the truth of history, unconstitutional, and reasonable in design, I return them to you 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.

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 insults and libelous imputations upon the character of Southern States and the citizens thereof.

Your obedient servant,

JOHN A. WINSTON.

His Excellency, HENRY J. GARDNER,
Governor of Massachusetts.

Gov. Gardner to Gov. Winston.

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS,
Executive Department,

COUNCIL CHAMBER, Boston, July 5th, 1856.

SIR:—I have received your letter under date of June 19th, returning a copy of the Resolves of the Legislature of Massachusetts in relation to the Territory of Kansas, transmitted to you in accordance with the request of that body.

While I regret to say one word that may add to the irritation existing between the North and the South, it becomes my imperative duty, briefly but plainly, in behalf of Massachusetts, to repudiate the insult you attempt to cast upon her, and to vindicate the propriety of her conduct.

You say, "Believing the Resolves you have forwarded to this department in relation to the Territory of Kansas, to be in conflict with the truth of history, unconstitutional, and reasonable in design, I return them to you."

Had your Excellency attempted to particularise wherein these Resolves were "in conflict with the truth of history," and not contented yourself with the more easy, because more general, denial of their accuracy, your errors could have been at once pointed out.

These Resolves are temperately and calmly written, referring only to a few of the more salient points in the long catalogue of injustice and outrages that mark the record of the past two years in Kansas, declaring that these deplorable occurrences are the result of the efforts made by the slavery propagandists, for the purpose of forcing the system of human servitude that territory, against the will of a majority of its actual inhabitants, and the wishes of the people of the Union—that the sufferings of those settlers have touched the hearts of our citizens, and that we will use every just and constitutional effort to aid them in maintaining their liberties,—and that the President of the United States in reference to these transactions has exhibited a servility or a sectional interest, and an indifference to the fundamental principles of justice and freedom, which merit the condemnation of the American people. This last declaration has since been so fully endorsed at Cincinnati, it needs no further argument to establish its truth.

Your Excellency may rest assured, notwithstanding your denial, the exact accuracy of every historical fact here spoken of is known to and recognized by every reader of these Resolves whether he lives North or South. The truth of history is too stern and inexorable to warp itself to suit your Excellency's wishes. These shameful occurrences are written as with a pen of fire on the broad skies for the whole world to read, and they will exist till history itself shall be no more, a damning disgrace to our country, our age, our humanity, and to those who with equal hardihood dare deny or defend them.

But if you mean that the whole truth of history is not expressed in these Resolves, then I agree with you. They do not give the half, nor the worst, of these inhuman outrages. They make no reference to the rifling of the mails, the organized irruption of the citizens of another State to control elections, arrests without judicial authority, mockery of legislation, inhuman laws, destruction of printing presses, theft, arson, and last that great and final crime, beyond which human depravity has no power to go, cold blooded and deliberate murder. Should your Excellency invoke the whole truth of history, it must bring to your view the vision of murdered men, of wives driven to madness, and to your ear the agonized cry of the orphan—and all for the crime that their husbands and fathers opposed by vote or voice the introduction of human servitude into a region your father and my father, dedicated, a third of a century ago, by a solemn national compact, to freedom forever.

But your Excellency asserts that these Resolves are "unconstitutional and reasonable in design." The assertion that it is "unconstitutional" for a sovereign member of this confederacy to express through her legislature her sentiments upon one of the most momentous questions of the age, or upon any question, needs no refutation. It may be that

Your Excellency wishes that the free expression of our opinions could be trammelled by a constitutional restriction, but fortunately it is not probable that your Excellency will ever witness a retrograde step in civilization and government as will be necessary to incorporate such a provision into the Constitution of the United States.

By a strange perversion of terms as applied to the act of a sovereign State your Excellency further alleges that these Resolves are "treasonable." Permit me to suggest that if the mere recital in a dignified and calm way of a few of the principal outrages in Kansas be treason, that it may interest some of your constituents to know how the actual participation in these shameless outrages may be characterized in your Excellency's catalogue of crimes.

Your Excellency is pleased further to say, "I return them (the Resolves) to you, 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." In this request your Excellency cannot be gratified. While I occupy the executive chair of Massachusetts the Resolves of her Legislature on any and every subject will be transmitted to your "department" whenever that Legislature requests it.

It is a pregnant admission, however, that you desire to stifle the voice of freemen on "the subject of slavery." You confess by this very declaration you would do it, had you the power, but fortunately your ability is not commensurate with your wishes. We readily acknowledge that we have neither the power nor the purpose to interfere with slavery where in the confederated States under local laws it exists, but we are determined to use every honorable and constitutional effort to prevent its extension over territory now free from its blighting presence.

We deem it a social, political and moral evil.—And we have full and abiding faith that at no very distant day it will be peaceably eradicated from every christian community—all indications point unerringly to this result. Slavery has already encountered the denunciation of the moral sentiment of every civilized country of the Old World—the mighty influences of literature in every tongue are sapping its foundations—the nobler and more generous impulses of our common humanity abhor it,—right, justice, equity, are all a antagonism with it—it paralyzes the arm of industry where it exists—it corrupts the morals of those among whom it has its habitation—in the end impoverishes the community that permits its continuance—it has gradually been abolished in vast regions wherever and as fast as its baleful influences have been brought to the test of a true statesmanship—and above all, every one who recognizes a kind and benignant Providence in each transaction of life, from seeming evil ever educating real good, knows that the allwise and omnipotent Being will in His own good time limit and restrict its pernicious influences, till the prayers of the bondsmen are answered and every where shall the onslaved go free.

With these views of the institution of slavery, which are common to all her people, Massachusetts does not feel that she is deservedly open to reproach and insult, from the Chief Magistrate of a sister State, for expressing her unalterable determination, that with her connivance or consent, it shall never be permitted to supplant the free and intelligent labor of her sons upon the soil of those territories which is a portion of her birthright and inheritance.

Your Excellency next asserts "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."

May I be permitted to remind your Excellency that "nullified" is not a word of Massachusetts growth, but that it is indigenous to the South, and if you have any opprobrium to bestow upon it, you can freely do so much more appropriately nearer home than here.

The loyalty of Massachusetts to the Constitution of the United States has been too often and too signally evinced in critical periods of the country's history to require a farther answer from me to this ungracious suggestion. But were it otherwise your Excellency is not the tribunal to decide for her a position involving her fidelity to that instrument. I am not aware that the Executive of Alabama has yet been made co-ordinate in judicial authority with the Supreme Court of the United States, and until it is, but not till then, will its opinion upon such a question be expressed with any propriety or be entitled to the slightest consideration.

With a somewhat arrogant assumption of superiority your Excellency expresses a desire on the part of State of Alabama, to have "no further intercourse with Massachusetts."

I am not aware that there is anything to justify this assumption, in the condition of our respective States, with reference to any of the elements that constitute the strength and character of a civilized and christian Commonwealth. In their generously endowed universities and schools, their magnificent charitable institutions, their extensive mercantile marine, their manufactories and railways, their liberal contributions to religious and benevolent

enterprises, and to the literary, scientific and historical treasure of the world, or in the condition and spirit of their people, I find nothing that should prompt this desire of non-intercourse on the part of the Executive of Alabama, unless it be the contrast such intercourse might suggest.

If this desire of your Excellency is gratified to its full and literal extent, while we are deprived of the privilege of furnishing you with the productions of the free and intelligent labor of our people, it will be a slight compensation to know that the paper manufactured in a Massachusetts Mill and bearing the stamp of a respectable Massachusetts firm, will not, as in the case with the sheet now before me, be bearing your Excellency's autograph, be the vehicle of conveying to us an insulting and vituperative communication from a Chief Magistrate of Alabama.

Your Excellency concludes your letter, the whole of which I have quoted, in the following words:—"And [we] 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."

Your allusion I cannot fail to understand. You advance as your chief and closing reason for desiring no further intercourse with our State, that one of her Senators has declined a summons to a personal combat, and the other it is well known would do so, in obedience not only to the laws and sentiments of Massachusetts but also of the rules and orders of Congress and even of the Statutes of the State of Alabama itself. I find the following provision in the Code of that State, published in pursuance of an Act of your General Assembly:—"Every person who gives, accepts, or knowingly carries a challenge, in writing or otherwise, to fight in single combat, with any deadly weapon, either in or out of this State, on conviction, must be imprisoned in the penitentiary two years." Because a Senator of Massachusetts refuses to do what the laws of Alabama make a penitentiary offence your Excellency wishes no further intercourse with our State!

In a prior portion of your letter you arraign Massachusetts for an alleged disregard of the laws of the land, and with singular inconsistency at its close you assert as the crowning reason of your displeasure that she will not violate, in the person of her Senators a law common alike to Massachusetts, to Congress and the State whose representative you are.

In leaving your Excellency to reconcile this inconsistency, and in terminating a correspondence which I deeply regret should have been forced upon me by the unprecedented character of your communication, I will only add the expression of a sincere hope, that a return to better counsels, and a fraternal spirit of comity and good will may bring the people of Alabama into such relations with those of Massachusetts, as the claims of a common country should inspire and foster and that if there must be irreconcilable diversities of opinion between them upon any question of moral duty or of public policy they may hereafter find no such expressions from their Chief Magistrate as you have deemed it compatible with our respective positions to address to me.

Your obedient servant,
HENRY J. GARDNER.
His Excellency JOHN A. WINSTON,
Governor of Alabama.

The Atlas.

TUESDAY MORNING, JULY 22, 1856.

TESTIMONY FROM THE SOUTH.—The Columbia Times, a South Carolina print, looks up at the clouds and predicts a change. In its issue of the 8th instant, it says:

"The scenes of strife and bloodshed enacting in Kansas Territory, and the consequent excitement of the popular mind in the North, are seriously damaging the cause of the Democratic party in the non-slaveholding States, and rapidly diminishing the chances of success of its Presidential nominee in November next. In every section of abolitiondom there are unmistakable signs that an overwhelming defeat awaits Buchanan and Breckinridge. A union of all the antagonistic elements is rapidly taking place—A union of Abolitionism, Free Soilers, Whigs, Democrats, Republicans, Know Nothings; in short, the whole North. Divisions and defections—divisions that cannot be healed, and defections that can scarce be numbered—are destroying the once boasted unity of the Democracy, and rapidly undermining its power.

Deserted and disheartened, the political prospects of the Northern Democracy, who have seduced the people of the South into the delusion that the party North is sound upon the slavery question, and may be implicitly relied on, and those Southern political tricksters, who have basely lent themselves to spread and strengthen the delusion, are chagrined at the spectacle and stand in awe, awaiting the dread defeat of their forces, and scarce knowing what to do to prevent it. In their desperation they have devised the scheme of authorizing an enumeration of the inhabitants of Kansas Territory, and the holding a convention of the people for the adoption of a constitution, and to make application to Congress for admission into the Union as a State, upon an equality with the existing States. They hope by these means to terminate the scenes of outrage and murder that are daily occurring, to allay the excitement in the Northern States, and repair the falling fortunes of the Democracy."

PROMINENT DEMOCRATS.—The Portland Advertiser makes mention of the following prominent Democrats, who support Buchanan, thus:

David R. Atchison and Genl. Stringfellow, who have been straining every nerve for nearly two years to carry slavery into Kansas, and who have hesitated at no rascality and degree of meanness to accomplish that end—are warm supporters of James Buchanan!

Governor Shannon, Marshal Donelson and Sheriff Jones, and every member of the Border Ruffian Legislature, all who assisted in the sacking of Lawrence and aided in destroying the free papers of Kansas—are active laborers for James Buchanan!

Jefferson Davis and every other noted Disunionist of the South, are now plotting and conniving for the election of James Buchanan!

Preston S. Brooks, Keitt and Edmundson, the first of whom committed and the others encouraged, the most villainous assault that was ever perpetrated upon a public man—are open advocates for James Buchanan!

Philemon T. Herbert, who followed a high-handed life in California with the murder of a waiter at Washington—was at the Cincinnati Convention and endorses the selection of James Buchanan!

The Ballot-Stuffors of California, are all active Democrats, and it allowed to vote, will do as Yankee Sullivan would, if he had not gone "to the land of the hereafter," that is, cast their ballots for James Buchanan!

We do not say these are specimen Democrats—they are merely prominent. It is the misfortune of the party that they are within its ranks. But there they are—and every man can reflect upon the fact as his impulses prompt and his reason guides.

BOSTON HERALD

FIRST EDITION.
TUESDAY MORNING, JULY 22.

The Return of Job Sass, Esq., from the Kansas Territory—His hair-breadth Escapes, as he Crossed the border—How Gen. Titcomb got into Trouble.

The following letter from our old friend and correspondent, Job Sass, Esq., of Waipole, came to hand through Saturday's mail. We congratulate the venerable man upon his safe return, thus far, from the scenes of border strife, and trust that his reception at the Worcester Depot, on Wednesday, will be as gratifying to him, as it will prove agreeable to his friends in Boston:

"Springfield, Mass., }
July 18—1856. }
Dear Editor:—thanks to a far-sighted Providence, I & Ben Titcomb have at last got out of Kansas!
but we escaped in a way not Reminded me at the time when The Romans seized on The Sabine women.
Ben was Dressed up in woman's clothes, & I was klad in the Garb of a travulin pedler, (to prevent arrest.) & Karried a pair of Empty baskis on each Arm, to luke as Though peddlin was a profitable & Lukrative trade among The squatter sovereigns, (So to speak.)
but every Time we fetched up at The Taverns, to change horses, Ben, (bein Considered a woman.) was Submitted to a series of Gross insults, was made my Blood bile with rage.
I was Myself avlso constantly subjected to interupstions by The Ruffians, for wen they tried to pilage My baskits of pedlin goods, & Found they were empty, they sicked & Boxed me round, as Though I was a mad dog, or A serpent.
twice I kum within wince of gittin hung On the branches of 2 Trees in lexington, mizzuri. the reason was that wun of the knustables over-

heard Me say that "it wasn't Nothin but his extraordinary complexhun, wat Prevented aigger from Parsing ofr the same as a wite man."

for this i Liked to have died like jno. rogers, a Martyr at the steak!
feller citizens! ye! Your blod kurdle In your veins, as yo Hearken to stories like these?

ware is bunker Hill, ask?—ware, Too, is lexintun?—& ware are dorchester hites?
do ya Undertake tu Tell me, feller citizens! that The sperrit of Our four-farthars Has stepped out, & The milk of our herote four-moatlers instilled in us, has klean dried up?
forbid It, marcoful Heaven! forbid it, sperrita of '76!

but i Haint time tu add more. on wonsday arternoon i shall meet Ye at the Boston Depot, & gin ye a shake-hand awl round.
the people here Have shown bou, adless att-shuns. the editors of The republik'an newspaper, in pertikeler, tried Tu out-doo vvn another in Orferin "smiles" and other bou'ntiful Refre-hments.

& in this Konneekshun i will add that mr. bowles, of The republican paper, has got a Hart as big as an Ox.

i have traveled Round a gude deal in My day, & have kum in kontakkt with individuals, time & Agin, that i thort had Got abovvt as near parfekshun as The ordinary run Of folks, but this mr. bowles Karries ofr the parn of The hold boodie.

with The suavity of a Gen Heman,—the sternness & The vigor of A railshy kornel, or a high Kunstable,—he shows the meekness Of a lamb, at the same time, & the Modesty of a sweet-heart, wen Yu take her out a korting, in a wun Horse shay. JOB SASS.

There is no merciless conduct which Messrs. Douglas, Pierce, Toombs, &c., and the Democratic Senate, shrink from. Treason to their previously professed principles is the least of their bad deeds; professed incendiarism, plunder, frauds on the ballot box, the expulsion of free settlers from house and home—all all have they approved and sanctioned. Moreover, the great national democratic party has declared in its Cincinnati platform that land-stealing from neighboring States when those who steal want the land, is a democratic principle; that is to say, it is democratic to steal whatever one wants!

But there are happy signs that conscientious regard for right, honor, and freedom is not lost in America. The free people are rising in their might, and their battle cry is, 'No more extension of slavery! No administration that shall be the puppet and servant of the slaveholders!' The noblest elements of all parties—democrats, whigs, free-soilers, and republicans have united at Philadelphia, on the following platform, with Fremont and Dayton for their candidates."

The platform here follows in full, and the article concludes with the announcement that the Germans of Boston cordially adopt the platform and candidates of the Philadelphia Convention. They have organized a Fremont and Dayton Club, which meets for discussion in American Hall, 847 Washington street on the second and fourth Mondays in each month, at 8 o'clock P. M. The officers of this Club are,—Dr. Kob, President, Messrs. Wenzel and Kalhofer, Vice Presidents, and Messrs. Alois, Babo and Dr. Rothe, Secretaries. They say "we leave that sinking ship, the slavery-democracy, and range ourselves under the banner of the free, with John C. Fremont for our standard-bearer."

Necessary specific powers to render them available in practice. The mode of their application is to be determined by the tendency to make them effective in given instances.

We are also to interpret the Constitution, as we do all other written documents, by a reversion to the history of the time when it was formed, and, if possible, identify what were the feelings and modes of thought of the men who made it, and ascertain what were the circumstances by which they were surrounded. Those noble men, sir, who have bequeathed to posterity names which can never die, the foremost of their day, and renowned alike for valor, virtue, and learning, did not occupy the position which has been charged upon them on this floor. They were too wise to cast away all the teachings of the past, and did not essay to construct the edifice of free government anew, disdaining to use the precious materials at hand, and seeking only for novelties and to produce startling effects.

No, sir; they were stern adherents of old English liberty and law, and their quarrel with the Mother Country was not that she prized and venerated Magna Charta and the British Constitution, but because she violated it; and they, too, were Englishmen. All their ideas were modelled on the principles and practices of English and colonial legislation. They were disciplined in that school, and from that school they had learned their rights as men. Most of them had served in the legislatures of the several colonies, as representatives in New England, as delegates in North Carolina, or as burgesses in Virginia, and there they had first defined and defended their just liberties. Of course they were pervaded by a spirit essentially different from that of complete and radical change in the constitution and government of the legislative bodies to which they should commit the future destinies of the people. They did not even stop to question the abuses of the English parliamentary law, great as they and their ancestors knew them to be. They recognized its great principles of right as essential to the free and unfettered exercise of the highest prerogatives of the deliberative bodies of freemen.

This view of the matter is confirmed by the early action of those very men and their cotemporaries after the government of their choice was organized and in action. The first rules of order and proceeding were, for the most part, derived from the precedents of Parliament. Mr Jefferson was called upon to make a digest of parliamentary law; and the result of his labors is embodied in the Manual, which has ever since, as then, been recognised as a standard of appeal in all vexed questions, either of order or privilege. It cannot be denied that the precedents and dicta therein contained have always had a controlling influence on Congress. Though never adopted as a rule by express vote of either House, yet they have been recognised, by common consent, by long use, as fundamental and conclusive. At any rate, they are the highest source of illustration on all questions of order and privilege, if not sanctioned as strictly legal and authoritative.

Simple, then, as the Constitution is in its language, brief and sententious as its provisions applicable to the question before us may be, yet the modest sentences of the articles quoted, when justly interpreted, so that the real meaning of their authors may be discovered, are amply sufficient to cover all the ground which is necessary to perpetuate the existence, and to affirm all necessary and just privileges to this house.

Besides, the constitutional grant of the privileges enumerated defines no limit to them, because those limits can only be defined by the exigencies of individual cases: as, for instance, in the provision for security from arrest in going to or returning from the sessions of Congress. It has been held on the occasion arising involving the nature of the privilege, that the time allowed in "going to, or returning from," must be determined by a variety of circumstances, of which either house of Congress might judge, as the case might be. So, also, there is not in the Constitution any inhibition of the exercise of privileges which have been coeval with Parliaments. The fact is, that privileges are inherent in the nature of every free legislative body. They must have within themselves the power of self-preservation and protection; they must have some means to secure respect from their members, and from the people, whose representatives they are.

This matter before us—the assault on Senator Sumner—comes to us on complaint of the Senate, and should be examined as such, although this House had instituted a previous investigation. The complaint was referred to our committee in due form, and they have recognized it in their report. They complain that a breach of their privileges has been committed by a member of this House. Beyond this record we ought not to go. The Senate has the sole power to determine what are their privileges under the Constitution. This House, nor any other tribunal, the Supreme Court, nor the Executive, has no lawful cognizance of the question. The Senate have also the sole power to determine whether, in this or any case, any breach of their privileges has been committed. They have likewise the power, in usual cases, where no conflicting privilege can be pleaded, to punish such conduct, and have often exercised it.

We are possessed of their judgment in the case before us, and their adjudication of the question is conclusive on me and this House. I submit, too, sir, that the circumstances under which their judgment was pronounced give it great additional force and solemnity. What are those circum-

Evening Telegraph.

BOSTON, TUESDAY, JULY 22.

THE GERMANS IN BOSTON. There is great enthusiasm and earnestness for Fremont and Dayton among the Germans of this city. The "Anzeiger des Nordens," the German paper published here—a paper which has heretofore supported the Pierce administration—has declared against the Buchapner ticket, and come out in support of the Philadelphia nominations and platform. Last Saturday it put the names of Fremont and Dayton at the head of its columns, and put forth its declaration for freedom against the black band of Buchanneers who audaciously call themselves "Democrats." We translate a few passages from this declaration of its position:

"It is a sad sign for those interested in the progress of mankind, and a convincing proof of the power and authority of old usages, that here in the nineteenth century and in a republic which proudly calls itself the freest nation on earth, we are compelled to struggle against the most terrible kind of slavery. From the days of Washington and Jefferson to the present time, the power of the slaveholders has gone forward step by step; they have taken possession of the richest lands in the republic, and have not only seized the reins of government, but have also taken possession of the most influential positions in the public service, and, worst of all, usurped entire control of the Supreme Court, the highest judicial tribunal in the United States. When this republic was founded, it was the general opinion that slavery would soon disappear, and it was not deemed advisable even to mention the thing in the Constitution—a Constitution in which the common rights of man were for the first time distinctly put forth; but now we see the whole great North pressed down and degraded, her Senators murderously assailed in the Senate Chamber, the press gagged, and the most beautiful territories, the future happy asylums of free labor, invaded, plundered, and devastated by bands of robbers, thieves, and murderers.

And by whom is all this done? By 300,000 slaveholders and their satellites! But these traders in human flesh could not do all this without help. And who has been their helper in the business? It is the party which once stood so high as the national Democratic party. Yes, we must confess to our shame that it is the party for which we Germans have heretofore gone through thick and thin; it is the party which through the mouth of its great leader, Gen. Cass, publicly declared the Germans a disgrace to the country, because they hung in effigy at Cincinnati that Italian butcher of Freedom, Bedini; it is the party which has used the bigoted and narrow Irish and the unintelligent Germans as 'voting cattle,' and flung them aside with scorn as soon as the work was done; it is, in fine, the party which, but a few days ago, through Senator Adams of Mississippi and other Democratic Senators, passed the resolution to exclude foreign born immigrants from voting in Kansas—a right always granted in the territories heretofore and not interfered with even by the bill which repealed the Missouri Compromise.

Daily Evening Traveller.

BOSTON:
TUESDAY, JULY 22, 1856.

From our own Reporter.

ASSAULT ON MR. SUMNER.

SPEECH OF Hon. Robert B. Hall, OF MASSACHUSETTS.

In the House of Representatives of the United States,
July 12, 1856.

Mr. Speaker, I agree perfectly with those gentlemen who assert that all jurisdiction in this case is derived from the provisions of the Constitution of the United States. We know no higher source of political power, and to no other quarter can we direct our eyes to discover what are our rights to preserve the independence and efficiency of this House.

The question which we are now called upon to determine is, simply, how the Constitution is to be interpreted in those provisions which it has made in relation to the privileges of Congress as a deliberate body. The Constitution is a singular brief and comprehensive instrument, generally; but, in reference to this subject of privilege, all its provisions are contained in two articles:

"ART. I, Sec. 5. Each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members." * * * "Each House may determine the rules of its own proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

"Sec. 6. The Senators and Representatives shall, in all cases, except treason, felony, or breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective Houses, and in going to, and returning from, the same; and for any speech or debate in either House they shall not be questioned in any other place."

From the tenor of remarks made on the other side, it would seem that any sort of privilege, except described in precise words, adapted to each possible case, is a mere figment of the imagination, and all parliamentary law is set aside as irrelevant and inoperative. But, after all, nobody doubts that Congress has privileges. It cannot be the only legislative body in the world, and confessedly an improvement on all others, and yet without any privileges by which it may protect its own existence, and vindicate its dignity. The very fact of its republican constitution, as the representative of a Democracy, forbids the idea that it is not rather fortified against the turbulence of the people without, and the influence of rufianism within.

How, then, are we to interpret the doctrines of privilege which are set forth in the Constitution, few and simple as they are. The instrument, it is confessed on all sides, lays down, in expressed terms, only those great and general principles which affect the essentials of the peculiar government which it establishes, and all the arrangements necessary for the carrying on and perfection of a free government are obviously included in the fundamental principles expressed. From these general principles are to be inferred all

stances? Did a bare majority, under a partisan or other unworthy impulse, make this complaint, from sympathy with the assaulted member of their body? Were the feelings of the members so enlisted on the side of Mr. Sumner, that they could not forbear to seek a speedy revenge on his assailant? No, sir, nothing of this. This judgment was pronounced, and this complaint was made to the House by the unanimous vote of a body, the most of whom were politically, and some of whom were personally hostile to the Senator from Massachusetts: a fact very greatly to their credit, and calculated to perpetuate the favorable estimate of the character of that body in the eyes of the people. Without passion, soaring above prejudice, and scorning the influence of every base motive, those fathers of the land acted independently, wisely, and well. This circumstance commends their action to the most respectful regard of the House, and should not be without due weight in determining our action.

In some way the privileges of the Senate must be vindicated, or the Constitution is a mockery. They forbear to punish the aggressor, respecting his privilege as a member of this House. If we have, as is claimed, no jurisdiction in this matter, why did not gentlemen oppose the reception of the complaint of the Senate? Why did they allow so gross an infringement of decorum on the part of that branch, if the Constitution gives no privileges to them, or to us? Suppose, Mr. Speaker, that the Senate, holding to the same doctrines as have been set forth here, should practically deny the privileges of this House, and send their serjeant-at-arms to arrest the offender, being a member of this body, either within or without the bar, would there be any hair-splitting then? Would not the House suddenly ascertain that they had privileges? And I may ask, sir, would we be worthy to sit here did we not assert and defend them? We should, in such a case, hardly sit down to pore over the Constitution to find the letter and the words precisely applicable to such a case, but would bear ourselves as men, without a point to carry, and instinctively revert to the universal sentiment, that there is such a thing as parliamentary privilege, and that some great principle was involved in the issue.

I believe that it is an accepted maxim, that every wrong supposes redress somewhere. If, then, the Senate cannot punish this offence, and has, in accordance with the usual course, made complaint to this House, how do we reach the case? It has been said, in this debate, that the Senate should vindicate its own honor, and punish all offenders against its dignity and privilege, itself. But who does not see that, when an offence is committed by a member of a co-ordinate branch, it is against comity—against the very existence of two branches in a Legislature, that one should assume the power to punish the members of the other?—that such a course would infallibly result in striking from existence the feeble branch? It appears to me, Mr. Speaker, that the way is clear to proceed as if we had original jurisdiction, without any interference with any just prerogative of the Senate whatever. Is it not

obvious, that a violation of the privileges of the Senate by a member of this body is also a breach of the privilege of this House? It is in contempt of its dignity, a flagrant offence against parliamentary propriety, an outrage on the very spirit of free institutions, and deserves the most signal rebuke which this House can administer.

If our jurisdiction is beyond reasonable question, and we may proceed to vindicate, not merely the privileges of the Senate, infringed upon by one of our number, but to vindicate our own rights, violated as much as theirs, and even more, we ought to consider the nature of the act, as guiding us in an estimate of the punishment which should be inflicted. The evidence shows that the assault on the Senator from Massachusetts was "for words spoken in debate," and as such, it was a palpable violation of the Constitution in its express terms; and that Constitution every member of this House has sworn to support. Governor Brown, of Mississippi, had an interview with Mr. Brooks very soon after the assault was committed, and the following statement was made to him by Mr. Brooks:—"The town I suppose will be full of rumors in a few hours, and I desire my friends to understand precisely what I have done, and why I did it. Regarding the speech of Mr. Sumner as an atrocious libel on South Carolina, and a gross insult to my absent relative, Judge Butler, I determined when it was delivered to punish him for it."

Here there is no pretence that this assault was committed on account of the publication of a libel on Senator Butler, or on the State of South Carolina. This ingenious subterfuge was an afterthought of the gentleman from North Carolina, (Mr. Clingman,) who opened this debate. The fact is avowed by the assailant in the most distinct and positive terms.

Mr. Brooks, (interrupting.) I take it for granted that the gentleman from Massachusetts has no desire to do me injustice. I desire now to state to the House, that I did not hear the second day's part of Mr. Sumner's speech, which was the most objectionable part; and I heard only a small portion of the first day's.

Mr. Hall. Then will the gentleman allow me to ask him a question? Was it to the first part of the speech which he had heard that he referred to in the conversation with Governor Brown, when he said when it was delivered, I determined to punish him for it?

Mr. Brooks. I cannot pretend to be accurate.

It was a loose conversation that I had with Governor Brown. I had no reference at the time to the discrimination between hearing and reading. It was a mere accidental expression that I used. Upon my responsibility, and upon my oath if necessary, I say that I did not hear the speech made on the second day, which was the most offensive, and heard very little of the first day's speech.

Mr. Hall. The gentleman from South Carolina will understand me to speak now from the evidence in my possession.

Mr. Brooks. O! certainly, sir.

Mr. Keitt. I wish to make a remark in relation to the point raised between the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. Hall) and my colleague (Mr. Brooks). He (Mr. Brooks) said, in the conversation which ensued between my colleague and Governor Brown, that he determined on his course after he had read the speech. That has been, and still is, my decided impression; and it is enhanced by the fact, which I remember very distinctly, that he proceeded immediately to repeat what had passed between himself and Senator Sumner—that he had said to Mr. Sumner when he approached him, "I have read your speech twice and carefully" &c. That was a part of the *res gestæ*. I am sure that he told Governor Brown that he determined on his course after reading the speech.

Mr. Hall. Sir, the evidence further shows that this attack was calmly premeditated. Mr. Edmondson's testimony is conclusive on this point. He says, in substance, that Mr. Brooks informed him of his purpose; and it appears that they actually advised together as to the place where it should take place. It is not denied that the assault was violent; and notwithstanding the attempt of the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. Clingman) to turn the whole into ridicule, and the adroit mystification of the physician's testimony by the gentleman from South Carolina, (Mr. Orr,) the whole proof goes to show that it was a case of unusual and aggravated violence.

Sir, if the assault was not designed to destroy life, and I do not think it was, it was designed so to disgrace the Senator as effectually to destroy him in future influence and to paralyze further exertion in the discharge of his high duties. It was designed to brutalize him under the influence of fear, and to strike from his brow his crown of manliness, and to crush down his spirit. The natural effect of this act of Mr. Brooks was to deprive the Senate of the services and influence of one of its most distinguished members—to defraud a State of her fair representation—to insult the people who formed the constituency of Mr. Sumner.

Sir, this is not to be regarded as a mere personal quarrel—a simple Congressional broil—a fracas between individual foes. The tone of levity which gentlemen have permitted themselves to use when endeavoring to make this representation, deserves sharp rebuke. No, sir; this striking down of a Senator in his place, within the very Senate-house itself, and for words spoken in that place under the sanction of the Constitution, is a graver offence than this. It is alike an indignity to an ancient Commonwealth, and an insult to her sovereignty, which must not pass unavenged. And then, sir, above and beyond all this, the transaction assumes a graver aspect, as a violence done to great principles which underlie the fabric of this Government.

When the weapon of the member from South Carolina fell on the devoted head of the Senator from Massachusetts, it was not so much Charles Sumner that was stricken down—it was not so much the representative of the sovereignty of Massachusetts that was then overpowered, but it was freedom of speech in debate which was assaulted; a ruffian hand laid hold on a chief pillar of our liberties, and sought to shake it down. It was a ruthless attack on a right secured to the people by the Constitution; and if it is to be justified and go free of punishment, the day will begin to dawn which will witness the destruction of all our free institutions, ere its deepening twilight fades into the thick darkness of a long night of ruin and despair.

Sir, freedom of debate is the very breath of representative government. Happily, it is not necessary for us to provide safeguards against the power of the Crown, as our fathers did, when they wrested this liberty from the hand of power. We need not to strive, as have the Commons of England, for this privilege, from the time when they were summoned by Henry IV, down through all the reigns, until they so nobly vindicated it in the Parliament of Charles I, when Hampden and Pym and Sir John Elliot asserted and triumphantly sustained it. Our danger is from the other side; and if we cannot preserve this right, not merely against the encroachments of the Executive, but the terrorism of ruffianly parties amongst ourselves, our boasted liberty will become a very vulgar and cruel despotism.

It is the high prerogative of the people, as ancient as their enfranchisement, to discuss public measures and public men. It is beyond controversy; it is natural and indefeasible; it is not to be challenged any more than the right of the commonest to breathe the air, or to walk the earth. A right in private life—it is a duty in public life. It is even rather to be tolerated in some excess than, by the least restriction, to accommodate itself to tyranny, or to become the instrument of oppression. It is honorable to stand out on the extreme verge of that right, and sternly to defy whoever would seek to thrust it down. The true man will defend it at all times and under

all circumstances, like what may; and if he can leave no other inheritance to his children, he will enrich them with the precious legacy of free principles, and the example of a manly, independent, and constitutional defence of them.

"This is true liberty, when freeborn men, Having to advise the public, may speak free; Which he who can, and will, deserves high praise: Who neither can, nor will, may hold his peace: What can be juster in a State than this?"

Sir, this is as old as Euripides, and was thought worthy to be translated by John Milton.

The effect of this outrage on the reputation of Congress and the country ought to have due consideration. Are the representative chambers of the freest and most enlightened people on the earth to become the theatre of such scenes as make up the history of the Polish Diet—where men sat in mail, and whose deliberations were overawed and controlled by the sword? Is the reign of terror, when life and limb are imperiled for the fearless discharge of legislative duty, to be inaugurated, and exceed the atrocities of French history by not even going through the mockeries of legal forms?

The gentleman from North Carolina, (Mr. Clingman,) from the spirit of whose speech we must judge "would have the cudgel hallowed and hung over the altar," says that many such scenes have occurred before, and have been passed over without notice, and seems to imply that such things are to be expected in an American Congress. "Pity 'tis, 'tis true," so far as the past is concerned. But what other affray can compare with this outrage in all the elements of wrong? And is it not time that the spirit of lawless violence should be restrained? God forbid that the erroneous and faulty past should be a justification for the present and the future! Your Congress will become a hissing and a byword at home, and be the synonym for whatever is despicable abroad. Already, voices of condemnation come up from the people, for your delay in executing justice in this matter. Massachusetts palpitates with indignation that the crown of her sovereignty, which has been trampled in the dust, is not restored to its original lustre by your care.

The free States seem to have but one voice in reprobating this outrage on their birthright, and are impatient at the tardy march of retribution. There is, too, a conservative South—all there are not extreme men, devoting all to their section and yielding nothing for their country—and these wait for your judgment. From abroad, responses have already come. The Times, in speaking of Mr. Crampton's dismissal, affirms the difficulty of finding a minister to be sent to Washington on account of the uncongential state of things here, and in its reproaches of the barbarism which it affirms to exist, cites as the chief evidence that our legislators cannot refrain from cudgeling each other in the Senate-house."

I speak from authentic information when I say, that all over Europe, in *cafés*, in *salons*, in hotels and in palaces, this assault is the subject of anxious inquiry and common conversation, to the detriment of our national reputation, and to the serious damage of the cause of liberalism.—If our experiment of free government is to develop such results as this, will the struggle for free chambers and constitutional liberty be aided in Sardinia, in France, in Germany, or in Italy? If our tree of liberty bears such bitter fruit, its leaves will scarcely be sought for the healing of the oppressed nations.

Now, sir, what justification is attempted to be set up? Why, we are told that the relative of Mr. Brooks and the reputation of his State were attacked. I do not deny that Mr. Brooks thought it was his duty to act as champion of his family and State. There is no doubt that his mind was fully possessed by this delusion. But who gave him mission? By what authority has he been constituted the censor of debate, and the Ajax of South Carolina? Why should he, of all other men, assume the guardianship of the Senate and subjugate them into a mere congregation of servile tools who may speak only what they are permitted to speak, under correction of the cudgel? I know not the degree of consanguinity or affinity that exists between the Senator from South Carolina and Mr. Brooks; but, whatever it may be, near or remote—though it should be so near as that of the relation of a son, to a father, by the common law, no such words as were used by Mr. Sumner, or which could be used by him, or others, are a justification for violence. The vindication of family fame is not to be enforced by blows in the chief council of the nation.

But it is said that the speech of Mr. Sumner was unprecedentedly severe, and on this floor it has been denounced as such, in a series of epithets, by the gentleman from North Carolina, which shows how well qualified he is to be the judge. Sir, that speech was severe—and designed to be severe; so far as it was personal, it was in retaliation for a long series of injuries and volutes of abuse. But it is yet to be proved that it was unparliamentary, and so beyond not once interrupted by calls to order by the listening Senate, and proceeded unchecked to his close. Compared with other speeches in the same branch, it is scarcely more severe than many which have been uttered there, and particularly not more exceptionable to the fastidious than those of his opponent.

Sir, what was the subject of that speech—what was the occasion of its delivery, and what the end

to be accomplished by it? It was no less than to protect a wide Territory from the curse of slavery, to vindicate the principles of freedom, and to rebuke the arrogance and assumptions of the slave power. It was becoming on such a theme that its advocate should be impassioned, and that his utterances should be words of fire. Is it a new thing for apostles of liberty to pour out their souls in eloquent voices, and to use strong Saxon, the native tongue of freedom, exhausting its treasures of brave words? Do we criticize coolly Hamphden, or Sidney? Would we wish that Samuel Adams had waked the echoes of Faneuil Hall less forcibly? Would we rebuke Patrick Henry for his fierce denunciations of British oppression, and his vituperation of the king? Do we to-day censure James Otis for his bold words, spoken under the liberty tree in Boston, and commend the ruffian whose brutal blows were the occasion of the obscuration of his intellect, and who lingered afterwards till the lightning's flash emancipated his darkened spirit—a death the Romans would have esteemed a favor from the gods?

Sir, in those days South Carolina, and the gallant South, had no words of condemnation for golden utterances for liberty. She generously applauded the patriots of the Revolution, and all these names are dear to her, as to us. Why should South Carolina to-day be so unlike the South Carolina of the times which tried men's souls?

Sir, if Mr. Sumner's speech needed castigation, it might have been safely left to the reply of the Senator from South Carolina, who has proved on other occasions, before and since, that he is altogether sufficient to cross weapons in such an encounter, and to take summary and signal revenge.

We are told, on high authority, that if Mr. Brooks had failed to discharge this assumed duty, he could not go back to South Carolina. If this is so, a most unfortunate and extraordinary state of things exists in the Palmetto State. I congratulate myself and the country, that had any Massachusetts member invaded the sanctity of the Senate chamber, and avenged the affronts of Massachusetts's favorite Senator by brutal violence, he could not have gone back to the old Bay State except as an outcast and a stranger. Sir, Massachusetts loves free institutions too well—she is too faithful to her obligations to law and order, to tolerate such an offence against the majesty of free government, even though the offender should sin through too jealous a regard for her good name.

Mr. Speaker, if this proceeding was designed to effect anything beyond personal injury to Mr. Sumner, it was a capital blunder. It is well that this should be distinctly understood by all concerned. The power which guided the hand of the member from South Carolina in this assault was the power of slavery. Its mandate prompted the act: at its behest the deed was done. The arrogance and assumption of that power culminated here. But, sir, it is an indication of an insane desperation, when the attempt is made to crush out free speech by blows. Slavery no doubt dreads, as its most direful enemy, the liberty of free discussion; but this adversary can be vanquished in no other way but by its own weapons. So soon as the force is evoked and applied, the rebound is terrible. The free tongue will not be paralyzed by force.

The opposition to slavery, as now organized, is constitutional and legal. It is also conscientious. It is founded on the fixed and sober conviction, that the spread of slavery is destructive to the interests of the people and dangerous to the stability of the Government. All experience confirms these statements. There is no band of fanatics at the North to be feared. There is no longer only an outpouring of feeling on this subject by tender consciences and gentle natures. Sentiment has crystallized into principle, and it has adamant strength. The repeal of the Missouri compromise is fast uniting the North into a solid phalanx, who insist on the reparation of a violated faith, and who insist likewise on some equivalent for the wrongs of which they complain.

Their deep determination must find a way for the accomplishment of their fixed purpose to limit the further extension of this evil in the Territories, which are the common property of the North and the South. Under the influence of this purpose they will march steadily on to their success. Outbreaks of violence will not deter them, menaces will not overawe them, scorn will not abash them. In the panoply of well-ascertained right, they go forth to the encounter—consciously invincible. They raise the battle-cry of their fathers, and garner up their hopes in their fathers' God.

They know the limit of constitutional opposition, and to that limit they will walk and walk fearlessly. If they can find in the history of their country any precedent for stepping over it, I believe they are not disposed to follow it. While struggling for the right, they will be careful always to preserve the moral support of a simple integrity to back up their determination. If, therefore, it is the purpose of this resort to force to check freedom of inquiry, discussion and debate, such a purpose cannot be executed. I repeat, sir, it is a capital blunder; and it was Tallyrand, I believe, who uttered that stinging sentiment, that a blunder is worse than a crime.

Of course I can come to no other conclusion in this matter than that the report of the committee should be adopted, and the course they recommend should be pursued. Let the House vindicate

its own privileges, which are the privileges of the people, and signally rebuke the unparalleled outrage which has been committed. As a Massachusetts man, I can do no less than accede to the request of her Legislature, which I heartily approve. Their resolutions have been ridiculed on this floor in the course of the debate; but such shafts as these are powerless. The resolutions are right. Sir, Massachusetts has a right to present them; and I am ready to declare that they express the sentiments of the vast majority of her people.

It has become somewhat fashionable in this Congress to assail Massachusetts. Happily she needs no defence. There is her history—her glorious past, her prosperous present, her promising future. She can afford to smile, while envy snarls, or malice rages. But if these assaults are designed to intimidate her, she points you to her escutcheon, and beneath her cognizance of the mailed arm her legend reads: "*Ense petit placidam, sub libertate quietem.*"

But, Mr. Speaker, we must not forget, in the excitement of these controversies, that we are all countrymen—that we have a common inheritance in the great rights which are our blessings and our pride. I confess to as much State pride as any man. It may be an infirmity in Massachusetts men, who are native to her soil, but it is shared in kind by the Virginian and the Carolinian. The reason undoubtedly is, that we are more homogeneous as a people than the mixed population of some other States. Each has an ancestry distinct and peculiar, whether Cavalier, Huguenot, or Paritan.

It is a generous infirmity—at least, there is no baseness in it, and its inspirations are often beneficial and sometimes magnanimous. It only becomes wrong when it furnishes occasion for strife. We should guard against its influence when it interferes with a lofty generous American patriotism. "*E pluribus unum*" is the motto of our shield; and no blow aimed at one of the states but it is felt throughout the electric chain which binds them all in unity. We sit here the representatives of the country; let the common fame and interest of that country be our care. If that fame is dishonored by the offence which has been committed, let us frankly and fearlessly say so, and vindicate the privileges of our birthright.

Boston Journal.

TUESDAY EVENING, JULY 22, 1856.

KANSAS MEETING IN WATERTOWN. A meeting of the friends of Kansas, in favor of assisting the people in the maintenance of free principles, and ready to contribute "Material Aid" to the distressed inhabitants of that unfortunate territory, was held in the Town Hall, in Watertown, on Monday evening, to raise funds in aid of Freedom in that section, and to hear addresses from J. P. Lowry, Esq. of Kansas, J. M. S. Williams of Cambridge, and F. B. Sanborn of Concord.

Mr. Lowry went to Kansas as the private secretary of Gov. Reeder; went with the conviction of the equal right which the North had with South in the settlement of that fair country. He went out an avowed friend of the administration, but returned disgusted with the outrageous acts perpetrated by the ruffians of Southern Missouri, and shielded by the administration of Franklin Pierce. He requested the prayer of all good people for the mistake of a lifetime in voting for Pierce; for the error in reparation for which he had now resolved to give his life and talents to the cause of freedom in Kansas. The question to-day is, will the descendants of the sires of the Revolution, now in 1856, vindicate the acts of their fathers in 1776. If any one supposes for a moment that the lawless violence of the propagandists of slavery are the result of momentary impulse, resulting from the efforts of the North to people Kansas with free settlers, you are mistaken. It has ever been the avowed purpose of the South to carry slavery into the territories, and before the existence of the Emigrant Aid Society, the South had established a system whereby to force slavery upon Kansas. Mr. L. spoke long and ably, appealing to the sympathies as well as reason of his hearers, and had the satisfaction of seeing his call for aid responded to in the sum of several hundred dollars before he left the hall.

A series of resolutions expressive of the sense of the meeting were unanimously adopted, and a committee appointed to solicit subscriptions, consisting Messrs. Ed. Bangs, J. Crafts, J. A. Locke, and J. A. Holden, Esqs.

NEBRASKA TERRITORY AND SLAVERY. The subjoined communication was made to a gentleman at Topeka, Kansas. The statements are important, especially in view of the fact that the slavery propagandists virtually offered to give Nebraska to freedom, if the North would not in-

terfere with the introduction of the "divine institution" into Kansas:

NEBRASKA CITY, June 28.

Dear Sir: So far, in the discussion of the question and prospects of the extension of slavery into the territories, the people of the North have passed by Nebraska as if it were a victim. They have supposed that Nebraska was safe for freedom, let the result of the contest in her sister Territory be whatever it might. But, if Kansas falls, all is lost; Nebraska will become an easy conquest to the slave power.

In proof of this assertion, satisfactory proof is not wanting. Of the four newspapers in Nebraska, not one has ever dared to utter a single word in favor of freedom, either there or in Kansas; on the contrary, have always opposed the Free State men in the latter, as bitterly as Stringfellow's *Squatter Sovereign*, or any of the border presses. The outrage on Senator Sumner they pass silently by, or in congratulation of *chevalier Brooks*.

Gov. Lizard, and most of the other appointees of the President, are warmly in favor of the introduction of slavery. Until the commencement of immigration the present spring—since which time the new settlers have been of a most Northern character than previously—the majority of the people of the Territory, especially of the portion of it lying South of the Platte river, were in favor of ignoring freedom, if not directly establishing slavery. By ignoring freedom is understood the policy which the slavery propagandists have deemed best to pursue in that Territory—that of branding as treason every attempt to make it free, and finally establishing a constitution entirely silent on the question. The Legislature is claimed, could easily regulate that matter [but that body would also adopt the ignoring principle, until the stampede of a few slaves, aided by whites, would make it necessary to directly acknowledge its existence, by providing for the punishment of persons giving such aid. Slavery already exists here; and in so thinly a populated country, with no laws as yet to punish the carrying away of slaves, it is not so difficult to treat them kindly; and Northern, especially dough-faces—are prompted to this good treatment, and told that such is universal at the South—that slavery is not half so bad as they are accustomed to suppose it. More slaves are on their way there; and it is asked of the ignorant from all sections, what is to be done with the slaves of the Territory when a Constitution is formed? For nearly all the Southern people are many from the North, with much preference in slavery legalized, to having a tier tribe negroes about them.]

Nearly all the towns are owned by Pro-Slavery men, who give employment to a great many of the lowest class of citizens, and on election days put tickets into their hands, and send them to the polls, like sheep to the shambles.

The Methodist Episcopal Church is as bad reposed there as in Missouri. Every man who dares to express a word of sympathy with Kansas, is loaded with every supposed disgraceful epithet imaginable. Concentrated efforts are being made to ruin the business of anti-slavery men, and threats of mobbing are not infrequent. The pro-slavery party manifested great joy on learning the sack of Lawrence, and arrest of Robinson, Brown, and other prominent Free State men; and many have been made to express a desire to enlist in the ranks of the Missouri class. So great is the prejudice against anti-slavery men, that many of the prominent ones hardly consider their lives as safe. They place no confidence in the Courts, for murderers find in them protection, not punishment; their only confidence is in the determination of their friends to revenge the wrongs which any of their number may receive on political accounts.

And besides these disadvantages to freedom in the Territory, as great ones are in readiness to be brought from without, as in the case of Kansas shortly before the election last fall. In a conversation between Judge Bradford, one of the proprietors of Nebraska City, and Gen. Whitfield, the latter offered to take up an army sufficiently large to carry the election for the pro-slavery ticket. He said he was able to do so, and would if they required it; that the Border Ruffians were determined to make Nebraska a slave State also. As that party were confident of electing their men, the requisition was never made; what course would have been pursued had that party been a minority can only be left to speculation.

A train of emigrants which passed through Nebraska on their way to Kansas, by adopting a ruse, found many who have heretofore professed to be rather partial towards the institutions of the Free States, but in reality, strongly in favor of the establishment of the peculiar institution.

One addressed a man of considerable influence in the southern part of the Territory, something like this: "I tell you what, friend, I've got sick of trying to farm in the North; they won't allow a fellow to hold slaves, or let him treat a white laborer of service than as an equal; I want to go where I can drive things; I believe that Kansas will be a slave State—that our glorious Democratic party will make it one, and I'm going there."

"Oh," replied the gentleman addressed, "you need have no fear of stopping in Nebraska, if that is your politics, for there is a strong determination here to make Nebraska a slave State, and I've no kind of doubt but that we shall triumph in success."

Any careful observer will see that this disposition among influential men is far from being uncommon.

J. H. KAPE.

From Trumbull county, Western Reserve. P. S. Judge Bradford made the statement of his conversation with General Whitfield in the office of the Nebraska City News, on the evening previous to the last election for delegate to Congress. I was in the office at the time, and overheard him. I have resided in Nebraska City a year. J. H. K.

TO JAMES REDPATH, TOPEKA, KANSAS.

Daily Citizen and News.

Lowell, Wednesday, July 23, 1856.

WIND FROM THE POST OFFICE. The Postmaster ground out in his organ, yesterday, a two-column article on "Rebellion in Kansas." He says it is universally admitted that there is "difficulty and wrong" in Kan-

NEW-YORK, TUESDAY, JULY 22, 1856.

A Curious Revelation.

Governor REEDER, appointed Governor of Kansas Territory by President PIERCE, was afterwards removed from that office by him, professedly because he had engaged in unlawful and improper real estate speculations. Every man of ordinary political sagacity knew at the time that this was a mere pretext; and that Gov. REEDER's removal was really effected by the Border Ruffians of Missouri, because the course he had taken interfered with the accomplishment of their plans. The authentic history of this transaction is given in another part of this morning's paper,—as sworn to by Gov. REEDER himself, upon examination, before the Congressional Committee appointed to investigate the affairs of Kansas. It is a curious chapter of the secret political history of the times.

From this statement it appears that President PIERCE informed Gov. REEDER, in a personal interview in the Spring of 1855, that the most urgent demands had been made for his removal—and that "Gen. ARCHISON pressed it in the most excited manner, and would listen to no reasoning at all." He further assured him, after full explanations had been made, that he was perfectly satisfied that his purchases of town lots were all right, and that all his proceedings in Kansas met his entire approbation. At subsequent interviews he repeated these assurances,—declaring his conviction that his whole course had been perfectly proper, and that the complaints brought against him were wholly without foundation. But, at the same time, in consequence of the pressure upon him from Gen. ARCHISON and others, he desired Gov. REEDER to resign his office. He endeavored to work upon his fears,—saying that it would be *unwise* for him to return to Kansas,—that his life might be taken, and that the whole North would be inflamed. Finding these hints ineffectual, and that Gov. REEDER would not resign, he then proposed to *remove him*, in a way to obviate all his objections,—asking him to send him a memorial upon the subject and promising, in his letter of removal, to place it entirely upon grounds of expediency, to exonerate him from all blame, to express the most unqualified approbation of his official conduct, and to *give him the Mission to China!* Finding that this last engagement could not be kept, in consequence of Mr. McLANE's intention not to return, he promised to give him some other office, equally or more desirable. A good deal of time was consumed in these negotiations,—the President himself preparing drafts of letters which he wished Governor REEDER to sign, and the latter declining to sign them because they were evidently intended to put him in the attitude of consenting to his own removal. The result of the whole was a declaration, on the part of the President, that if he removed him it would be, not on account of his official action, but of his land speculations,—those very acts of which he had previously expressed his entire approval.

In all this President PIERCE was endeavoring to obtain a colorable pretext for doing an act, which his own judgment condemned, but which the Pro-Slavery propaganda required at his hands. Mr. ARCHISON had demanded REEDER's removal;—the President had promised it;—and the next question was, how it could best be done. He sought to intimidate,—then to coax, and finally to *bribe* Governor REEDER into consenting to his own removal.

But could he yet my country—a cloud is in the West—
And his spreading o'er each mountain and hollow,
While the thunderbolts of Freedom are dashing from
its crest,
Giving promise of a bright day to-morrow.
The thunderbolts of Freedom are flashing from its
crest,
Giving promise of a bright-day to-morrow.
We believe.

And riding on the whirlwind, and managing the gale,
Advances the hero of the mountain,
No stain on his escutcheon, no blot upon his name,
And he pledges us from Liberty's pure fountain.
All hail then to *Fremont*, unsullied in his fame,
Here's a health to him from Liberty's pure fountain.
Yes indeed.

Then rally round his banner, the banner of the Free,
While the office hunting pack skulk in sorrow,
The Champion of Freedom, he *rears* and he will be,
And we know where he will be to-morrow.
Fremont then and Freedom our battle cry shall be,
For we know where he will be to-morrow.
Yes indeed.

P. Q. R.

Lawrence, July 19th, 1855.

Portland Advertiser.

Tuesday Morning July 22, 1856.

[For the Advertiser.]
FREMONT SONG.

Air—"America."

Sons of our northern land,
Of the old patriot band,
Rouse for the fight.
Ready to "do or die."
Ring out your battle cry
Fremont and victory,
God and the right.

Sons of those sires who brought
Old England's sons to nought.
By land and sea,
Uphold your country's fame!
Stain not her glorious name
With Slavery's deeds of shame,
Dare to be free!

Stand for your western plains
Crimsoned with martyr stains,
Plant now your feet,
Yield not a single rood,
You need not be subdued,
Stand as your fathers stood,
Sound no retreat!

Follow your leader on!
Young Empire's chosen son
Leads in the fight.
Fling your proud flag on high,
Ring out your battle cry,
Fremont and victory,
God and the right.

BY J. W. C.

Brunswick, July 1856.

Whig and Courier.

Wheeler & Lynde, Proprietors.

TUESDAY, JULY 22, 1856.

The following is an extract of a letter from a well known and highly respected old line Penobscot County Democrat, now three years in Kansas:

"For one, (and when I speak my own sentiment I speak the opinion of the Freemen of Kansas generally,) I can see no relief *but* in the triumph of the REPUBLICAN PARTY in the coming campaign. If that fails, the last vestige of Freedom will be crushed out of Kansas or we must take civil war as an alternative."
Jeffersonian.

...ant Aid Society, Sharpe's rifles and abolitionists. We have no reason to find fault with the Postmaster's wind, which seems to be excellent this hot weather; but he has no business to go over with the same rigmarole of all the "border-ruffian" apologists, without improving upon them. The man is exceedingly generous; he says he is "little disposed to charge treason" upon any of his fellow-citizens for sympathizing with the free-state men, for which, doubtless, they will be very grateful. Other than this we do not see a paragraph worthy of consideration, save where he says the people of the territory, instead of resisting the usurpation of their rights, should have "petitioned Congress for a redress of grievances." This is a little remarkable, as it reminds us that about a year ago the Postmaster would have insisted that Congress has no right to interfere with the domestic concerns of the territories. Thus do the Buchaneers and border ruffians play the game of "fast and loose," expecting the people are fools enough to follow their crooked courses.

Journal and Courier.

Lowell, Tuesday, July 22, 1856.

WESTWARD HO!—KANSAS. Wm. W. Murray, Edward P. Abbott, James A. Storer, Jas. O. Sherman, Calvin G. Sherman and C. H. Thompson, left here yesterday afternoon for Kansas via Iowa City—each furnished with sixty-two dollars by the Kansas organization of this city. Another company is to leave Lowell Monday for the same Territory

KANSAS MEETING AT BILLERICA—FREMONT CLUB ORGANIZING. Quite a large number of the citizens of Billerica—ladies and gentlemen—assembled in the town hall last evening, to take into consideration Kansas matters. The meeting was addressed by Mr Patterson, editor of Parkville Luminary, which was destroyed by the border ruffians, and T. Peaton, Esq., of this city. An auxiliary aid society was formed, of which Gordon Parker was appointed president, and Thomas F. Talbot, secretary and treasurer. The amount contributed is to be placed at the disposal of the county organization. We are informed that quite a large sum has already been subscribed. The notice of a meeting on Monday evening next was given, for the formation of a Fremont Club, and it was thought that every man in town would come into the organization—and the women too.

Lawrence Courier.

LAWRENCE, JULY 22, 1856.

A Song for the Times.

The times are out of joint—true men are hard to get,
Our patriots are looking up in sorrow,
"The people all look blue—and we're all in a fret,"
For Buchanan is a hard dose to swallow.
He has wheeled about and turned about, and eaten
up himself;
Oh! Buchanan is a hard dose to swallow.
Yes, indeed.
Then Millard of the Empire, we thought him once a
man,
That he nullifies and falsifies we sorrow,
In striving to be President and fixing up his plan,
We cannot tell where he'll be to-morrow,
We think he's been to Kinderhook at school to
Matty Van,
We cannot say where he'll be to-morrow.
No indeed.

This is but one of a thousand instances where the patronage of the Government has been used directly to promote the designs of the slaveholding interest. The disclosures made in this testimony of Governor REEDER convict President PIKE of a degree of pusillanimous subserviency and of unprincipled treachery of which even his best friends hitherto have not deemed him capable.

Popular Sovereignty.

The Albany Atlas and Argus affects still to believe in the doctrine of Popular Sovereignty. It quotes from the Nebraska bill the clause, which Mr. BENTON styled the "stump speech in its belly,"—and which declares that the "true intent and meaning of the act," is "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;" and comments upon it thus:—

"We invite a careful examination of the portion of the Kansas act above quoted, (being, as we have before said, all which relates to Slavery,) from which it will be seen that it in no way establishes Slavery or sanctions it, or expresses any opinion concerning it: it simply leaves the matter to be acted on by the actual settlers of the Territory, as they may see fit. If they desire Slavery, they can permit it, if not, they can prohibit it. They possess the same control over it which the people of every State in the Union constantly exercise within their respective limits, without objections from any quarter."

These are very broad assertions: and it is scarcely too much to say that when it made them, the Atlas and Argus was well aware that the Democratic Party, as represented at Cincinnati, does not hold the ground here attributed to it, and that its candidate for the Presidency expressly repudiates it. The Atlas asserts that the people of the Territory can prohibit Slavery therein if they choose:—that Slavery can be excluded from Kansas while it remains a Territory, if the people of Kansas see fit to exclude it. This is presented as the language and meaning of the Nebraska bill. That bill has no such meaning; its language does not assert any such doctrine:—no such doctrine is asserted in the Cincinnati Platform, or by any recognized organ of the Democratic Party:—on the contrary, it is expressly evaded by them all, and is openly repudiated by Mr. BUCHANAN.

The Nebraska bill, it will be observed, asserts that its true intent and meaning is to leave the people of every Territory free to "form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States." Now, this last clause looks innocent and right:—but it was inserted for the express purpose of nullifying the rest. For the Southern doctrine is that the Constitution protects a slaveholder in carrying his slaves into a Territory:—and that consequently the people, if subject to the Constitution, have no right to forbid it. The true "intent and meaning" of the Nebraska bill is, therefore, simply this,—that the people of a Territory may regulate Slavery as they like—only they must not prohibit it, as that would be contrary to the Constitution of the United States. The Atlas and Argus will remember that when Senator DOUGLAS was asked directly by Senator TRUMBULL, a few weeks since, whether he believed that the people of Kansas had a right, under the Nebraska bill, to prohibit Slavery, he evaded the query, and said that was a judicial question which he would not decide.

The Cincinnati platform steers equally clear of indorsing any such doctrine as the Atlas and Argus ascribes to the Nebraska bill. It declares that

"The American Democracy recognize and adopt the principles contained in the organic laws estab-

lishing the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska as embodying the only sound and safe solution of the "Slavery question" upon which the great national idea of the people of this whole country can repose in its determined conservatism of the Union—Non-interference by Congress with Slavery, in State and Territory or in the District of Columbia."

It thus denies the right of Congress to interfere with Slavery in any Territory. But when it comes to speak of the rights of the People of the Territory, it does it thus;

Resolved, That we recognize the right of the people of all Territories, including Kansas and Nebraska, acting through the legally and fairly-expressed will of a majority of actual residents, and whenever the number of their inhabitants justifies it, to form a Constitution, with or without domestic Slavery, and be admitted into the Union upon terms of perfect equality with the other States.

Here, it will be observed, there is no recognition whatever of the right of the people to exclude Slavery from Kansas while it remains a Territory:—but only,—when they are sufficiently numerous,—to form a State Constitution, with or without Slavery, as they may see fit. This is a very different thing. All that the South has contended for, is here tacitly conceded—namely, that the Constitution carries Slavery, or protects it when carried, into a Territory:—and that so long as it remains a Territory, neither Congress nor the people thereof have any right to exclude it. This is directly the reverse of the doctrine asserted by the Atlas and Argus. And it is fully and emphatically indorsed by Mr. BUCHANAN, —in the following extract of a letter, which in 1848 he addressed to T. SANDFORD, Esq., of Alabama:

WASHINGTON, Aug. 21, 1848.

DEAR SIR: I have just received yours of the 12th inst., in which you submit to me the following paragraph, and ask whether it contains an accurate version of the conversation between us, concerning my Berks County letter, on the occasion to which you refer:

"Happening to meet Mr. BUCHANAN at the President's levee, on Friday evening, I called his attention to this letter, and asked him if he intended to be understood as claiming that the population of a Territory in an unorganized capacity, had the right to control the question of Slavery in such Territory. He declared that no such idea had ever been maintained by him; that the construction put upon his language by Mr. YANNEY was a perversion of its plain and obvious meaning; that, in his opinion, the inhabitants of a Territory, as such, had no political rights, [al though they possessed all the private rights of American citizens;] that they had no power whatever over the SUBJECT OF SLAVERY, and they could neither interdict nor establish it, except when assembled in Convention to form a State Constitution. He further authorized me to request me to make any public use of these declarations that I might think proper, to correct any impression which Mr. YANNEY'S construction of his language in the Berks letter might have made."

With the addition which I have inserted between brackets, this statement is SUBSTANTIALLY AND ALMOST LITERALLY CORRECT, according to my recollection.

Yours, very truly,

JAMES BUCHANAN.

Mr. BUCHANAN, the Cincinnati platform, and the Nebraska bill, are here on one side of this question, and the Atlas and Argus seems to be on the other. Under these circumstances that journal must excuse us for looking beyond its columns for an authoritative exposition of Democratic doctrine upon this subject.

The Ground Taken.

The minority report of Mr. OLIVER, of the Kansas Investigating Committee, has been submitted to Congress, and is included in the official publication. The following are its conclusions:—

In conclusion, the undersigned begs to report the following facts and conclusions, as he believes, established by the testimony and sanctioned by the law:

First—That at the first election held in the Territory under the organic act, for delegate to Congress, Gen. JOHN W. WHITFIELD received a plurality of the legal votes cast, and was duly elected such delegate, as stated in the majority report.

Second—That the Territorial Legislature was a legally-constituted body, and had power to pass valid laws, and their enactments are therefore valid.

Third—That these laws, when appealed to, have been used for the protection of life, liberty and property, and for the maintenance of law and order in the Territory.

Fourth—That the election under which the sitting delegate, JOHN W. WHITFIELD, was held, was in pursuance of valid law, and should be regarded as a valid election.

Fifth—That as said Whitfield, at said election, received a large number of legal votes without opposition, he was duly elected as a delegate to

this body, and is entitled to a seat on this floor as such.

Sixth—That the election under which the contesting delegate, ANDREW H. REEDER, claims his seat, was not held under any law, but in contemptuous disregard of a law; and that it should only be regarded as the expression of a band of malcontents and revolutionists, and consequently should be wholly disregarded by the House.

Seventh—As to whether or not ANDREW H. REEDER received a greater number of votes of resident citizens on the 9th than J. W. WHITFIELD did on the 1st of October, 1855, no testimony was taken by the Committee so far as the undersigned knows, nor is it material to the issue.

All of which is, respectfully submitted.

M. OLIVER.

We are glad to see the issue thus boldly made. In declaring the Kansas Legislature to be a legally-constituted body, and its enactments valid, Mr. OLIVER adheres closely to the Democratic programme, although he is thus compelled to take ground from which many of that party shrink. The evidence taken before the Committee, of which Mr. OLIVER was one, shows conclusively how the members of this "Legislature" were elected. There were eighteen districts:—and, according to the census returns, there were but 2,905 legal votes in them all. Yet 5,427 votes were returned as having been cast for Pro-Slavery candidates, 791 for Free-State candidates, and 89 scattering—making a total of 6,307. Of the whole number of votes cast it was proved that only 1,410 were cast by legal voters—while 4,908 were illegal votes. These illegal votes were cast by men from Missouri, who had been distributed in advance and sent into every Council District in the Territory, and into every Representative District but one. In every district these illegal votes outnumbered the legal votes; and the elections were entirely controlled by them.

This is the way in which this "legally-constituted Legislature" was elected.

AFFAIRS IN KANSAS.

The New Douglas Bill—Stoppage of Emigration—More Outrages, &c.

Correspondence of the New-York Daily Times.

LAWRENCE, Kansas, Friday, July 11, 1856.

THE DOUGLAS BILL.

The action of Congress upon the bill emanating from the Senate Territorial Committee, excites alarm and fills the minds of our people with the most gloomy apprehensions. Until Congress can recall the effects of the past two years of barbaric outrage heaped upon us by the Administration, its appointees and its supporters, it is useless for them to originate or to pass bills looking to a future settlement of the Slavery question here. By the adoption of the Topeka Constitution, the real citizens of Kansas have already settled that question. To accept any new proposition now, would be simply to open anew the murderous strife which, for the past two years, has existed on our air and virgin soil. When Congress can give back to us the hundreds who have been compelled to flee from the remorseless persecutions of the Administration's Governor, Judges and Marshals; when it repays us for the time we have taken from our business pursuits in order to protect ourselves and families from the murderous incursions of legalized mobs; when it can restore the property, the LIVES and the FAITH of our people in the justice of their Government; when it can restore to us the thousands of freedom-loving emigrants, whose eyes have longingly turned towards Kansas, but whom fear and a desire for a peaceful home have driven to other Territories and States; when it can return to us all these, a proposition of the kind proposed would bear the semblance of fairness.

EMIGRATION STOPPED.

The Missouri River is now closed to the emigrant from the Free States. Emigrants traveling overland through Missouri with their families are stopped, their wagons are searched and plundered, and the emigrants, under armed escort, compelled to return. If the emigrant traveling far from the direct route succeeds, after expensive burdens and almost insufferable hardships, in finding his way through Nebraska—even then he is not secure—for up to the northern borders of the Territory have marched Marshal DONALDSON'S chivalric brigands, armed with national Democratic muskets, to intercept him there. Having surrounded the Territory with a murderous crew of robbers, and effectually secured it from any emigration from the

Free North, having the United States troops in the Territory, under command of SHANNON, to quell any rising of the people against such monstrous aggressions, and to enforce the bogus laws; having full possession of all the Territorial offices, from the Judge of the United States Court down to the lowest officer known to their Statutes, a magnificent opportunity is thus afforded to DORGLAS to produce a bill, seemingly fair, by which he proposes to bamboozle the North. Let the people read the following testimony of an overland emigrant from Illinois and decide whether they will ask us to submit to the humbug.

STATEMENT OF JAMES O. BALDWIN.

Eight families, with twelve teams, started from McLean County, Illinois, on the 22d of May. Our party consisted of the family of JOHN VETETO, two sons of VETETO, with their families; BENJ. DRAPER and family, JOHN WORCESTER and family, JAMES HANCOCK and family, R. ROBERTS and family, DIBBLE and family. Besides these, there were three teams, containing two families from Iowa, joined us. We had plows, cultivators, furniture and camp utensils with us. We traveled to within four miles of Platte City without molestation. We intended crossing the river into the Territory at Leavenworth City. On Tuesday, June 24, in the morning, while traveling on the State road, we were stopped by about 150 men, armed with U. S. muskets, with bayonets, double and single-barreled guns, revolvers and bowie-knives. The most of them had U. S. muskets. They stopped us, and one of them asked where we were from, and where we were going to. I told him. He then said, "I suppose you have heard we don't allow any movers to go through here into the Territory—we stop all." They told us they would have to search our wagons, and see if we had any arms aboard. One man from Iowa objected. They told him to shut up, for they would do it, and one man drew a revolver upon him and commanded him to be quiet. They searched the wagons, and took our guns away from us. We all had guns with us. It was reported that they took money from some of the emigrants. They gave receipts for the guns. The receipts read as follows: "Received of— (describing so many guns,) to be deposited with the County Clerk of Platte County, to be delivered up at the end of war." These receipts were signed by two men, whom they said were responsible. We were detained there two hours. After taking our guns, they took a vote to see whether we should have them and go back. All seemed to favor it, excepting a Mr. WALKER, a Mr. HYDEN, and another man, who influenced them to such a degree as to prevent it. They told us it was dangerous for us to come into the Territory, that we should be murdered and our property taken away from us. We requested permission to remain in Platte County until we could get into the Territory—this they refused. They detailed a guard of eight men, to take us back as far as Liberty. ROBERT TATE was Captain of the guard. At Liberty they placed us in charge of the leading men, one of whom was named Judge THOMPSON. We encamped there at noon, when we were informed by the men having us in charge that we were at liberty to go anywhere we pleased, excepting to the Territory. We remained there two days, when we traveled some ten miles on the road to Hainesville, where we rented houses and now remain waiting for a cessation of hostilities. On last Monday I left my friends for the purpose of coming to the Territory to see my father and find out when the war would probably cease. I had no trouble in getting through. I was often questioned, but represented myself as a Missourian and passed unmolested.

JAMES O. BALDWIN.

GEN. SMITH. Gen. P. F. SMITH is at Fort Leavenworth. At Delaware City, a town on the river, the boat on which he was a passenger was compelled to stop at the command of a party of one hundred and fifty of Col. BUFORD'S "chivalric" associates, who were stationed there to inspect the boats going up the river.

They inquired of the Captain to know whether he had any Abolitionists or Sharpe's Rifles on. They understood a man in favor of making Kansas a Free State to be an Abolitionist. Well knowing that no appointee of this Administration could possibly be favorable to Freedom, they graciously permitted the General to pass on without further molestation.

TRIALS OF AN ILLINOIS EMIgrant.

Mr. STRAUN, from Illinois—who came on in company with seventeen young men from that State, all of whom were of the highest respectability, and intended settling in the Territory, having their farming and other tools with them—informs me that while he and his party were at Leavenworth City, in the warehouse, attending to their freight, the warehouse was surrounded by a band of men, armed with United States muskets, who took all of the party prisoners, excepting himself and one or two others who succeeded in making their escape.

These Regulators, as they are called, broke open and searched the trunks belonging to the party, and, after disarming its members, sent them by the next boat back to Illinois.

Mr. STRAUN laid the case before Acting-Governor WOODSON, at the request, I think, of Col. SUMNER.

WOODSON wrote a request to Col. SUMNER for him to furnish STRAUN with an escort for his protection to the house of Judge LECOMPTÉ, whom he wished to see, in order to commence legal proceedings against these Regulators.

When STRAUN got back to Leavenworth, he found Gen. SMITH in command at the Fort. SMITH refused to give him an escort, and stated that he had no power to disperse this band of Regulators, for they were Territorial Militia, acting like himself, under instructions from SHANNON. He also informed Mr. STRAUN that there was no relief for us, only in the future.

STRAUN then started for Judge LECOMPTÉ, alone. He had hardly got into town when he was informed that he must be off, as the Regulators were after him. He succeeded in getting away from town safely, and, on taking the stage for Lawrence, at some little distance from Leavenworth, learned

that ten men on horseback had stopped it and made anxious inquiries for him.

EMIGRANT AID COMPANY AND IMPROVEMENTS.

The Emigrant Aid Company have already commenced to clear away the ruins of the Hotel. They will immediately proceed to erect a larger and more commodious building than the one destroyed. A new saw-mill is also to be erected here. These movements are inspiring our people with confidence. The walls of the Unitarian Church are nearly finished, and the carpenters are zealously pushing it forward to completion. Rev. Mr. LUM'S society have commenced to erect their church. I also understand that the Methodists propose building one, and already have the money raised. These and other improvements that are to be made, are creating a demand for labor which our town will be unable to supply.

State of Affairs in Kansas—Meeting of the Legislature, &c.

Extract from a private letter, dated TOPEKA, Kansas, Saturday, July 5, 1856.

I arrived in this place yesterday at about twenty minutes past twelve, just in time to witness the array of the U. S. troops, with muskets and cannon loaded and torches blazing ready to fire at the word of command. Undoubtedly this will be claimed by the Ruffians as another triumph of the "law-and-order" principle; but we think differently. They will have to get up a little earlier in the morning to get the start of Yankee spirit here. Fearing there might be some trouble, and perhaps absolute impossibility of convening the Legislature at the time to which it stood adjourned, Governor ROBINSON issued a proclamation in accordance with the State Constitution, calling a meeting of the Legislature at Topeka, on Thursday, July 3, at 8 o'clock A. M.; and, in accordance with his call, a sufficient number were present to constitute a quorum, who immediately organized; held a morning session; adjourned till evening; held an evening session and adjourned till 12 o'clock on the 4th. In the two sessions of the 8d, important business was transacted relating to the future welfare of Kansas.

TOPEKA, Sunday, July 6, 1856.

Pro-Slavery men here frankly admit that there will be but one of two things, either Kansas must be a Slave State or this Union must be dissolved. I have frequent conversation with these Pro-Slavery men, and gather important information for my own benefit. Most of them are willing to treat you with respect enough to talk candidly, and I have always avowed my sentiments freely and frankly, telling them of my Free-State principles, and sometimes have pretty warm discussions.

We hear encouraging news from all parts of the North, of men and means being on the way, but such is the state of feeling among the oath-bound members of the Blue Lodge, along the Missouri River, that it is unsafe for any party, however strong, to come that way, and they must not attempt it. The only way to get here now is by way of Iowa and Nebraska.

Such is the organization of men on the river that at several points they can rally in a very short time from one to two thousand men, and as there is no boat on the river that can carry half that number, those who come this way fall into the Ruffian hands, are disarmed and sent back, as you see by the papers. Thus, instead of assisting us, arms are raised by the free men of the North to fight against free Kansas. With any other Government but PIERCE & Co., an armed company of United States troops would be placed at these points to preserve to the citizens of the United States the rights of citizenship in any State, but with tyrants to govern us we hope for no redress of these grievances at present. We must have FREMONT for President for the next term. Kansas is all enthusiasm for him. As Col. SUMNER withdrew his troops from town yesterday, the American flag was raised on the Hall with an extra star in the corner, but not in the union. Three cheers were given for the American flag, three for the new star—Kansas coming into the Union,—three for FREMONT, followed by three groans for PIERCE and the present Government.

PIERCE was also hung in effigy on the morning of the Fourth. We expect now a short season of quiet, but how long it will last, or if we have that

quiet at all, is uncertain, as Missouri is organized and ready to march into Kansas at any time, and many of the Southerners will not work, and must busy themselves about something.

Two who came out with BUFORD are, however, at work near here, and are more intelligent than some of them. In conversation a day or two since, they told me they were obliged to stay till after the next election, and vote for the Pro-Slavery side, but as BUFORD had not fulfilled his part of the contract, they should go back to Georgia as soon as they could get funds enough to get them there. They said they had been deceived by false statements, and should not stay longer than they were obliged to. Many of the more intelligent are doing the same.

A. H.

FROM KANSAS.

THE EVENTS OF THE FOURTH OF JULY.

SCENES AT TOPEKA.

Resolutions Adopted by the Mass Convention.

INTERESTING DETAILS.

SPEECH OF D. R. ATCHISON.

Special Correspondence of the N. Y. Daily Times.

LAWRENCE, Kansas, Tuesday, July 1, 1856. AFFAIRS IN LAWRENCE.

A gentleman has just arrived in town who was a passenger up the Missouri last week, and says a party of seventy-five emigrants from the Free States, bound for Kansas, were disarmed at Liberty, Mo., on Friday last. A mob came on board the boat, threatened and insulted them, took their arms, then went up the river as a guard over them to prevent their landing, and our informant says he understood they were to be taken to Weston, Mo., for trial.

Our people are preparing to go to Topeka on the Fourth, and we anticipate a large gathering. We are determined to meet for a celebration or Convention of some sort, and the members of the Legislature will meet as a legal body, regardless of consequences. We are yet unable to learn what our enemies intend to do in the premises. It has been said they would hold a celebration at Tecumseh or Lecompton, and it is known that they are laying in large stores of provisions for some unusual purpose. I cannot learn, however, that any large force has yet been heard from, moving from Missouri, as would be expected, if they intended to make a forcible stand against us on that day.

The Dragoon Government seem very active in preparations for something. They have taken up the game of the Buford party, and are arresting our men on the highway, disarming them, and questioning them very sharply as to where they are going, and what they intend to do on the Fourth. Last evening Captain GROVER was returning from this place to his claim, about two miles distant, when Lieut. PERKINS, with a posse of dragoons, seized him, took him to their camp, and kept him for several hours, but finally released him after questioning him sufficiently upon matters relating to the Fourth. A party from Centropolis came in this morning, on their way to Topeka, who say they were pursued last night by Uncle Sam's regulators, but they were able to hide their arms in the bushes before they were overtaken, otherwise they would have lost them. From the questions asked them, they think the dragoons will do their utmost to prevent the assembling of a large number at Topeka. Be that as it may, the "boys" will try, and I believe will get there.

I learn from the camp of the prisoners near Lecompton this morning, that they have seen some developments recently from which they fear there is a conspiracy to molest and perhaps murder them through a mob, while the most of our people are at Topeka on the Fourth. I doubt any such intention; however, we shall be on the alert. I go this morning to Topeka, and will endeavor to keep you posted on whatever occurs there. I shall not risk anything through the mails from that point, consequently there may be some delay in the reception of my letters.

The nomination of FREMONT and DAYTON produces general enthusiasm throughout Kansas. They are our men, because they love our cause, and if the nation is not "clean gone forever," victory is ours.

RANDOLPH.

TOPEKA, KANSAS, Wednesday, July 2, 1866.

I came to this place, the constituted Capital of Kansas, last night, and met with no obstruction on the way. I saw no dragoons on the way, and no unusual gathering about Tecumseh. Just as we entered Topeka, we saw an encampment a little off to the left from the road where I am told there are less than 100 of FRANK PIERCE'S delegates who are here ostensibly to "keep the peace." They are expecting recruits from both the forts and say they shall have as many as 500 by the Fourth, who have instructions not to allow the Legislature to meet.

On Saturday night FRANK PIERCE was burnt in effigy in front of the Garrey House, and speeches were made, expressive of the position he holds in the confidence and esteem of this despoiled people. On Monday night, a Ratification Meeting was held near the same place, indorsing the National Republican nominations. The hotels and printing offices were illuminated, and the meeting was conducted with much spirit and decision.

A most shocking accident occurred in town this evening. As several persons were sitting in the store of MESSRS. ALLEN & GORDON, a MR. CLEVELAND came in at the door with a gun syringing at his side. As he passed the threshold the lock caught upon the door casing, drawing it back, which caused it to discharge, killing one man instantly and wounding another. The name of the gentleman who was killed is WM. G. R. MILES, formerly of Ohio. He is a single man, but has an aged mother in Ohio, who expected to come to this place soon to live with her son, and he had just taken a letter from her from the office, and was sitting in a chair reading it, when he was shot, and fell instantly upon the floor, and never spoke again.

TROOPS ARRIVING.

Several companies have come in during the night, most of them with their camp fixtures, prepared to share a soldier's lot without complaint.

Topeka does not possess accommodations for one-tenth the number that will get in before the Fourth. Consequently, provision has been made for each company to provide for themselves. They have all brought their arms with them privately and will not appear with them until necessity demands it. They have all passed through, that I have yet heard of, without any serious obstruction, and no arms have been lost. They would have been, however, had there not been a shrewd game played to preserve them. In some instances, a double floor was laid in the wagon bottoms, and all the arms packed between them. Others put them under a load of wood which they hauled into town "for sale," and so on. About 500 will get in to-day, but no tidings of Gen. LANE or his party have been received of late, that are reliable, and we are giving up all hope of his being here to take part in the exercises of the Fourth. This operates to rather cool the resolution of a few of the more timid, but the most of the members will vote to organize at once, and then be governed by circumstances as to whether they shall continue the session.

INFORMAL MEETING.

An informal meeting assembled to-day at 1 o'clock P. M., to prepare or recommend business for the 3d and 4th. The meeting was well attended, and a spirited debate was kept up for several hours. Hon. P. C. SCHUYLER presided, and Dr. ROOT was Secretary. The meeting appointed a committee of seven, to report a plan of business for the two ensuing days, consisting of Wm. Hutchinson, C. K. Holliday, Dr. Root, P. C. Schuyler, Dr. Udegraff, Hillyer, and Currier, who reported at an adjourned meeting at 8 o'clock this evening. It is not necessary to give the report in detail, as it will all appear in future proceedings. A warm discussion was had upon the best policy to be pursued by the Legislature on the 4th, and that one subject seems to absorb all others. The delegation from Leavenworth are rather conservative, and shudder at the thought of interposing the least opposition to any mandate of the General Government. Those from Lawrence and Topeka are more inclined to hold out to the last, believing this is not the hour for compromises. However, as that is to be discussed again to-morrow, I will not speak further of it.

THE CONVENTION - COL. SUMNER'S COMMUNICATION, ETC.

TOPEKA, Thursday, July 4, 1866.

Still new arrivals were reported this morning, and there are not less than four hundred in full uniform from the several Districts now in town, and together with other citizens among us, there are not less than one thousand people now at the capital of Kansas to participate in the deliberations and events of the next forty-eight hours.

Col. SUMNER'S forces are also increased to from

two to three hundred cavalry, and they have had some conference with our Committee during the day, and to give our proof of all that occurs, we have the principal communication that was committed to writing. He has since urged us to not compel him to take the responsibility of dispersing us by force. It would be very unpleasant for him to do so, but still he should do his duty if it could not be avoided. It was generally told him that he would probably be obliged to appear here in town with his full force before the assembly would disperse. The following is his communication: *Sept. 11, 1866*

HEAD-QUARTERS 1ST CAVALRY CAMP.

AT TOPEKA, K. T., July 3, 1866.

GENTLEMEN: In relation to the assembling of the Topeka Legislature, (the subject of our conversation last night) the more I reflect upon it, the more I am convinced that the peace of the country will be greatly endangered by your persistence in this measure. Under these circumstances, I would ask you and your friends to take the matter into grave consideration. It will certainly be much better that you should act voluntarily, and abstain from a sense of presence and patriotism, at this moment of high excitement throughout the country, than that the authority of the General Government should be compelled to use coercive measures to prevent the assembling of this Legislature.

I am, Gentlemen, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

F. V. SUMNER,

Col. 1st Cavalry, Commanding.

Messrs. HOLLIDAY, SCHUYLER, ROOT and CURRIER.

This morning the town was saluted at sunrise by the firing of the cannon thirteen times at the camp of Col. SUMNER. Our companies were soon parading in the streets, and at the hour the Convention assembled in the open air in front of the hotel. Nearly one thousand persons were in attendance, and as no committees were prepared to report, the resolution offered yesterday by Mr. HUTCHINSON was first in order.

ORGANIZATION.

Judge WAKEFIELD was called to the chair, and GEO. J. DREW appointed Secretary.

While the Committee on Permanent Organization were preparing to report, the Convention was addressed by Mr. JONES, late of Iowa, on the importance of organizing Committees to keep the people of the Union informed on the true state of affairs, and then adjourned to 2 o'clock.

In the afternoon the Committee on Organization reported as follows:

President - C. F. COURIER, of Leavenworth City. Vice-Presidents - Jno. Wakefield, Abel Polley, S. B. McKensie, Chas. Jordan, J. B. Chapman, Rev. Pardee Butler, H. Harvey, Gen. C. W. Topliff, Wm. Mitchell, Stephen Sparks, Mr. Fuller, Col. Reppert, Dr. Udegraff.

Secretaries - W. W. Ross, J. F. Cummings, M. C. Wiltch, S. F. Tappan. Messrs. Holliday, Hutchinson, Schuyler, McClure and Butler were then appointed a Committee to memorialize Congress, Committees on Resolutions, on Plan for Central Committee, &c., were also appointed.

The Convention was then addressed by Messrs. COLLYER and SCHUYLER, when WM. HUTCHINSON offered the following:

Resolved, That it is the imperative duty of the Kansas Legislature to meet, according to adjournment on the 4th inst., and to proceed at once to the work of their office, and persevere until our State Code is complete, ever recognizing the imminent danger of putting in force any statute that will produce a collision with the Federal authorities, and that no sacrifice less than life itself should deter them from this duty, for which they will ever be held responsible by their constituents.

Mr. HUTCHINSON spoke in behalf of the resolution, taking strong ground in favor of standing firmly by the cause, and that the people would uphold their representatives in assembling and remaining until driven or carried out by a Government force. This elicited a spirited and protracted debate, in which Messrs. ADDIS, J. HUTCHINSON, WATSON, PHILLIPS, HOLLIDAY, BUTLER, ALLEN and others participated, until the day wore out and they were obliged to adjourn without disposing of the resolution. The predominant feeling was strongly in favor of its passage, but all were willing to allow to every one the widest latitude in debate.

Discussion was continued until the Committee on organization of Central Committee, &c., reported as follows:

The Committee on organization of Central and Sub-Committees made the following report:

The Free-State men of Kansas, in a closer union assembled for the purpose of a mass convention and perfect understanding with each other, in order to secure for ourselves and our children the blessings of Free Labor, Free Speech, and a Free Constitution, and to avert the evils of Slavery, do establish the following system of organization:

First - There shall be appointed by this Convention a State Central Committee, to be composed of seven members. The officers of said Committee shall consist of a chairman, secretary and treasurer. Said Committee shall appoint from their number - 1st, an Executive Committee of three; 2d, a Finance Committee of three, of whom the Treasurer shall be Chairman; 3d, a Committee of Correspondence, of three, of whom the Secretary shall be one. The Chairman shall be ex-officio a member of all committees. Duties - As soon as the said Committee shall be

appointed, it will be their duty to assume the management and control of the Free-State Party of Kansas, with a due deference to the advice of Committees hereinafter to be appointed, and to known friends of the Free-State cause, so as to insure first, unanimity and concert of action, and, lastly, success.

Said Committee shall proceed at once to appoint for every District in the Territory or State a District Committee, to be composed of as many members as the circumstances of the case and the nature of locality may, in their judgment, seem to demand.

Said District Committee shall, acting under such regulations as the State Central Committee shall from time to time direct, have the immediate supervision and control of the interests and management of the Free-State Party in their localities.

They shall organize, by the appointment of a Chairman, Secretary and Treasurer, and shall, from time to time, or whenever required to do so, report to the Central Committee all matters touching the welfare of the great Free-State Party of Kansas.

They shall divide themselves into as many Sub-Committees as there shall be townships or election precincts, and each Sub-Committee shall prepare accurately, as the circumstances of the case will allow, at least as often as once a year, and that sixty days before the annual elections, a list of every member of the Free-State Party residing in each district, and such list shall be indorsed by the District Committee, and when all shall have been received from the various precincts in the district, they shall be certified to by the chairman and secretary and sent to the chairman of the State Central Committee without delay.

The aforesaid Central Committee shall have full power to grant any resignation, or otherwise, which vacancy shall be filled by the selection of some suitable person from the same district in which the vacancy may occur.

The members of this Committee shall one-half of them hold their office for the term of one year, and the remaining one-half for another year, which division shall be determined by lot among themselves, when they shall first meet in full session; and ever afterwards from the first year, they shall hold their office two years, one-half being elected each successive year. Said division shall not be so made as to remove all upon either the Executive, Financial, or Corresponding Committee at the close of the first year.

The appointment of the said Committee shall hereafter be referred to the Annual Delegates Convention for the nomination of State officers.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

The report was adopted, and the following gentlemen were appointed as a Central Committee:

Messrs. Wm. Hutchinson, of Lawrence; James Blood, of Lawrence; Alfred Curdia, of Second District; G. S. Hillyer, of Ninth District; D. S. R. Martin, of Topeka; Dr. Revere, of Wabasha; Mr. Adair, of Sixth District; G. S. Donaldson, of Stranger Creek; H. M. Moore, of Leavenworth City; S. G. Jamieson, of Doniphan; M. Dow, of Neosho; J. M. Winchel, of Council City; Mr. McKenzie, of Manhattan.

It is recommended that in future all correspondence from the States upon civil or financial matters be held with the members of this Committee who reside at Leavenworth City or Lawrence, as the mails will run most direct to those points.

Mr. HARTWELL, member elect to the House of Representatives, at this stage of the meeting, arrived from the Western States, and was borne upon the shoulders of his friends to the stand. He was nearly exhausted with fatigue and exposure, and could not make a speech, but simply said that Gen. LANE would not be present to-day, and he supposed that would disappoint them.

Col. EMERY also arrived with him, but did not speak till afternoon. About twenty were in their party.

RESOLUTIONS.

The Committee on Resolutions reported as follows: *Sept. 11, 1866*

We, the people of Kansas, in Mass Convention assembled, in favor of preserving forever the freedom of this Territory and State, and the total exclusion of the institution of Slavery, do hereby declare our state our position and our cause, that our fellow-citizens in the North and South; at the East and the West, as well as the Government of the United States, may rightly appreciate our motives and our conduct.

1. We do most sincerely declare, before God and our fellow men, that we have asked no more than a fair and impartial vote - on the part of the citizens of this Territory, as to whether the institution of Slavery should or should not be established in this Territory.

2. We do most solemnly declare to the world that our Territory has been invaded and our elections controlled by those who have no residence nor interest in Kansas. That armed bands from the slaveholding States have marched into our Territory, been received by Government officers, armed with Government arms, and un molested by any regularly constituted authorities, searched, sacked and burnt our dwellings, broken and destroyed our presses, and without any authority invaded the sanctity of our homes, fired upon, robbed and murdered our citizens, and dragged them by force wherever their lawless passions directed.

3. That our various towns now swarm with those reckless desperadoes, who, under the very eyes of Government officials, stalk among our free citizens, armed to the teeth with the bowie-knife and the revolver. That the Government officials on the one hand invite and receive, and arm and encourage the hirelings of the slave army, and on the other hand, hire and employ Government troops, but these same hireling marauders, take it upon themselves, unmolested, to stop the ingress of peaceable emigrants into our Territory from the Free States, whom they have reason to believe sympathize with the free-trodden, and oppressed people of the West.

4. We now call upon the Government of the United States to respect the rights of the majority in

Kansas, by tawarding the views and amonious ag-

5. We proclaim to the world that we have all the elements for a great and powerful State;

Resolved, That having hitherto invariably acted in accordance with the spirit and letter of the American

Resolved, That Gov. C. ROBINSON, G. W. DEWEES, G. W. BROWN, G. JENNINGS, G. W. SMITH, JOHN BAZOW, JR., and P. H. WILLIAMS, and others, have our deepest

Resolved, That there is not now, nor has there ever been an organized body of armed men

Resolved, That this declaration be published, and a copy thereof be forwarded to the President of the

Several amendments were proposed.

MEMORIAL TO CONGRESS.

Col. HOLLIDAY reported the Memorial to Congress, which was adopted as follows, and ordered to be printed immediately and forwarded to all the

The discussion upon the several resolutions was very able, and drew out the best talent in the Territory.

OTHER RESOLUTIONS.

The following resolutions were introduced by volunteers and elicited a full share of the debate:

Whereas, The Government of the United States is a Government of the people, and whereas the laws of our Government have wisely provided ample means

Resolved, That this mass meeting of the people of Kansas Territory appointed a Committee of five to draw up a memorial to the House of Representatives

The above resolution was so amended as to include Marshal J. B. DONALDSON, and Gov. WILSON SHANNON, and their names were ordered to be inserted, and the instructions to the Committee

HUTCHINSON, of Lawrence:

Whereas, Much dissatisfaction has been expressed, both in Kansas and out of it, concerning funds that have been subscribed or donated for the relief of the suffering in this Territory; and, whereas, we feel

free and even anxious, on our part, to throw the matter open to the scrutiny of an impartial public; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we recommend to the Central Committee the opening of an intelligence office immediately, in the city of Chicago, of which ——— shall be the general agent; and all persons who have contributed aid in any form for Kansas are requested to forward to said agent the amount of the same, to whom paid, at what time, and for what purpose, if any was specified, the same was given; and as often as practicable said agent shall report to the same to the Corresponding Secretary of the Central Committee of Kansas, who shall, as soon as it is believed the facts are all before him, publish to the public a synopsis of the same. Said Committee shall also obtain all the information within their reach as to the amount that has been heretofore received, from whom received, and by whom drawn, thereby laying the whole subject before the public in the most intelligible form.

Mr. WATSON moved that the resolution be referred to the Central Committee, believing that it properly belonged to them.

Mr. HOLLIDAY believed the introduction of that subject might prejudice our cause in reference to future funds, but would favor its reference.

Mr. HUTCHINSON opposed its reference, and was sure the suspicion of the public had been already awakened concerning the fate of the funds already sent us, and this was to set ourselves right at this end of the road. It should come direct from the people rather than a Committee. Its reference was lost, and it was adopted.

The Committee are unable to fill the blank for the General Agent at once, but will soon, and make the same public.

Mr. HUTCHINSON also offered the following:

Resolved, That President FINNEY, in imprisoning or seeking to imprison the members of our Legislature, and in dispersing them by military force, is acting without the authority of law—is acting the part of a tyrant, and striving, by malicious prosecution and persecution, to plant Slavery in Kansas.

Whereas, The Democratic Party, by its Administration, has oppressed and robbed us, and, by its organs and organs, libeled, insulted, and misrepresented us; and

Resolved, That we hail with delight the nomination of FREMONT and DAYTON, and earnestly appeal to all our friends, to all true men in the Free States, to vote for them, and use all their endeavors to defeat the nominees of the Pro-Slavery Party—BUCHANAN and BRECKINRIDGE.

The General Agent appointed to receive financial correspondence in the States, in accordance with the resolution adopted at Topeka on the 4th of July, has now been appointed. It is C. B. WAITE, Esq., of Chicago, and it is hoped all will report to him as soon as may be. RANDOLPH.

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 memorable 21st of May, before he marched at the head of his troops:

GENTLEMEN, OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS: This is the most glorious day of my life. This day I am a Border Ruffian. [Yells.] The United States Marshal has just given you his orders, and has kindly invited me to address you; for this invitation, coming from no less than the United States authority, I thank him most sincerely, and extend to you the right border-ruffian status. [Cheers.] Men of the South, I greet you as border ruffian brothers! [Yells and waving of hats.] Though I have seen more years than most of you, I am yet young in the same glorious cause that has made you leave your homes in the South. Boys, I am one of your number to-day, [yells], and to day you have the honor to perform [yells], and to day you will win laurels that will ever follow to-day you have been true sons of the noble South. show you to have been true sons of the noble South. [Cheers.] You have endured many hardships—have suffered many privations on your trip, but for this, you will be more than compensated by the fact you are just laid out by the Marshal, and what you know is to be done as the programme of the day. Now, boys, to let your work be well done. [Cheers.] Faint not as you approach the city of Lawrence, but remember your mission and act with true Southern heroism, and you will be the victors. Spring like your bloodhounds at home, and at the word. Set like your bloodhounds at home, upon that damned, accursed Abolition hole, breaking through all that may oppose your noble and valiant courage. [Yells.] Yes, ruffians, draw your revolvers and bowie-knives, and send them in the heart's blood of all those who have dared to deny the word that damned lying Free-State hotel, and if those down there boasting Free-State men, and if those sellah, lying Free-Southerners have left no port-holes in their boasted Free-State, let them come here, and with your snoring cannon make some noise, riddle it till it shall totter to the ground. [Cheers.] Throw into the city of Kansas their printing presses, and let me see if any more free speeches can be issued from them. Boys, speeches, the Marshal's full bidding, do the Sheriff's entire command, for to-day Mr. JONES is not only Sheriff, but Deputy-Marshal, so that whatever he commands will be right, and under the authority of the Administration of the United States troops, besides will be amply paid for, and you will have the opportunity of benefiting your wardrobe having an opportunity of benefiting your wardrobe from the private dwellings of those infernal niggers. [Cheers.] Courage for a few hours, and the victory is ours; falter and all is lost. Are the victory determined? Will every one of you swear to defend your steel in the black blood of those who have defied the United States? [Yells.] Yes, I sons of ——— [Yells.] The South has always proven itself ready for honorable fight, and you who are noble sons of noble stock, I know will never flinch, but will burn, sack, and destroy until every vestige of these Northern abolitionists is wiped out. Men of the South and of Missouri, I am proud of this day,

I have received office and honor before. I have occupied the Vice-President's place in the greatest republic the light of God's sun ever shown upon, but, ruffian brothers, [yells], that glory—the honor was granted to me in an empty bubble compared with the solid grandeur and magnificent glory of this momentous occasion. Here, on this beautiful prairie bluff, with nought but the canopy of heaven for my covering, with my splendid Arabian charger for my shield, whose well-tried fleetness I may yet have to depend upon for my life, unless this day's work shall drive from our western world these hellish ruffians and ruffians, whose bellies are filled with beggars' food, and whose houses are stored with Beecher's Bibles. [Yells prolonged.] I say here, with the cool breeze of the morning blowing fresh around my head, with the U. S. Marshal at my left, completely surrounded by my younger brothers, [terrible enthusiasm,] each supporting a U. S. rifle, and on the manly countenance of each plainly seen his high and fixed determination to carry out to the letter the lofty and glorious resolves that have brought him here, the resolves of the entire South and of the present Administration, that is to carry the war into the heart of the country, [cheers,] never to slacken or stop until every spark of Free State, free speech, free niggers, or free in any shape is quenched out of Kansas. [Shouting and cheering.] And what is also pleasing beyond all powers of description is the fact, that, lifting above me as I speak, the honest sentiment of my heart and the sentiments of the Administration and the blessed Pro-Slavery Party throughout the great nation, is the only flag we recognize, and the only one under whose folds we will march into Lawrence, the only one under which these damned abolitionist prisoners were arrested who are now out to side your front endeavoring to hear me, which I care not a damn if they do. [Cheers.] Yes, the God-damn sons of d—d Putnam stock will learn their fate, and they may go home and tell their cowardly friends what I say, I care not for them, I defy and d—n them all to hell. Yes, that large red flag denotes our purpose to press the matter even to blood. The large, lone, white star in the centre denotes the purity of our purpose, and the words, "Southern Rights" above it, clearly indicate the these circumstances, I am now enjoying the proudest day of my life, but I will detain you no longer. Cries of go on! No, boys, I cannot stay your spirit of patriotism longer—I cannot even stay my own. Our precious time is wasting. Now hasten to work. Follow your worthy and illustrious leader, Col. SHANNON, who will lead you to support all glorious victory, and I will be there to support all glorious victory, and assist as best I may in completing the overthrow of that heinous party, and in erasing out the last sign of d—d abolitionism in the Territory of Kansas. [Three times three yells for Atchison.]

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 the emanation than any thing yet published. I can vouch for its genuineness, as it was written out by Dr. ROOR, who was a prisoner in their camp at the time. RANDOLPH.

SEMI-WEEKLY TRIBUNE TUESDAY, JULY 23, 1856.

Special Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune. LAWRENCE, K. T., July 6, 1856. Kansas lies prostrate. Never did the Free-State cause stand in greater jeopardy. We have more peace now than we have had for many months, and the full witnesses an activity in agriculture, building, and business affairs; but, while the appearance of such enterprise is pleasant, behind it lies still more awful steps in the drama. The peace results from two things—first, the presence of the troops; but chiefly, the triumph of the Pro-Slavery party. They have, indeed, succeeded in accomplishing everything but one, and that is to drive the Free-State men out of the Territory. True, they are making rapid strides toward keeping out all future emigration. The Missouri River has been blockaded, and all the roads leading through Missouri into the Territory have been closed to Free State emigration. The only open way is a tedious route through Iowa, and that is threatened. So much for the present. The future steps will require the driving out of the dangerous population from the Territory—I mean the Liberty-loving people, who have been rendered a Slave-hating people by the usurpations and abuse of the Slave power. That result cannot be accomplished. The attempt will make war. Let emigrants still come to Kansas. Let them take such measures as will insure their safe entry to the Territory. Kansas is a glorious country; one of the fairest and best portions of our continent. It must not be relinquished because it may take an effort to keep it. Send good men, and brave men, and plenty of them. Let emigration pass in a stream. We copy from the Report of the Kansas Investigating Committee so much of Gov. Reeder's testimony as relates to his conferences with President Pierce in reference to the outrages in Kansas. It is as follows:

"I left the Territory about the middle of April, 1855, and came East for the purpose of taking out my family, and attending to private business, as well as for the purpose of consulting with the President in regard to the state of things in the Territory. During my presence in the States, I went to the City of Washington, where I arrived in the beginning of May, 1855. I at once saw President Pierce, and had a full consultation with him on the state of things in Kansas, which was protracted for more than two weeks, and kept up almost daily. I gave him, in the fullest manner, all the information which I had upon the subject, and endeavored to impress upon him the conviction, which was upon my mind, that unless some decided course was taken the actual settlers of the Territory would be subjected to the most cruel persecution; that there was a settled determination on the part of the border counties of Missouri—strong in men and means—to deprive them of the right of governing themselves and regulating their own affairs. I stated to him that the seizure of the polls at the two elections which had been held, together with the intermeddling and tyrannic spirit which pervaded the entire action of our Missouri neighbors, concurred with all the information I had received to convince me that there was a settled determination, by intimidation and force, to subjugate the Territory entirely to their will, in defiance of the right of the majority and the principle of the organic law. I had learned some new facts since the grant of the certificates of election, which I also made known to him. Indeed, I stated to him all my knowledge and all my views in the most candid manner, for I had still the fullest confidence that he would share all my indignation at the gross wrong of this foreign interference. I had several times written him on this subject from the Territory. Immediately after the election of the 29th of November, at which the most disgraceful scenes had been enacted, I wrote him fully what had taken place, and expressed my views on the subject without reserve. Previous to that election I had also written him, and that such an invasion was openly threatened, but expressed the opinion that, by careful provisions in my proclamation, I could counteract it; for I did not then credit that it would be carried to such extreme of recklessness and violence. A short time previous to the election of the 30th of March, I had again written him that the same thing was again threatened. These letters, however, were private, and I now see that I committed an error in making them so; but I then had confidence that he felt upon

the subject as I did, and that the cause of truth and justice would be best subserved by intrusting the whole matter to his discretion, without forestalling or hampering his future action. The President, in our interviews, expressed himself highly pleased and satisfied with my course, and in the most unequivocal language approved and indorsed all I had done. He expressed some regret, however, that I had not in Eastern had omitted all allusion to the illegality of the Emigrant Aid Society, and thought it was perhaps unnecessarily strong in the denunciation of the Missouri invasion. I told him I had no knowledge of the operations of the Emigrant Aid Company except what was before the whole public, and that so long as they had not sent out men merely to vote, and not to settle (of which I had no evidence, and which I did not believe), I could not consistently denounce their course as illegal. He stated that this Kansas matter had given him more harassing anxiety than anything that has happened since the loss of his son; that it haunted him day and night, and was the great overshadowing trouble of his administration. He stated that the most pertinacious complaints of me had been made to him, and the most urgent demands had been made for my removal upon every ground that could be got up. Gen. Atchison pressed it in the most excited manner, and would listen to no reasoning at all. As to the charges of purchasing Indian lands and interests in towns, he said he was entirely satisfied as to the former, that it was all fair and honorable, and that hundreds had done so before me—indeed Mr. Mannypenny's objection to it, and said he had rebuked him when he talked to him of it; he was, nevertheless, sorry, under the circumstances of this case, that I had made any purchases, as they made a pretext for my enemies to annoy him with demands for my removal. As to the purchases of town property he said he was entirely satisfied from his confidence in me, that they were all right, but he wished me to explain them to him, and refer to the acts of Congress under which towns were laid out, so that he might be prepared to justify me and himself when the subject came up before him. I accordingly gave him all the information on the subject, both as to law and fact, which was in my power, and stated what was the fact, that in no one case had I been concerned as an original projector in the laying out of any town, but in every case had acquired my interest subject to the original laying out. He expressed himself satisfied, except that he thought the act of May 28, 1854, did not authorize the laying out of towns except on lands which had been surveyed. I replied that the Commissioner of the Land Office had so construed the act as to recognize towns which had been laid out before the survey, and that Mr. Wilson would so state to him if he would inquire; and that this construction was right and necessary, for it was idle to expect the Territory to be settled if it was to remain two years without towns. He expressed himself satisfied, and the subject was then dropped. He wished no explanation nor found any fault as to the contract for half-breed Kaw lands, but, as I have already stated, he expressed himself, in strong language, entirely satisfied as to the fairness and honorable character of the transaction.

I, however, pressed that and another matter upon his attention. The contracts for these lands had been before him with the accompanying papers in the month of January previous, and upon Mr. Mannypenny's making a most violent and high-tempered report

against them upon the grounds of unfairness, as well as of technical want of conformity to the rules of the department, he had returned them to me, simply declining to confirm them. I now called his attention to them again, and, as he had expressed himself fully satisfied of their honesty and fairness, I requested him to examine the additional papers and depositions which he had procured to supply technical defects, and a legal argument I had made to demonstrate, from the decisions of the Supreme Court, the acts of Congress, and opinions of the Attorney General, that the whole case and all we had to say upon it was before him, and requested him to examine them and decide it. He asked me to hand the papers to Gov. McClelland, Secretary of the Interior, and I did so. The second matter to which I called his attention was the town site of Pawnee. I had informed him that my proclamation named that place for the meeting of the Legislature, and gave him as a reason for so doing that it was remote from the influence of Missouri. He approved of it very cordially; and a day or two after I explained to him what I considered the unfair action of the War Department. I stated to him that action as it was ascertained or suspected that I would call the Legislature together at that place, it was at once assailed through the press and otherwise to break it down; that a Free-State population recently had commenced settling in and around it; that it was obvious its natural advantages would attract emigrants; that its distance from Missouri would constitute a great objection to the projectors and friends of the foreign invasion of our Territory, while the same reasons would, in a few years, make it a rallying point for Northern men, and draw about it a large settlement; that this was foreseen by the Missourians, and hence their hostility to it and their determination to break it up; that I had been informed by a reputable and credible citizen of Missouri that Gen. Atchison had written to Gen. (Jeff.) Davis on the subject, and that difficulties had been started in regard to the military reserve of Fort Riley, and as to a dispute between the commanding officer there and a couple of intruders, which had so resulted as that the War Department had declared it, wrongfully as I believed, within the military reservation; that after a number of houses had been erected, beside a large hall for the meeting of the legislature, and after it was known throughout the States that my proclamation had convened the legislature there, I explained that Colonel Montgomery had been ordered to survey and proclaim a military reservation at that place, and not being prepared to do so early enough to keep off settlers, had made a provisional reservation without survey of ten miles by eighteen, until he could fully comply with the order by selecting what land he would want, and surveying and proclaiming it. That in the mean time some of the officers of the post, the settlers, and other gentlemen, had conceived the idea of a town in that vicinity, and some of them had addressed Col. Montgomery a letter, stating their wish to lay out a town, designating two places which they supposed he would not include when he came to survey his reservation, and asking his permission to use one of the points for the purpose contemplated; that the Colonel, although not yet prepared exactly to define the reserve he would make, was satisfied that one of the places they named would not be needed or included by him, and had, in his reply to their letter, so informed them, and that he had no objection to their taking possession of it; that they had accordingly proceeded to locate and lay out upon this ground the town of Pawnee; that all this had happened in the Summer before I had arrived in the Territory, or had any knowledge of the town or the men who had laid it out; that in November 1854 in our tour through the Territory we had stopped at the fort, and were very hospitably treated by the officers, and were then for the first time made acquainted with the fact that such a town existed. The officers and sutler of the post showed us their town site, informed us that it was outside of the reserve, and, as a matter of courtesy to the five Territorial officers, including myself, whom I have mentioned as constituting our party, presented to each of us a share, being one twenty fifth part, at the same price as the original stockholders had theirs, viz: a proportion of expenses, which we of course accepted; that the officers of the post were probably led into this project by the fact that the same thing had been done by a number of citizens and officers at Fort Leavenworth, who had laid out a town upon ground excluded from the Leavenworth military reserve, and that the Secretary of War, in a correspondence arising out of the transaction, had defended them and approved the act; that Col. Montgomery had, subsequently to the laying out of the town, made and returned a survey of so much of the one hundred and eighty square miles as he needed for the purposes of a reserve at the post, and to exhibit the whole transaction, had returned a draught showing the lines of the surveyed reserve, the lines of the town adjoining it, and the correspondence to which I have alluded; that Quartermaster-General Jesup had indorsed the return "recommended to be approved according to Col. Montgomery's draught and specifications," the effect of which would have been to exclude the town; that the Secretary of War, instead of following or adopting the recommendation of Gen. Jesup, had indorsed the return "recommended to be approved according to Col. Montgomery's draught as shown by the exterior lines," the effect of which was, by excluding all except the draught and adopting the exterior lines, to extend the reserve over the town with all its inhabitants and improvements; and as this recommendation had been approved by himself (the President) probably without being aware of its object or effect, which would be discrediting and disastrous to the Free-State party of the Territory, I stated to him that if he did not choose to revoke his approval and adopt the recommendation of General Jesup, the same result might perhaps be effected if the Secretary of the Interior would include the towns in

the public surveys. He stated that he was no; aware of the condition of things when he approved of the reserve, regretted that he did not know it, and requested me to call upon the Secretary of the Interior and state to him the facts, and he would afterward have a consultation with him. I accordingly called upon Gov. McClelland, and, after a conversation with him, was referred by him to Gen. Wilson, Commissioner of the Land-Office, to whom I stated the facts. The conversations in regard to the purchase of half-breed lands and the town of Pawnee took place at different times throughout our interviews, although I have stated them here separately, for the sake of convenience. I stated to him, also, that the Secretary of War, by adopting all the reductions of the provisional reserve ascertained by the survey, with the exception of the town-plot sites, had abandoned the provisional reserve and recognized the survey, in contrary distinction to the provisional reserve, as a compliance with the original order. I also informed him that the Secretary of War had commissioned General Churchill as Clark, to proceed to Fort Riley to investigate and report, and as it was entirely obvious that the town plot, a part of which extended at least two miles from the fort, afforded neither water nor timber, I had no doubt General Clark and Churchill would recommend the exclusion, (as I have since learned they did). The two subjects to which I have alluded were discussed incidentally during our interviews, but the principal question which occupied our attention was the general political condition of the people of the Territory. He was profuse in his expressions of approval of my course, but expressed himself deeply solicitous as to the probable consequences of my return to the Territory. He declared that, in the excited state of the community, he was fearful of personal violence to myself; and that if violence was committed upon me the whole North would be inflamed, civil war would probably ensue, and no man could predict the result. He repeated this, and enlarged upon it much and often; said that it would be a fearful calamity, the beginning of the end, &c., concluding with the opinion that it would be unsafe for myself, and for the country, that I should return to Kansas in the capacity of Governor. I told him promptly and decidedly that I would not resign the office; that two considerations forbade me to think of it; that, as things now stood, the executive office in my hands was the only means of protection for the people against the persecutions and oppressions which had been perpetrated, and would be continued, from the State of Missouri; that it would be base and dishonorable in me to betray and abandon them, and that no considerations of personal danger to myself would induce me to think of it; that, beside this consideration, the whole country had resounded with threats against myself in case I should return, and that a restoration of my office under such circumstances would be attributed to pusillanimity and cowardice. He concurred in this view of the case, and proposed to effect all that was desirable for the public safety and for the public good by removing me from office in a way that would obviate all my objections, and proceeded at length to give his ideas as to what should be done. He proposed that I should make to him in writing a full report of all the proceedings in the Territory, with my views and opinions, referring the whole subject and the remedy to him, and professing my willingness to abide by any plan he should adopt for redressing the existing wrongs and adjusting the present difficulties; that he would reply in writing to this communication, and would take upon himself the responsibility of removing me from office as a part of the remedy, and at the same time would give the most full, satisfactory and unequivocal approbation of my course; that while he would declare my removal to be necessary in order to allay the existing excitement and bring about a more calm and sober state of public feeling, and avert the danger of violence or outbreak, he would exonerate me from all blame in producing that excitement; that, in order fully to testify the sincerity of his approbation, he would confer upon me some unmistakable mark of his favor, and went on to say that the mission to China would be very shortly vacant by the return of Mr. McLane, to which vacancy he would appoint me at once. To his written answer he proposed that I should reply by saying, in effect, that I was not prepared to say he had acted unwisely. After considerable discussion and much reflection upon this proposition, I finally answered that if we could both agree upon the terms of the entire correspondence between us, and if I could be satisfied that our people would be fully cared for and protected as I remained in office, and a successor would be appointed who would resist the aggressive invasions from Missouri, I would cooperate with him. He assured me that the latter conditions should be complied with, and said there would be no difficulty in agreeing mutually upon the correspondence. He requested me then to prepare my communication, which I did, and submitted it to him. He retained it one day, and then suggested various modifications. After discussing them it was agreed I should rewrite it, which I did, and submitted it to him a second time. This did not entirely meet his approbation, and he again suggested alterations and modifications. He then informed me that dispatches had been received from Mr. McLane in England which seemed to indicate the necessity of his returning in person to China, and expressed his fear that it would be out of his power to confer upon me that appointment, but that he would find some other person of it, which would be equally or more desirable. I told him that the obtaining of that or any other office was to me a matter of indifference, in the condition of my family and private affairs, and consisted no part of the inducement to me to agree to his proposition; that I preferred rather to go on and ascertain whether we could adjust the matter in its other aspects, and if we could agree upon them the matter of another appointment would be no obstacle to their adjustment. We then ad-

"I left the Territory about the middle of April, 1855, and came East for the purpose of taking out my family, and attending to private business, as well as for the purpose of consulting with the President in regard to the state of things in the Territory. During my presence in the States, I went to the City of Washington, where I arrived in the beginning of May, 1855. I at once saw President Pierce, and had a full consultation with him on the state of things in Kansas, which was protracted for more than two weeks, and kept up almost daily. I gave him, in the fullest manner, all the information which I had upon the subject, and endeavored to impress upon him the conviction, which was upon my mind, that unless some decided course was taken the actual settlers of the Territory would be subjected to the most cruel persecution; that there was a settled determination on the part of the border counties of Missouri—strong in men and means—to deprive them of the right of governing themselves and regulating their own affairs. I stated to him that the seizure of the polls at the two elections which had been held, together with the intermeddling and tyrannic spirit which pervaded the entire action of our Missouri neighbors, concurred with all the information I had received to convince me that there was a settled determination, by intimidation and force, to subjugate the Territory entirely to their will, in defiance of the right of the majority and the principle of the organic law. I had learned some new facts since the grant of the certificates of election, which I also made known to him. Indeed, I stated to him all my knowledge and all my views in the most candid manner, for I had still the fullest confidence that he would share all my indignation at the gross wrong of this foreign interference. I had several times written him on this subject from the Territory. Immediately after the election of the 29th of November, at which the most disgraceful scenes had been enacted, I wrote him fully what had taken place, and expressed my views on the subject without reserve. Previous to that election I had also written him, and that such an invasion was openly threatened, but expressed the opinion that, by careful provisions in my proclamation, I could counteract it; for I did not then credit that it would be carried to such extreme of recklessness and violence. A short time previous to the election of the 30th of March, I had again written him that the same thing was again threatened. These letters, however, were private, and I now see that I committed an error in making them so; but I then had confidence that he felt upon

the subject as I did, and that the cause of truth and justice would be best subserved by intrusting the whole matter to his discretion, without forestalling or hampering his future action. The President, in our interviews, expressed himself highly pleased and satisfied with my course, and in the most unequivocal language approved and indorsed all I had done. He expressed some regret, however, that I had not in Eastern had omitted all allusion to the illegality of the Emigrant Aid Society, and thought it was perhaps unnecessarily strong in the denunciation of the Missouri invasion. I told him I had no knowledge of the operations of the Emigrant Aid Company except what was before the whole public, and that so long as they had not sent out men merely to vote, and not to settle (of which I had no evidence, and which I did not believe), I could not consistently denounce their course as illegal. He stated that this Kansas matter had given him more harassing anxiety than anything that has happened since the loss of his son; that it haunted him day and night, and was the great overshadowing trouble of his administration. He stated that the most pertinacious complaints of me had been made to him, and the most urgent demands had been made for my removal upon every ground that could be got up. Gen. Atchison pressed it in the most excited manner, and would listen to no reasoning at all. As to the charges of purchasing Indian lands and interests in towns, he said he was entirely satisfied as to the former, that it was all fair and honorable, and that hundreds had done so before me—indeed Mr. Mannypenny's objection to it, and said he had rebuked him when he talked to him of it; he was, nevertheless, sorry, under the circumstances of this case, that I had made any purchases, as they made a pretext for my enemies to annoy him with demands for my removal. As to the purchases of town property he said he was entirely satisfied from his confidence in me, that they were all right, but he wished me to explain them to him, and refer to the acts of Congress under which towns were laid out, so that he might be prepared to justify me and himself if the subject came up before him. I accordingly gave him all the information on the subject, both as to law and fact, which was in my power, and stated what was the fact, that in no one case had I been concerned as an original projector in the laying out of any town, but in every case had acquired my interest subject to the original laying out. He expressed himself satisfied, except that he thought the act of May 28, 1854, did not authorize the laying out of towns except on lands which had been surveyed. I replied that the Commissioner of the Land Office had so construed the act as to recognize towns which had been laid out before the survey, and that Mr. Wilson would so state to him if he would inquire; and that this construction was right and necessary, for it was idle to expect the Territory to be settled if it was to remain two years without towns. He expressed himself satisfied, and the subject was then dropped. He wished no explanation nor found any fault as to the contract for half-breed Kaw lands, but, as I have already stated, he expressed himself, in strong language, entirely satisfied as to the fairness and honorable character of the transaction.

I, however, pressed that and another matter upon his attention. The contracts for these lands had been before him with the accompanying papers in the month of January previous, and upon Mr. Mannypenny's making a most violent and high-tempered report

against them upon the grounds of unfairness, as well as of technical want of conformity to the rules of the department, he had returned them to me, simply declining to confirm them. I now called his attention to them again, and, as he had expressed himself fully satisfied of their honesty and fairness, I requested him to examine the additional papers and depositions which he had procured to supply technical defects, and a legal argument I had made to demonstrate, from the decisions of the Supreme Court, the acts of Congress, and opinions of the Attorney General, that the whole case and all we had to say upon it was before him, and requested him to examine them and decide it. He asked me to hand the papers to Gov. McClelland, Secretary of the Interior, and I did so. The second matter to which I called his attention was the town site of Pawnee. I had informed him that my proclamation named that place for the meeting of the Legislature, and gave him as a reason for so doing that it was remote from the influence of Missouri. He approved of it very cordially; and a day or two thereafter I explained to him what I considered the unfair action of the War Department. I stated to him that action as it was ascertained or suspected that I would call the Legislature together at that place, it was at once assailed through the press and otherwise to break it down; that a Free-State population recently had commenced settling in and around it; that it was obvious its natural advantages would attract emigrants; that its distance from Missouri would constitute a great objection to the projectors and friends of the foreign invasion of our Territory, while the same reasons would, in a few years, make it a rallying point for Northern men, and draw about it a large settlement; that this was foreseen by the Missourians, and hence their hostility to it and their determination to break it up; that I had been informed by a reputable and credible citizen of Missouri that Gen. Atchison had written to Gen. (Jeff.) Davis on the subject, and that difficulties had been started in regard to the military reserve of Fort Riley, and as to a dispute between the commanding officer there and a couple of intruders, which had so resulted as that the War Department had declared it, wrongfully as I believed, within the military reservation; that after a number of houses had been erected, beside a large hall for the meeting of the legislature, and after it was known throughout the States that my proclamation had convened the legislature there, I explained that Colonel Montgomery had been ordered to survey and proclaim a military reservation at that place, and not being prepared to do so early enough to keep off settlers, had made a provisional reservation without survey of ten miles by eighteen, until he could fully comply with the order by selecting what land he would want, and surveying and proclaiming it. That in the mean time some of the officers of the post, the settlers, and other gentlemen, had conceived the idea of a town in that vicinity, and some of them had addressed Col. Montgomery a letter, stating their wish to lay out a town, designating two places which they supposed he would not include when he came to survey his reservation, and asking his permission to use one of the points for the purpose contemplated; that the Colonel, although not yet prepared exactly to define the reserve he would make, was satisfied that one of the places they named would not be needed or included by him, and had, in his reply to their letter, so informed them, and that he had no objection to their taking possession of it; that they had accordingly proceeded to locate and lay out upon this ground the town of Pawnee; that all this had happened in the Summer before I had arrived in the Territory, or had any knowledge of the town or the men who had laid it out; that in November 1854 in our tour through the Territory we had stopped at the fort, and were very hospitably treated by the officers, and were then for the first time made acquainted with the fact that such a town existed. The officers and sutler of the post showed us their town site, informed us that it was outside of the reserve, and, as a matter of courtesy to the five Territorial officers, including myself, whom I have mentioned as constituting our party, presented to each of us a share, being one twenty fifth part, at the same price as the original stockholders had theirs, viz: a proportion of expenses, which we of course accepted; that the officers of the post were probably led into this project by the fact that the same thing had been done by a number of citizens and officers at Fort Leavenworth, who had laid out a town upon ground excluded from the Leavenworth military reserve, and that the Secretary of War, in a correspondence arising out of the transaction, had defended them and approved the act; that Col. Montgomery had, subsequently to the laying out of the town, made and returned a survey of so much of the one hundred and eighty square miles as he needed for the purposes of a reserve at the post, and to exhibit the whole transaction, had returned a draught showing the lines of the surveyed reserve, the lines of the town adjoining it, and the correspondence to which I have alluded; that Quartermaster-General Jesup had indorsed the return "recommended to be approved according to Col. Montgomery's draught and specifications," the effect of which would have been to exclude the town; that the Secretary of War, instead of following or adopting the recommendation of Gen. Jesup, had indorsed the return "recommended to be approved according to Col. Montgomery's draught as shown by the exterior lines," the effect of which was, by excluding all except the draught and adopting the exterior lines, to extend the reserve over the town with all its inhabitants and improvements; and as this recommendation had been approved by himself (the President) probably without being aware of its object or effect, which would be discrediting and disastrous to the Free-State party of the Territory, I stated to him that if he did not choose to revoke his approval and adopt the recommendation of General Jesup, the same result might perhaps be effected if the Secretary of the Interior would include the towns in

the public surveys. He stated that he was no; aware of the condition of things when he approved of the reserve, regretted that he did not know it, and requested me to call upon the Secretary of the Interior and state to him the facts, and he would afterward have a consultation with him. I accordingly called upon Gov. McClelland, and after a conversation with him was referred by him to Gen. Wilson, Commissioner of the Land-Office, to whom I stated the facts. The conversations in regard to the purchase of half-breed lands and the town of Pawnee took place at different times throughout our interviews, although I have stated them here separately, for the sake of convenience. I stated to him, also, that the Secretary of War, by adopting all the reductions of the provisional reserve ascertained by the survey, with the exception of the town-site alone, had abandoned the provisional reserve and recognized the survey, in contrary distinction to the provisional reserve, as a compliance with the original order. I also informed him that the Secretary of War had commissioned General Churchill as Clark, to proceed to Fort Riley to investigate and report, and as it was entirely obvious that the town site, a part of which extended at least two miles from the fort, afforded neither water nor timber, I had no doubt General Clark and Churchill would recommend the exclusion, (as I have since learned they did). The two subjects to which I have alluded were discussed incidentally during our interviews, but the principal question which occupied our attention was the general political condition of the people of the Territory. He was profuse in his expressions of approval of my course, but expressed himself deeply solicitous as to the probable consequences of my return to the Territory. He declared that, in the excited state of the community, he was fearful of personal violence to myself; and that if violence was committed upon me the whole North would be inflamed, civil war would probably ensue, and no man could predict the result. He repeated this, and enlarged upon it much and often; said that it would be a fearful calamity, the beginning of the end, &c., concluding with the opinion that it would be unsafe for myself, and for the country, that I should return to Kansas in the capacity of Governor. I told him promptly and decidedly that I would not resign the office; that two considerations forbade me to think of it; that, as things now stood, the executive office in my hands was the only means of protection for the people against the persecutions and oppressions which had been perpetrated, and would be continued, from the State of Missouri; that it would be base and dishonorable in me to betray and abandon them, and that no considerations of personal danger to myself would induce me to think of it; that, beside this consideration, the whole country had resounded with threats against myself in case I should return, and that a restoration of my office under such circumstances would be attributed to pusillanimity and cowardice. He concurred in this view of the case, and proposed to effect all that was desirable for the public safety and for the public good by removing me from office in a way that would obviate all my objections, and proceeded at length to give his ideas as to what should be done. He proposed that I should make to him in writing a full report of all the proceedings in the Territory, with my views and opinions, referring the whole subject and the remedy to him, and professing my willingness to abide by any plan he should adopt for redressing the existing wrongs and adjusting the present difficulties; that he would reply in writing to this communication, and would take upon himself the responsibility of removing me from office as a part of the remedy, and at the same time would give the most full, satisfactory and unequivocal approbation of my course; that while he would declare my removal to be necessary in order to allay the existing excitement and bring about a more calm and sober state of public feeling, and avert the danger of violence or outbreak, he would exonerate me from all blame in producing that excitement; that, in order fully to testify the sincerity of his approbation, he would confer upon me some unmistakable mark of his favor, and went on to say that the mission to China would be very shortly vacant by the return of Mr. McLane, to which vacancy he would appoint me at once. To his written answer he proposed that I should reply by saying, in effect, that I was not prepared to say he had acted unwisely. After considerable discussion and much reflection upon this proposition, I finally answered that if we could both agree upon the terms of the entire correspondence between us, and if I could be satisfied that our people would be fully cared for and protected as I remained in office, and a successor would be appointed who would resist the aggressive invasions from Missouri, I would cooperate with him. He assured me that the latter conditions should be complied with, and said there would be no difficulty in agreeing mutually upon the correspondence. He requested me then to prepare my communication, which I did, and then suggested various modifications. After discussing them it was agreed I should rewrite it, which I did, and submitted it to him a second time. This did not entirely meet his approbation, and he again suggested alterations and modifications. He then informed me that dispatches had been received from Mr. McLane in England which seemed to indicate the necessity of his returning in person to China, and expressed his fear that it would be out of his power to confer upon me that appointment, but that he would find some other person of it, which would be equally or more desirable. I told him that the obtaining of that or any other office was to me a matter of indifference, in the condition of my family and private affairs, and consisted no part of the inducement to me to agree to and accept; that I preferred rather to go on and ascertain whether we could adjust the matter in its other aspects, and if we could agree upon them the matter of another appointment would be no obstacle to their adjustment. We then ad-

caused his objections to my second draught, and I agreed to rewrite my communication for the third time. Having prepared and submitted it to him, I left it with him, and proceeded to Virginia for my wife, who was there on a visit to two of her brothers. After an absence of two or three days I returned, and he submitted to me, in his own handwriting, a draft of my communication, which very much condensed and generalized what I had written, and which he said he had prepared himself; this draft wanted the concluding portion, in which I was to refer the whole difficulty to him, and profess my willingness to abide by any remedies he should adopt for adjusting it. After examining and discussing this draft, I required that certain alterations and modifications should be made, which I noted, and to which he assented. I can't recollect then, or at some previous interview, I can't recollect which, a portion of his reply to my communication, which came fully up to what he had proposed, so far as it went. But my recollection is, that the paper was not entirely finished. I took with me his draft of my communication, wrote out the conclusion, and submitted it to him; he was dissatisfied with it, and said it would not answer. I requested him to specify particularly the portions which were wrong. He declined doing so; he said that the whole spirit and tenor of it was unsatisfactory; that it appeared to cast too much responsibility upon him. I replied that it had been distinctly understood throughout all our negotiations that I would neither resign my office nor invite a removal; and that I did not see how I could, short of this, say anything less than I had written. He sat down and wrote in pencil a substitute, which he handed me, which I said I would take with me, and from the two might perhaps prepare something which would satisfy us both. I then conversed with him, as I had done several times before, as to the extent of protection he would afford to our people. He assured me he would appoint some honorable, upright Northern man, who was above intimidation or corruption, and would faithfully perform his duty; and named one individual upon whom he was willing to confer the appointment. He inquired of me what particular action I proposed that he should take. I told him that one great means of protecting our people would be to have all his appointments in the Territory understood that the Administration strictly required of them to set their faces and use their influence against all sorts of foreign interference; that there were some sixteen officers of the General Government in the Territory, and that their combined influence would be all-powerful for good or evil. I also suggested the idea of a proclamation, to be issued by himself, reciting what had been done, sternly disapproving it, and pledging his administration against foreign interference as a violation of the principles of the Kansas-Nebraska bill; and the use of the Government troops, if necessary, to prevent a repetition of past outrages; and spoke of the moral influence upon Congress and upon the nation of a fixed and unyielding opposition to them; of the Administration. He mentioned in the manner in which he first these suggestions, the objections which he stated to issuing a proclamation, the doubts he expressed of his legal authority to support such a proclamation if issued, and his evasion of the true point at issue by talking of the Emigrant Aid Society, made me very distrustful of any sincere intention on his part to give adequate protection to our people, and I left him saying that I would come in again in a few days. My reflections that night brought me to the conclusion that if I were removed our people would be left entirely at the mercy of their invaders, and that unless I could have some distinct and positive security for their protection I would proceed no further with the present negotiation. I saw him again the next morning, and so informed him. Our conversation then, though entirely courteous, did not have that same amicable spirit which had characterized all our preceding interviews except that of the night before. I said to him that it was evident to me that he was about to make concessions in the wrong direction; that he was perfectly aware that in all previous angry collisions between Northern and Southern sentiment I had favored the compromises which had satisfied the South and had secured their rights against the clamor of the Anti-Slavery men; that I considered this a clear case of aggression on Northern rights; in whatever there was to be of concession or compensation should be made to the North, and not to the South. The interests of the North, the interests of the Democratic party, and the principles of truth and justice, loudly required it; and that if he would boldly and promptly take that course at this time, before the mass of the Southern people had taken any position upon this question, he would be largely sustained, even at the South; and that the longer the evil was allowed to progress, the more perplexed and complicated would the case become, and the more difficult of remedy. I failed to convince him of my views, which he rather evaded than answered; and finally told him that, as we could not agree, there was nothing left but for him to take the responsibility of his acts and I of mine. He spoke of the dangers of my returning in office; to which I replied that they had no terrors for me, so long as I felt I was in the performance of my duty. He said: "Well, I shall not remove you on account of your official action; if I remove you at all it will be on account of your speculation in lands of the Territory." I told him they were not speculations, but simple lawful purchases. They had risen to leave the room. I remarked to him that the additional papers relating to the purchase of half breed lands were now before him; that he had the whole case, and myself and colleagues were very anxious to have his confirmation or rejection of them before the 1st of June, as several of the contracts expired on that day by their own limitation. He remarked that he had not had time to examine the papers. I then alluded to the town of Pawnee and the military reservation, which was an important matter in its bearings upon the political parties of the Territory, and in regard to which he had promised me to

the Interior. He replied that he would have no time to think of the matter or attend to it, but that, if the vacation of my office could be satisfactorily adjusted, he thought it might be better to promote be arranged in such a shape as to promote my private interests. I felt insulted by the proposition to such an extent that I dared not trust myself to reply. I was conscious of a state of temper so angry and excited as to leave only the alternative of silent contempt or an angry and indecorous reply. I chose the former, and as I was standing near the door with my hat in my hand I bade him good mornning and left him. Some seven or fourteen days after this I received, at Easton, Pa., a note from him requesting me to send to Washington the Hon. Asa Packer, Member of Congress from that district. This request I communicated to Judge Packer, who proceeded to Washington in a few days. I made my arrangements to proceed to the Territory without my family. I had previously made all the necessary arrangements to take my family with me, but abandoned the idea after I had come to the States in consequence of information received, which disappointed me as to the quarters I expected and had provided for them in the Territory. About 10 o'clock at night on the evening preceding the day I was to leave Easton for Kansas, I received a letter from the State Department asking explanations in regard to the purchase of half breed lands, and other speculations in lands of the Territory. This letter was inclosed in an ordinary envelope, not franked by any person, and without the inclosure invariably used upon all envelopes of letters coming from the Department on official business, so that had I proceeded to Easton in consequence of receiving it and there closed the negotiation which had previously failed there would have been no trace before the public of any evidence that I had received an official communication to call me there. Instead of going to Washington, however, I determined to go to Kansas. A duplicate of that letter, as I afterwards learned, was forwarded to the City of New-York, to meet me there in case I should fail to receive the one directed to Easton. The sequel of the correspondence is before the public. On the 26th of June I mailed a letter, containing the explanations called for, which, by due course of mail, must have reached Washington on the 9th of July, and the letter notifying me of my removal, on the day of its date, was mailed on the 30th July (Monday), although dated on the 26th. This removal, which had been thus suspended for twenty-one days, was immediately preceded by the intelligence of my veto message, which repudiated the Legislature, dissolved all connection with it, and treated as void all its laws passed at the Shawnee Mission. This message had created much excitement in the Legislature, and a petition for my removal was thereupon prepared and signed by the members, and one of their body despatched to present and press it in person. This message was met on the way in the States by the intelligence which made his further progress unnecessary, and thus the President was saved the embarrassment or deprived of the opportunity of considering the main question at issue between the Legislature and myself. The papers showing the contract for the half-breed lands had been before the President in January, 1855, and had been of course examined by him, as they were returned to me by him with a note from his private secretary, stating that he declined to confirm them, without concurring in all the reasons mentioned in Mr. May's report. There was no final rejection of the contracts, and I at once proceeded to supply the alleged defects of proof. Nor was there any allegation or intimation in any correspondence or otherwise, that the contracts were illegal or dishonest, or that they were finally rejected. Having supplied the alleged defects, the whole case was again laid before him in May, and about the middle of June I was called on to explain it. The papers then before the President, and which had been before him in January, contained my own statement and argument, with the depositions and certificates of other persons for more thorough than any explanations I could make in the absence of the papers. I have never been informed to this day, and do not know in what aspect and for what reasons these contracts were considered a cause of removal. Whether they were treated as unfair and dishonorable, or simply illegal, or whether the petition was taken that a public officer has not the same right to purchase as a private officer has not the same right to purchase, or that "other speculations in lands of the Territory," of which explanation was demanded after I was removed, was shown to me as the participation in locating the town of Pawnee on the military reservation. Before the removal, I could obtain no explanation of what it meant, although I urgently solicited it. There was nothing to be desired of explanation in regard to this matter, which I had not given to the President in May in the most full and ample manner, and I had especially and particularly explained to him that I was not in the country, and had never heard of the town until after it had been located and surveyed in 1854; and that the reservation had been extended over the town in May, 1855. The third draught of my communication to the President, which I made as above stated, as well as the draught thereof in his handwriting, and the draught of my own in pencil of the intended conclusion, were all preserved by me, and taken with me to Kansas Territory in April, 1856. They were left in my trunk in the hotel in Lawrence when I left there in May, and I can now give no information of them, except that I have been informed by persons who were present, that on the 21st day of May, 1856, when the said hotel was destroyed by incendiaries, the posse of the Sheriff of Douglas County broke open and rifed my trunk, and stole all my clothes and papers. Since then I have not seen these papers, or heard of them. The President selected me to recite in that communication his approval of my conduct, and in his draught recited it himself in his own handwriting.

Correspondence of The Atlas Courier.

LAWRENCE, K. T., Tuesday, July 9, 1856.

The Missouri River is now completely blocked at Waverly, Lexington, Wayne City, Liberty, Delaware and Leavenworth, there are armed forces stationed commanding the river, with cannon planted to destroy any boat that dares to pass without examination. Every boat is searched. Free-State emigrants are sent back. The plunder of the Illinois emigrants is mostly stored in Majors & Russell's warehouse in Leavenworth, where also are stowed five hundred public arms belonging to the Territory, left there by the Territorial Executive.

The weather is wretchedly hot here. The Kansas River is unprecedentedly low and unfit for navigation. A lot of emigrants have got in, and are getting in through Iowa.

A Free-State man named Hudson, who had been at the celebration on the Fourth at Topeka, was shot near Leecompton on his return home. He may recover. One drunken Pro-Slavery man shot another near Leecompton yesterday.

The Daily Journal

R. M. RIDDLE, Editor & Proprietor.

PITTSBURGH:

TUESDAY - - - JULY 22, 1856.

The Hon. H. H. Atchison's Speech.

Our former Vice-President of the United States, the distinguished and chivalrous gentleman whom Mr. Butler was supposed to call his friend, the gentleman who not three years since occupied the seat long vacated by Thomas Johnson, made a speech in Missouri a short time since, extracts from which have already been published in the various newspapers of the day, but which is now first presented entire through the columns of the New York Times. We are sorry to pollute our columns with such blasphemy, but we know of no way in which we can so well present the characters of the men who are now controlling the action of the administration as by giving them as drawn by themselves. Mr. Atchison is the man who calls every body out of the party of which he himself is a bright and shining light—the Great National Democratic Party—an abolitionist, a fanatic, a scoundrel, and what more, read his speech and learn. Mr. Atchison is the grand fugleman of Mr. Pierce; the gentleman whom Hon. Senators are proud to call their friend, and without doubt possesses the confidence of his political friends in all portions of the country.

THE DESIGN OF VIOLENCE.

The Washington correspondent of the New York Courier and Enquirer writes under date of July 17:

Another remarkable illustration of the violence and insolence of the pro-slavery faction at the seat of Government, was supplied last evening, by a combined border ruffian attack upon Mr. Hayscombe, a Clerk of the late Kansas Investigation Committee, at his lodgings. This gentleman is a correspondent of one of the New York papers, and being informed of the facts, naturally called attention to the robbery, which was perpetrated by the self-styled Capt. Pate, when called by Mr. Capt. Browne. Pate being known to have an undesignated person of known name from Kansas, required Mr. Hayscombe to refer to the statement. This Mr. Hayscombe refused to do, because, he said, among other reasons, it corresponded in all essential particulars with Pate's own published account of the affair. Not being satisfied with this reply, Pate has been looking about the Hall for some days with a view to kill Hayscombe, seeking an opportunity to do so. Mr. Hayscombe, at a recent time, was finding it difficult to obtain a meeting with the ruffians, made a bold attempt to do so, and was shot at by a posse of about thirty men, of whom Mr. Hayscombe was the only one who was not wounded. They were all intoxicated, and shot at Hayscombe. Mr. Hayscombe was shot at by the posse, when after some parleying, Pate ordered a firing at him, and then retreated, leaving Hayscombe with his wounds. Mr. Hayscombe had no other chance of escape, and was shot at by the posse, but he escaped, and is now in the hospital, and is expected to recover. Pate is now in the hospital, and is expected to recover. Pate is now in the hospital, and is expected to recover.

agreed to rewrite my communication for the third time. Having prepared and submitted it to him, I left it with him, and proceeded to Virginia for my wife, who was there on a visit to two of her brothers. After an absence of two or three days I returned, and he submitted to me, in his own handwriting, a draft of my communication, which was much condensed and generalized what I had written, and which he said he had prepared himself; this draft wanted the concluding portion, in which I was to refer the whole difficulty to him, and profess my willingness to abide by any remedies he should adopt for adjusting it. After examining and discussing this draft, I required that certain alterations and modifications should be made, which I noted, and to which he assented. He also read to me then, or at some previous interview, I can't recollect which, a portion of his reply to my communication, which came fully up to what he had proposed, so far as it went. But my recollection is, that the paper was not entirely finished. I took with me his draft of my communication, wrote out the conclusion, and submitted it to him; he was dissatisfied with it, and said it would not answer. I requested him to specify particularly the portions which were wrong. He declined doing so; he said that the whole spirit and tenor of it was unsatisfactory; that it appeared to cost too much responsibility upon him. I replied that it had been distinctly understood throughout all our negotiations that I would neither resign my office nor invite a removal; and that I did not see how I could, short of this, say anything less than I had written. He sat down and wrote in pencil a substitute, which he handed me, which I said I would take with me, and from the two might perhaps prepare something which would satisfy us both. I then conversed with him, as I had done several times before, as to the extent of protection he would afford to our people. He assured me he would appoint no one honorable, upright Northern man, who was above intimidation or corruption, and would faithfully perform his duty, and named one individual upon whom he was willing to confer the appointment. He inquired of me what particular action I proposed that he should take. I told him that one great means of protecting our people would be to have all his appointees in the Territory understand that the Administration strictly required of them to set their faces and use their influence against all sorts of foreign interference; that there were some sixteen officers of the General Government in the Territory, and that their combined influence would be all-powerful for good or evil. I also suggested the idea of a proclamation, to be issued by himself, reciting what had been done, sternly disapproving it, and pledging his administration against foreign interference as a violation of the principles of the Kansas-Nebraska bill; and the use of the Government troops, if necessary, to prevent a repetition of past outrages; and spoke of the moral influence upon Congress and upon the nation of a fixed and unyielding opposition to them of the Administration. The manner in which he must these suggestions, the objections which he stated to issuing a proclamation, the doubts he expressed of his legal authority to support such a proclamation if issued, and his evasion of the true point at issue by talking of the Emigrant Aid Society, made me very distrustful of any sincere intention on his part to give adequate protection to our people, and I left him, saying that I would come in again in the morning. My reflections that night brought me to the conclusion that if I were removed our people would be left entirely at the mercy of their invaders, and that unless I could have some distinct and positive security for their protection I would proceed no further with the present negotiation. I saw him again the next morning, and so informed him. Our conversation then, though entirely courteous, did not have that same amicable spirit which had characterized all our preceding interviews except that of the night before. I said to him that it was evident to me that he was about to make concessions in the wrong direction; that he was perfectly aware that in all previous angry collisions between Northern and Southern sentiment I had favored the compromise which had satisfied the South and had secured their rights against the clamor of the Anti-Slavery men; that I considered this a clear case of aggression on Northern rights; in whatever there was to be concession or compensation should be made to the North, and not to the South. The interests of the North, the interests of the Democratic party, and the principles of truth and justice, loudly required it; and that if he would boldly and promptly take that course at this time, before the mass of the Southern people had taken any position upon this question, he would be largely sustained, even at the South; and that the longer the evil was allowed to progress, the more perplexed and complicated would the case become, and the more difficult of remedy. I failed to convince him of my views, which he rather evaded than answered; and finally told him that, as we could not agree, there was nothing left but for him to take the responsibility of his acts and of mine. He spoke of the dangers of my returning in office; to which I replied that they had no terrors for me, so long as I felt it was in the performance of my duty. He said: "Well, I shall not remove you on account of your official action; if I remove you at all it will be on account of your speculation in lands of the Territory." I told him they were not speculations, but simply real purchases. After I had risen to leave the room, I remarked to him that the additional papers relating to the purchase of half-breed lands were now before him; that he had the whole case, and myself and colleagues were very anxious to have his confirmation or rejection of them before the 1st of June, as several of the contracts expired on that day by their own limitation. He remarked that he had not had time to examine the papers. I then alluded to the town of Pawnee and the military reservation, which was an important matter in its bearings upon the political parties of the Territory, and in regard to which he had promised me to

the interior. He replied that he would have no time to think of the matter or attend to it, but that if the vacation of my office could be satisfactorily adjusted, he thought all these matters could be arranged in such a shape as to promote my private interests. I felt insulted by the proposition to such an extent that I dared not trust myself to reply. I was conscious of a state of temper so angry and excited as to leave only the alternative of silent contempt or an angry and indecorous reply. I chose the former, and, as I was standing near the door with my hat in my hand, I bade him good morning and left him. Some seven or fourteen days after this, I received, at Easton, Pa., a note from him requesting me to send to Washington the Hon. Asa Packer, Member of Congress from that district. This request I communicated to Judge Packer, who proceeded to Washington in a few days. I made my arrangements to proceed to the Territory without my family. I had previously made all the necessary arrangements to take my family with me, but abandoned the idea after I had come to the States in consequence of information received, which disappointed me as to the quarters I expected and had provided for them in the Territory. About 10 o'clock at night on the evening preceding the day I was to leave Easton for Kansas, I received a letter from the State Department asking explanations in regard to the purchase of half-breed lands, and other speculations in lands of the Territory. This letter was inclosed in an ordinary envelope, not franked by any person, and without the indorsement invariably used upon all envelopes of letters coming from the Department on official business, so that, had I proceeded to Washington in consequence of receiving it and there closed the negotiation which had previously failed, there would have been no trace before the public of any evidence that I had received an official communication to call me there. Instead of going to Washington, however, I determined to go to Kansas. A duplicate of that letter, as I afterward learned, was forwarded to the City of New-York, to meet me there in case I should fail to receive the one directed to Easton. The sequel of the correspondence is before the public. On the 26th of June I mailed a letter containing the explanations called for, which, by due course of mail, must have reached Washington on the 9th of July; and the letter notifying me of my removal, on the day of its date, was mailed on the 30th July (Monday), although dated on the 28th. This removal, which had been thus suspended for twenty-one days, was immediately preceded by the intelligence of my veto message, which repudiated the Legislature, dissolved all connection with it, and treated as void all its laws passed at the Shawnee Mission. This message had created much excitement in the Legislature, and a petition for my removal was thereupon prepared and signed by the members, and one of their body dispatched to present and press it in person. This messenger was met on the way in the States by the intelligence which made his further progress unnecessary, and thus the President was saved the embarrassment, or deprived of the opportunity, of considering the main question at issue between the Legislature and myself. The papers showing the contract for the half-breed lands had been before the President in January, 1855, and had been of course examined by him, as they were returned to me by him with a note from his private secretary, stating that he declined to confirm them, without occurring in all the reasons mentioned in Mr. Maypenny's report. There was no final rejection of the contracts, and I at once proceeded to supply the alleged defects of proof. Nor was there any allegation or intimation in any correspondence or otherwise, that the contracts were illegal or dishonest, or that they were finally rejected. Having supplied the alleged defects, the whole case was again laid before him in May, and about the middle of June I was called on to explain it. The papers then before the President, and which had been before him in January, contained my own statement and argument, with the depositions and certificates of other persons, giving a history and elucidation of the whole transaction far more thorough than any explanations I could make in the absence of the papers. I have never been informed to this day, and do not know in what aspect and for what reasons these contracts were considered a cause of removal. Whether they were treated as unfair and dishonorable, or simply illegal, or whether the position was taken that a public officer has not the same right to purchase as a private individual, I have never been informed. The "other speculations in lands of the Territory," of which explanation was demanded after I was removed, was shown to mean the participation in locating the town of Pawnee on the military reservation. Before the removal, I could obtain no explanation of what it meant, although I urgently solicited it. There was nothing to be desired of explanation in regard to this matter, which I had not given to the President in May in the most full and ample manner, and I had especially and particularly explained to him that I was not in the country, and had never heard of the town until after it had been located and surveyed in 1854; and that the reservation had been extended over the town in May, 1855. The third draught of my communication to the President, which I made as above stated, as well as the draught thereof in his handwriting, and the draught by him in pencil of the intended conclusion, were all preserved by me, and taken with me to Kansas Territory in April, 1856. They were left in my trunk in the hotel in Lawrence when I left there in May, and I can now give no information of them, except that I have been informed by persons who were present, that on the 21st day of May, 1856, when the said hotel was destroyed by incendiarism, the posse of the Sheriff of Douglas County broke open and rifled my trunk, and stole all my clothes and papers. Since then I have not seen these papers, or heard of them. The President requested me to recite in that communication his approval of my conduct, and in his draught recited it himself in his own handwriting.

Lawrence, K. T., Tuesday, July 2, 1856.
The Missouri River is now completely blocked at Waverly, Lexington, Wayne City, Liberty, Delaware and Leavenworth, there are armed forces stationed commanding the river, with cannon planted to destroy any boat that dares to pass without examination. Every boat is searched. Free-State emigrants are sent back. The plunder of the Illinois emigrants is mostly stored in Majors & Russell's warehouse in Leavenworth, where also are stored five hundred public arms belonging to the Territory, left there by the Territorial Executive.
The weather is wretchedly hot here. The Kansas River is unprecedentedly low and unfit for navigation. A lot of emigrants have got in, and are getting in through Iowa.
A Free-State man named Hudson, who had been at the celebration on the Fourth at Topeka, was shot near Leecompton on his return home. He may recover. One drunken Pro-Slavery man shot another near Leecompton yesterday.

The Daily Journal

R. M. RIDDLE, Editor & Proprietor.
PITTSBURGH:
TUESDAY - - - JULY 23, 1856.

The Hon. B. E. Atchison's Speech.
Our former Vice President of the United States, the "high-toned and chivalrous gentleman" whom Mr. Butler was "proud to call his friend," the gentleman who not three years since occupied the seat of grace by Thomas Jefferson, made a speech in Missouri, a short time since, extracts from which have already been published in the various newspapers of the day, but which is now first presented entire, through the columns of the New York Times. We are sorry to pollute our columns with such blasphemy, but we know of no way in which we can so well present the characters of the men who are now controlling the action of the administration as by giving them as drawn by themselves. Mr. Atchison is the man who calls everybody out of the party of which he himself is a bright and shining light—"the Great National Democratic Party"—an abolitionist, a fanatic, a scoundrel, and what more, read his speech and learn. Mr. Atchison is the grand fugleman of Mr. Pierce, the gentleman whom Hon. Senators is proud to call their friend, and without doubt possesses the confidence of his political friends in all portions of the country.

THE REIGN OF VIOLENCE.
The Washington correspondent of the New York Courier and Enquirer writes under date of July 17:
Another remarkable illustration of the violence and insolence of the pro-slavery faction at the seat of Government, was supplied last evening, by a combined border-ruffian attack upon Mr. Hunscombe, a Clerk of the late Kansas Investigation Committee; at his lodgings. This gentleman is a correspondent of one of the New York papers, and being informed of the facts, naturally called attention to the poltroonery displayed by the self-styled Capt. Pate, when captured by Capt. Browne. Pate being here with a numerous delegation of persons of his own class from Kansas, required Mr. Hunscombe to retract his statement. This Mr. Hunscombe refused to do, because, he said, among other reasons, it corresponded in all essential particulars with Pate's own published account of the affair. Not being satisfied with this reply, Pate has been lurking about the Hall for some days with a gang of kindred spirits, seeking an opportunity to assault Mr. Hunscombe at a disadvantage. Not finding it, the gallant borderer yesterday afternoon, made a descent upon the residence of Mr. H. with a posse numbering four or five apparently fighting men. They were all intoxicated, and so doubtless armed. Mr. Hunscombe came to the door, when, after some parleying, Pate aimed a blow at him, and then instantly retreated behind two of his friends. Mr. H. placed his hand on the stock of a pistol which he had provided for the emergency, but at this moment, Captain Darling, door-keeper of the house, not perceiving the motion of Mr. H's

hand, seized and thrust him back into the house, and himself stepped forward, and placing himself in a fighting attitude, politely invited any and all of the gang to a set-to with nature's weapons, which they unanimously declined, and so disappeared. Two of the gang, very large and powerful men, subsequently returned, and assailed one of Capt. Darling's messengers—a small and feeble person. Mr. Phipps and the messenger being present, seized one of the ruffians by the throat, and while engaged in choking him, his confederate completed the assault which both had commenced on the defenseless young man. In the meantime, one of the assailants amused himself with cursing a colored servant belonging to the house, and only desisted from his abuse upon Capt. Darling's threatening to blow him through with a pistol, which at this stage of the affray had been produced.

The atmosphere of violence and lawlessness which surrounds this community, and especially the Northern members of Congress and persons in attendance upon it, was further thickened by Whitfield himself threatening, within the hall of the House, to have the messenger who was yesterday assaulted,—who is keeper of one of the doors of the House, and was upon duty at the time,—beaten within an inch of his life, if he dared to denounce the man who committed the violence upon him. This is precisely the spirit which exists in Kansas and indeed which animates the party and the section now struggling and clamoring for the existence of slavery.

INDEPENDENT WHIG.

LANCASTER, PA.

TUESDAY MORNING, JULY 22, 1856.

A CLERGYMAN'S TESTIMONY.—A highly respectable clergyman, formerly of Salem, Mass., writes from Lawrence, K. T., under date of June 12th:—

"I do not know how it would have been possible for us to have gone through the past year, had it not been for the kindness and liberality of Eastern friends, some of whom were total strangers, or nearly so. May that God who loveth the cheerful giver reward you an hundred fold for your labor of love.

"I trust we shall not always be in our present condition here. Just now we are subject to all kinds of robbery—some have been robbed of nearly all they possessed, by the invading U. S. posse. I have already suffered to the amount of three hundred dollars, within a month—a valuable horse and other things—and when remonstrating and endeavoring to save my property I narrowly escaped being hung.

"The half of what has been done here within a month, and under the protection of U. S. law, will never be known East. It could not be believed if told, and yet we are determined to hold on to the end. We need not only the aid of the East, but their prayers."

INDIAN TROUBLES IN KANSAS.—On the 23d of June, John Montgomery, Indian agent for the Kaw nation, with a posse of soldiers under the command of Lieut. Redick, crossed to the north side of Kansas river, and commenced burning the houses outhouses and other property of the settlers on the half-bred Kaw reserve, and continued in their burning until the night of the 24th—destroying some 20 houses.

Captain Walker, hearing of their outrages, sent an order through Capt. Hampton, directing Lieut. Redick to withdraw his aid and force from Montgomery, unless he (Montgomery) could show his authority for his actions. When asked for his authority, he answered he had none, but acted from his own discretion.

Lieut. Redick withdrew his forces at once, thereby saving much property and many families from being turned out of doors and having their property destroyed. Proper proceedings have been taken to bring the outlaws to justice.—*Leavenworth Journal.*

Another Chapter in Blood.

(From the Dayton Daily Gazette, July 22.)

The following letter, received by a gentleman in this city, from Kansas, speaks for itself:

"BLUE SPRING, NEAR TECUMSEH, K. T., June 24, 1856.

"Mr. W. G. Sherwin—Dear Sir: We take this method of acquainting you with the sad fate of your friend.

"Yesterday morning, we (my friend Rooks and myself) were going to Tecumseh, but when about eleven miles from that place, we were appalled by the sight of the body of a murdered man tied firmly to a tree near the road side. He was tied with his back to the tree, with his hands and feet partially around it. He had been shot just above the left eye with—as we suppose—a rifle ball. A huge hunting knife was sticking in his breast. It had been driven clear through him, and the point was two or three inches in the tree. He was evidently murdered yesterday or day before.

"There was a toadstool tied to the knife-handle, on which the following inscription was written: 'Let all those who are going to vote against Slavery in Kansas—take warning!'

"We went to the nearest house—which was about

a mile and a half, and got some help and some tools, and buried him. He was a stranger to all of us except Mr. More, who says he (the murdered man) had been boarding at his house eleven or twelve days. His name was Laben Parker, and came from Cleveland. He had repeatedly said, at the boarding house, that he "did not intend to resort to force, but so far as his influence at the polls went, he was going to use it for making Kansas a free state."

"A company of armed men, from South Carolina, have been staying around Tecumseh three or four days. A squad of them were down this road yesterday and day before.

"We don't any of us know where his relatives live, but among the papers in his pocket, we find a letter from you, written (to him) on the 6th of May, and that is the reason why we direct this letter to you.

"MARTIN RULAY, FREDERICK ROOKS, F. E. MORE, Lane co., Kansas Terr., W. G. SHERWIN, Dayton, Ohio."

DAILY GAZETTE.
July 22, 1856.

Next we come to President PIERCE'S United States Marshal for the Northern District of California. The biography of this individual we published yesterday in full, and we commend it to the attention of our readers. This man guilty of an atrocious murder, and almost every crime in the blackest of the black catalogues, was appointed by President PIERCE to an important and responsible office. To secure this appointment, JOHN B. WELLER, a Senator of the United States, who a few years ago came within a few votes of being elected Democratic Governor of the State of Ohio, and is now supporting the Democratic Administration—is in fact one of the leaders of that party—made himself particularly conspicuous.

Then look at Kansas. An army of ruffians, with United States muskets in hand, dealing death and destruction to peaceable citizens; the President of the United States appointing a drunken vagabond as Governor of the Territory; ordering the United States troops to disperse a meeting of citizens quietly convened for no unlawful purpose, on the anniversary day of American independence; permitting the Missouri river to be monopolized by pirates, who rob, murder and abuse respectable citizens, etc. etc. We need not attempt to recapitulate the crimes committed in Kansas. For all these, for the disgrace they entail upon our country, and for the bitter sectional feeling that has arisen therefrom, the Administration is guilty.

Need we, in addition to what we have already said, refer to the corruption that prevails in Federal offices, in order to exhibit the guilty character of the men in whose hands are the reins of Government? Certainly not. In every city, and village and town where there is a Federal office, there is corruption. The facts are read and known of men in every place. The fountain is beyond question impure, and the streams that proceed therefrom are poisoning the morals of the people, and national wickedness is being heaped up to a fearful height. Consider these things and see "what we have come to."

"The Boston Bee" of July 19 contains Governor Gardner's reply to the late communication of Governor Winston, of Alabama, returning the Kansas resolutions of the Massachusetts Legislature. Governor Gardner comments in severe terms on the assumptions and assertions of the Executive of Alabama, and concludes by informing him that, notwithstanding his expressed wishes that no further intercourse with Massachusetts was desired, he (Governor Gardner) will continue to send resolves to Alabama when desired to do so by the Legislature so long as he fills the Executive chair."

The above is a specimen of Massachusetts impudence and folly, and of her regard for the comity and good feeling which ought to characterize the intercourse between the several States of this Union. For many years she has been in the habit of passing rabid Abolition resolutions in her Legislature, and then of transmitting them to Southern States for the purpose of irritation and insult. This is the only motive, for it is well known that no good can arise out of such meddling interference with the institutions of sister States. The State of Alabama made a very proper disposition of the Massachusetts Abolition resolutions, and we presume she will continue to pursue the same course of conduct.

The Kansas statute.

At a Republican meeting at Madisonville, Friday evening, while a gentleman named Howell was speaking and quoting some of the Repub. Reform enactments in Kansas, a Bachelor was busy enough to dispute that there were such laws, and demanded the proof. The assembly was given him, but he persisted in his denial, and denounced the so-called Kansas laws as manufactured by the Black-Republican for electioneering purposes, and having no existence but in newspapers. At the conclusion of this man's harangue, Mr. Gurley, who had just entered the hall, held up the Kansas statute, a copy of which he procured some time since from the official printer, and said, "here is the Kansas Bible," and then proceeded to read from it the "laws" of the law and order murderers in Kansas.—*Commercial.*

Nothing is more certain than that the New York Tribune and other Black-Republican sheets have published laws purporting to have been passed by the Kansas Legislature, which were entirely bogus, and that they have placed an obviously false construction upon others, giving them a worse aspect than they really wear. Several tricks of this kind have been exposed in the Democratic press.

But what has the Rev. Mr. Gurley, who has forsaken the vocation of a minister of the gospel for that of a political stump and "slang-wagger," and who prides himself as expert in the latter business, to say to the fact that all of the Black-Republican Senators in the United States Senate voted to retain and preserve upon the statute books the very laws which he read in the Kansas bills, while all the Democratic Senators voted to annul them. In the eighteenth section of the Kansas Pacification Bill, which lately passed the Senate at Washington, is found the following words:

"No law shall be made or have force or effect in said Territory, which shall require a test oath or oath to support any act of Congress or other legislative act as a qualification for any civil office or public trust, or for any employment or profession, or to serve as a juror or vote at an election, or which shall impose any tax upon or condition to the exercise of the right of suffrage by any qualified voter, or which shall restrain or prohibit the free discussion of any law or subject of legislation in the said Territory, or the free expression of opinion thereon by the people of said Territory."

Upon the passage of the bill containing the above section the vote stood as follows:

"YEA—Messrs. Allen, Bayard, Bell of Tennessee, Benjamin, Biggs, Bigler, Bright, Brodhead, Brown, Cass, Clay, Crittenden, Douglas, Hunter, Iverson, Johnson, Jones of Iowa, Malloy, Pratt, Pugh, Reid, Sebastian, Sidel, Stuart, Thompson of Kentucky, Toombs, Toucey, Weller, Wright, Yulee—33.

"NAY—Messrs. Bell of New Hampshire,

Daily Engineer.

OFFICIAL PAPER OF THE CITY.

TUESDAY MORNING, JULY 22

The Kansas-Nebraska Law.

"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."

The above is an extract from the celebrated Kansas and Nebraska Law. Is it not strange that, in despite of its plain language to the contrary, we find men so reckless as to say that it extended slavery into Nebraska and Kansas? Shame on the libelers!

hand, seized and thrust him back into the house, and himself stepped forward, and placing himself in a fighting attitude, politely invited any and all of the gang to a set-to with nature's weapons, which they unanimously declined, and so disappeared. Two of the gang, very large and powerful men, subsequently returned, and assailed one of Capt. Darling's messengers—a small and feeble person. Mr. Phipps and the messenger being present, seized one of the ruffians by the throat, and while engaged in choking him, his confederate completed the assault which both had commenced on the defenceless young man. In the meantime, one of the assailants amused himself with cursing a colored servant belonging to the house, and only desisted from his abuse upon Capt. Darling's threatening to blow him through with a pistol, which at this stage of the affray had been produced.

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DAILY GAZETTE.
July 22, 1856.

Next we come to President Pierce's United States Marshal for the Northern District of California. The biography of this individual we published yesterday in full, and we commend it to the attention of our readers. This man guilty of an atrocious murder, and almost every crime in the blackest of the black catalogues, was appointed by President Pierce to an important and responsible office. To secure this appointment, JOHN B. WELLES, a Senator of the United States, who a few years ago came within a few votes of being elected Democratic Governor of the State of Ohio, and is now supporting the Democratic Administration—is in fact one of the leaders of that party—made himself particularly conspicuous.

Then look at Kansas. An army of ruffians, with United States muskets in hand, dealing death and destruction to peaceable citizens; the President of the United States appointing a drunken vagabond as Governor of the Territory; ordering the United States troops to disperse a meeting of citizens quietly convened for no unlawful purpose, on the anniversary day of American independence; permitting the Missouri river to be monopolized by pirates, who rob, murder and abuse respectable citizens, etc., etc. We need not attempt to recapitulate the crimes committed in Kansas. For all these, for the disgrace they entail upon our country, and for the bitter sectional feeling that has arisen therefrom, the Administration is guilty.

Need we, in addition to what we have already said, refer to the corruption that prevails in Federal offices, in order to exhibit the guilty character of the men in whose hands are the reins of Government? Certainly not. In every city, and village and town where there is a Federal office, there is corruption. The facts are read and known of men in every place. The fountain is beyond question impure, and the streams that proceed therefrom are poisoning the morals of the people, and national wickedness is being heaped up to a fearful height. Consider these things and see "what we have come to."

The Kansas Statutes.

At a Republican meeting at Madisonville, Friday evening, while a gentleman named Howell was speaking and quoting some of the Border Ruffian enactments in Kansas, a Ban-chanter was hardy enough to dispute that there were such laws, and demanded the proof. The authority was given him, but he persisted in his denial, and denounced the so-called Kansas laws as manufactured by the Black-Republicans for electioneering purposes, and having no existence but in newspapers. At the conclusion of this man's harangue, Mr. Gurley, who had just entered the hall, held up the Kansas statutes, a copy of which he procured some time since from the official printer, and said, "here is the Kansas Bible," and then proceeded to read from it the "laws" of the law and order murderers in Kansas.—*Commercial.*

Nothing is more certain than that the New York Tribune and other Black-Republican sheets have published laws purporting to have been passed by the Kansas Legislature, which were entirely bogus, and that they have placed an obviously false construction upon others, giving them a worse aspect than they really wear. Several tricks of this kind have been exposed in the Democratic press.

But what has the Rev. Mr. Gurley, who has forsaken the vocation of a minister of the gospel for that of a political stumper and "slangwanger," and who proves himself an expert in the latter business, to say to the fact that all of the Black-Republican Senators in the United States Senate voted to retain and preserve upon the statute books the very laws which he read in the Kansas bills, while all the Democratic Senators voted to annul them. In the eighteenth section of the Kansas Pacification Bill, which lately passed the Senate at Washington, is found the following words:

"No law shall be made or have force or effect in said Territory, which shall require a test oath or oath to support any act of Congress or other legislative act as a qualification for any civil office or public trust, or for any employment or profession, or to serve as a juror or vote at an election, or which shall impose any tax upon or condition to the exercise of the right of suffrage by any qualified voter, or which shall restrain or prohibit the free discussion of any law or subject of legislation in the said Territory, or the free expression of opinion thereon by the people of said Territory."

Upon the passage of the bill containing the above section the vote stood as follows:

"Yea—Messrs. Allen, Bayard, Bell of Tennessee, Benjamin, Biggs, Bright, Brodhead, Brown, Cass, Clay, Crittenden, Douglas, Hunter, Iverson, Johnson, Jones of Iowa, Mallory, Pratt, Pugh, Reid, Sebastian, Silldell, Stuart, Thompson of Kentucky, Toombs, Toucer, Weller, Wright, Yulee—33.
"Nay—Messrs. Bell of New Hampshire,

Daily Enquirer.

OFFICIAL PAPER OF THE CITY.
TUESDAY MORNING.....JULY 22

The Kansas-Nebraska Law.
"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."

The above is an extract from the celebrated Kansas and Nebraska Law. Is it not strange that, in despite of its plain language to the contrary, we find men so reckless as to say that it extended slavery into Nebraska and Kansas? Shame on the libelers!

Another Chapter in Blood.

(From the Dayton Daily Gazette, July 23.)
The following letter, received by a gentleman in this city, from Kansas, speaks for itself:

"BLUE SPRING, NEAR TECUMSEH, K. T.,
"June 24, 1856."

"Mr. W. G. Sherwin—Dear Sir: We take this method of acquainting you with the sad fate of your friend."

"Yesterday morning, we (my friend Roofs and myself) were going to Tecumseh, but when about eleven miles from that place, we were appalled by the sight of the body of a murdered man tied firmly to a tree near the road side. He was tied with his back to the tree, with his hands and feet partially around it. He had been shot just above the left eye with—we suppose—a rifle ball. A huge hunting knife was sticking in his breast. It had been driven clear through him, and the point was two or three inches in the tree. He was evidently murdered yesterday or day before."

"There was a toadstool tied to the knife-handle, on which the following inscription was written: "Let all those who are going to vote against Slavery in Kansas—take warning!"

"We went to the nearest house—which was about

Commer, Dodge, Durkee, Fessenden, Foster, Hale, Seward, Trumbull, Wade, Wilson—12."

These in the negative, who were in favor of retaining the Kansas laws to make political capital out of, were all Black-Republicans. This is a fact that well deserves to be remembered and commented upon in the course of the canvass.

Another fact is worthy of notice, that not a single one of the obnoxious laws in Kansas was ever sought to be executed or carried out. The laws that were resisted in the Territory were such as may be found in every State and Territory in the Union, and were merely designed for the protection of life and property. The Rev. Mr. Gurley, while reading from the Kansas statutes, did not, we presume, tell his hearers that one clause of the Topeka Constitution contains a clause forbidding negroes from residing in the State. This is the constitution that the Black-Republicans are so desirous of accepting for Kansas, and their House of Representatives has actually indorsed it. The Commercial and the Rev. Mr. Gurley display great impudence in alluding to the Kansas statutes, after their friends in Congress have voted against a law in Congress striking them out. The Democrats are not as responsible for the Kansas statutes as the Black-Republicans.

LOUISVILLE JOURNAL,

TUESDAY, JULY 22, 1856.

Theodore Parker has become highly incensed at the cowardice of his Abolition deputies in Kansas. The blood which they *didn't* shed has inflamed his wrath to a prodigious pitch. At a recent meeting in his "Hall" at Boston, he is reported to have said that "six half-breed, half-alligator men from Kentucky or Missouri would put to flight all the loud-talking, spread eagle Freesoilers and Abolitionists of New England." This is graphic and undoubtedly true, but, considering that Parker is himself by far the loudest-talking and most chicken-hearted Abolitionist in New England, the impudence of the thing is quite sublime. Parker is physically an arrant coward, but he has the moral hardihood of a thousand devils. He is afraid to fight himself, but he isn't afraid to stand up and abuse other white-livered people for not pouring out their blood like water.

LOUISVILLE COURIER.

LOUISVILLE,

TUESDAY

JULY 22

"A Belle," writing from Newport to the New York Mirror, says:

I haven't seen any of the horrid Abolitionists yet—I didn't tell you that "I came from Alabama,"—but I heard a gentleman from St. Louis, (a very pious man) say, that they wouldn't let him eat the sacrament in Boston a week ago Sunday, because he owned slaves. Isn't that awful?

An Interesting Letter from Kansas.

The following exceedingly well written and interesting letter is from the pen of a talented young gentleman of this city, addressed to his relatives, by whom we have been furnished with it for publication:

LECOMPTON, K. T., July 10, '56.

My Dear ———: I must say that I am perfectly delighted at this delicious country. Every acre of it resembles the lands of Kentucky under the highest state of cultivation. The great Bastille, I may call it, of hostile Indians that has so long stopped the march of civilization across this continent is at last broken through, and the settlement of Kansas is about to open a new field for the development of the energetic genius of our countrymen. Emigration and civilization have ever tended Westward,

and the "Star of Empire" was accompanied them, until now it only requires the occupation of the territory from here to the Sierra Nevada to belt the earth with an isothermal zodiac of great nations. In the struggle of the past fifty years to overcome the artificial barriers heaped up in his path, we have seen the pioneer, by his own intrinsic power, force his way through the continent and Oregon and California conquered and peopled. Finally have come Utah and New Mexico, and now the crowning glory of Kansas. Thus is the wide continent cut through and the broad track laid down which leads from Europe direct to Asia. Lying as Kansas does immediately on this route from the Atlantic seaboard to the Pacific coast, nothing can retard its progress or control its greatness. The inexhaustible gold productions of California must flow through it—the commerce of Asia will be tributary to its greatness. In addition, a point in this territory, in the neighborhood of Fort Riley, at the point where the Smoky Hill and Republican rivers joining, form the Kansas, is the most remarkable focal centre of the "Valley of the Mississippi," and of the continent, North and South, East and West.

Beyond the western line of Missouri commences this delicious country of immense extent. Many rivulets, having their sources under the roots of the Sierra Madre, issue from the bottom of the Piedmont, or slope that smoothes the fading of the mountain base into the great Prairies. These converging, some into a branch to the left, and some to the right, form first the Republican and second the Smoky Hill river. These two streams flow generally parallel, until they unite about one hundred and twenty miles west of the Missouri border and form the Kansas river. This then flows in nearly a straight line due east, until it enters the State of Missouri and empties into the Missouri river. The length of the Kansas basin is about six hundred miles and its breadth two hundred. This basin is everywhere of limestone formation, and the surface is everywhere a uniformly undulating prairie, having the greatest depth of rich alluvial soil. The productive capacity of this soil is greater and more uniform than any other equal sized patch of the earth's surface. It is eminently fitted for the culture of the grape and the growing of fruits. Meandering streams lave it with their small ravines, irrigate it, while it is checkered with romantic groves. An inexhaustible coal bed, I have observed, too, underlies its whole extent. The western extremity of this basin penetrates into the great pastoral region, where the Buffalo grass grows during the evaporation of the rivers in the hot months, cures into hay, when that ceases and furnishes winter food for millions of aboriginal—for buffalo, wild horses, antelope and venison.

Kansas is, in addition, the most perfect grain growing country on this continent. What the gold production has been to the Pacific sea board—what the cotton and sugar culture to the South—what maritime commerce to the Atlantic coast—such is and will be the production of breadstuffs and provisions to the Central Valley States. Besides its productive capacity there is the immense field it presents for pastoral agriculture. Here nature spontaneously supplies all the requisite sustenance for pastoral life, and thereby nine-tenths of the manual labor becomes unnecessary. No such country as this exists in Europe, nor on the continent from the Atlantic seaboard to the Missouri frontier. But the pastoral region of the world is reached and thrown open in Kansas Territory. The production of meat, leather and wool must here predominate over all other departments of agriculture. The pioneer has crossed the threshold of the virgin State, and is about to develop its wealth.

To render these views clear we must seek the causes of this novel order of industry in the topography of the country, and in the laws which affect the climate, soil and vegetation. The most striking features of the country are, the luminosity of the great plains, and the uniform aridity of the earth and atmosphere. These monotonous characteristics, perpetually vexing the eye-balls, bewilder the transient traveler, exhaust his patience and warp his judgment. Hence, in the descriptive works of tourists and geographers, we search in vain for a true portrait of the country—characterizing it, as they do, as an uniformly arid desert. The altitude of 1,000 feet above the level of the sea, and remoteness from it, cause the aridity of the atmosphere, which yields no dew, and rarely rain or snow.

The oceans are the great reservoirs that supply clouds to the atmosphere, and the vapors arising from them, forming themselves into clouds, are carried by currents of air always in a westwardly direction. Those boiling vapors in the least concentrated form spill it out near the sea, but those that attain a higher degree of concentration remain it longer. But the great Sierra Nevada de los Andes line the western seaboard of North America, and the winds coming from the west, over the ocean, blow against this wall. On this elevated summit of perpetual congelation the vapors become ice, and the irrigatory influence of the Pacific is here abruptly stopped. Such is the case with the eastern slope of the continent. But you may ask, why do not the vapors of the Atlantic reach the prairies? The answer is obvious. The winds, blowing perpetually from the west, retard their progress, and render it impossible.

Westward and Northward the timber gradually tapers away, till finally it abandons its struggle for growth and ceases entirely. Onward, however, for several hundred miles the irrigation continues to preserve the mellowness of the soil, and tall luxuriant grasses cover the face of nature. This in turn gradually dwarfs under decreasing irrigation into the delicate, curled grass of the buffalo plains. Finally grass itself falls, and the general characteristic of the surface of the Sierra Madre and the "plateau of table lands" is total nakedness of any nutritious vegetable covering. Thus you see all the varieties of vegetation and soil are explained by the attenuation of the rains as we recede from the ocean. At the line then of the cessation of timber the pastoral region of the long succulent grasses commences—a strip of territory two hundred and fifty miles in width. The soil is of a calcareous quality, in which the grasses grow from May to September, in which latter month they decay, and are annually burnt off. Next to and westward of this, filling up the space to the Sierra Madre, are the "Buffalo plains," as they are called—five hundred miles in width—producing the dwarfed buffalo grass, which resembles, where I have seen it, sheep wool tightly curled; and covering the earth, as with a carpet of moss. These grasses are, by the dry atmosphere, cured into hay that retains its excellence all the year. This, then, is what I describe as the pastoral regions of America—the abode of countless millions of buffalo, elk, antelope, black and white tailed deer and wild horses.

This is the aggregate of the observations I have made and the information obtained in traveling through this territory—which I have done in almost every direction. I cannot exactly say when I will return, but from the very great expense of living here and the cost of transportation from place to place, my purse is being rapidly depleted.

J.

THE CONSTITUTION—STATE RIGHTS

RICHMOND WHIG.

TUESDAY MORNING, JULY 22, 1856.

To the Editors of the Whig:

LECOMPTON, K. T., July 6, 1856.

Gentlemen:—I have had nothing of interest to report, as there has been nothing of importance transpiring to interest your readers, and, when anything does happen, we receive it in such a fragmentary manner that it would take the genius and talents of a "Philadelphia Lawyer" to unravel the mystery, and by the time it is cleared up here the telegraphic wires have spread exaggerated rumors broadcast over the land. We were very much amused at the accounts of battles and bloodshed that has taken place in our Territory, and can assure you that it was startling "news to us."

On the morning of the 4th we were awakened from our slumbers by the discharge of cannon,—saluting the rising sun and ushering in the ever memorable anniversary of the Declaration of our Independence. At 11 o'clock a procession was formed, headed by the Lecompton Guard, and marched to a grove situated about a quarter of a mile from the city to listen to the reading of the Declaration of Independence, and the customary oration. After the assemblage had become seated and order restored, the Rev. Mr. Pritchett offered up a most eloquent and fervent prayer for the cessation of civil strife and the perpetuation of the Union. The Declaration was then read by Samuel C. Hays, who was followed by A. P. Walker, the orator of the day, in an oration of an hour and a half in length; which abounded in sentiments of great beauty and appropriateness. Col. Moore, who was called upon, also entertained the assemblage with a few eloquent and patriotic remarks. The platform was erected in a beautiful grove, where luxuriant foliage formed a grateful protection against the warm beams of the meridian sun, which seemed struggling through the leafy sheen to illumine the variegated assemblage—for many of the fair daughters of Kansas were in attendance.

After the ceremonies were concluded we all returned to an adjacent grove to partake of a free barbecue, gotten up by the citizens of Lecompton, which spoke well for their hospitality. The usual toasts were read and every one appeared perfectly satisfied. At night a ball came off at the Lecompton Hotel, and our beaux and belles engaged themselves to the fullest extent. Thus ended our first celebration of the 4th in Lecompton—may we have many such.

The Topeka Legislature assembled on the 4th, but were dispersed by Col. Sumner, without making any arrests, the U. S. Marshal not deeming it justifiable without having writs for them. So thus they have again slipped through the meshes of the law, by the incompetency or stupidity of the Marshal.

The excitement is dying down—the Free State hirelings confining themselves to horse-stealing and pillaging generally. It was reported that the notorious "Jim Lane," senator elect of the free State of Kansas, was coming down upon us with 2,000 men, but we have come to the conclusion that it is all garrulism.