

Vol. 15

WEBB SCRAP BOOK  
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### The Southern Democracy and the Nebraska Bill.

While the Enquirer and its allies here in Virginia are making themselves hoarse in screaming into every body's ears that the Kansas-Nebraska bill is the "great test question" in the present canvass, what is thought and said of that "test" measure by the Buchanan Democracy of South Carolina? The Charleston Mercury, an ardent supporter of old Buck's pretensions, alluding to the bill introduced into the Senate by Tombs and Douglas, which go to show that the Southern Democracy are beginning to repudiate this "test measure" as a "practical failure.—The Mercury says:

"Senator Douglas has added much to his previous reputation, by his reports and speeches, this session, on Kansas affairs.

# THE REPUBLICAN.

ST. LOUIS:

WEDNESDAY MORNING, JULY 23, 1856.

## SPRINGFIELD CORRESPONDENCE.

SPRINGFIELD, Ill., July 21, 1856.

The weather is delightful this morning. Although the sun shines bright and warm, yet the air is cool and bracing. Last Tuesday and Wednesday were the hottest days we have experienced this year; the thermometer ranged above one hundred degrees each day. We have had no rain yet—none for nearly three months; but if the prayers of the righteous avail much, we expect to see muddy streets ere long, for yesterday (Sunday) were prayers offered in the church for rain.

Last week a distinguished personage visited our city. He called himself Rev. Mr. NUTE; represented himself as a missionary from Lawrence, Kansas Territory; said he had been East delivering lectures, and procuring aid. This man NUTE is one of those gentlemen who made a speech and took part in an Abolition meeting not long since held in Boston, where Mr. CHARLES REMOND (darkey) "a distinguished son of Ohio," as he was called, made a speech, in which he said, "he could spit upon that scoundrel, George Washington;" that "that scoundrel George Washington had enslaved his fellow-man;" which meeting was also addressed by WENDELL PHILLIPS. Mr. NUTE made very little stir here, and departed without delivering any lecture. He seemed very anxious to know what the Western papers said about him, and what the people thought of him, (imagining himself a very important person,) and left, no doubt, with a flea in his ear.

Another of these Kansas gents lately visited our State; we have reference to the delegate to Congress from the State of Kansas, MARK W. DELAHAY. He made a speech at Whitehall, Greene county, where he formerly resided, and was immediately answered by a citizen of that place. It won't do for DELAHAY to stay long where he is well known, and in this section of the State he is a notorious character, and was before his exploits in Kansas. He has been East, collecting funds to carry on the war. He gives as a reason for not returning to Kansas immediately, that he is under an indictment, and would be arrested.

## INDIANA.

Correspondence of the Republican.

TERRE HAUTE, Ia., July 18, 1856.

Great times and doings in Indianapolis on the 15th instant—A large Fremont demonstration exciting the Woollys into the eleventh heaven—Incidents—A damper on the 16th instant in the Fillmore Convention and the selection of a Fillmore Electoral Ticket—Speech of Hon. R. W. Thompson—Interruption by the Black Republicans—A Fight the result—Quiet dispersment of the Fillmorettes—The glorious 17th of July—Outpourings of the gallant "Old Liners"—Acres upon acres of people met in council to swear allegiance to the Constitution and the Union—Incidents—The triumph of the friends of Buchanan in Indiana reduced to an absolute certainty, and the great damper it has placed on Black Republicanism—The attempt of their lying organs to break the force of this great demonstration, &c., &c.

On Tuesday last, the Black Republican Abolitionists of Indiana held a great pow-wow, for which they have been preparing several weeks past. All that money could do towards gathering a crowd, and touching it off with the paraphernalia of show, was done. The rich woollys—merchant, Bank and banker—the poor man, with his little mite, and even the women, in some instances, contributed, in the aggregate, a considerable amount; but the great bulk of the fund which went to defray the expenses of this FREMONT, Free-soil, Abolition demonstration, was undoubtedly derived from the poor dupes who, under the influence of gross misrepresentation, had been induced to contribute their \$5's, \$10's and \$20's, under the full faith that they were giving it to establish liberty in one of the already free Territories of the United States—in Kansas. Under this stimulation, the Fremonters got up a considerable gathering, numbering thousands, of which fully fifty per cent were women and boys. The crowds in attendance from abroad had been variously estimated at 10,000, 15,000, and so on up to 30,000. I think there were

add 10,000 of the 25,000 resident population of Indianapolis, and you have a conglomerated mass of something less than 30,000, which is a large allowance with a big margin for the Fusionists. But there was one feature in all that vast crowd, great as it was, observable to the discriminating mind—of the thousands in attendance, not more than 2,000 or 10,000 at the outside, were voters.

A large amount of money had been expended in Indianapolis, Lafayette and other points, in getting up their banners, flags, illustrations, transparencies, etc., suitably devised to stimulate sectional hate and rancor. Buffoonery and demagoguism were carried to a degree that put the blush of shame upon the cheek of every patriot or lover of his country, by the impertinent and insulting attempt to hold up the people of the South and their institutions to the hatred and scorn of Northern men. But there were so many things, and so novel, occurring in every portion of the city, it would have taken a dozen reporters to have approximated anything near the full details. I shall, therefore, give you simply some of the doings passing under my vision, in the several Fusion processions of the day, among whom were negroes marching, having on the FREMONT badge.

First of all, a grand "Abolition Ball" had been gotten up by the Black Republican Club of Indianapolis, called "FREEDOM'S BALL," which in its rollings from one end of the Union to the other was destined to crush out the foul blot of slavery, and give equality to all. Its structure was some ten feet in diameter, having on it the names of FREMONT and DAYTON, in large letters, with various mottoes and devices appropriate to an Abolition Saturnalia. This BALL was "one of the institutions of the day," it being the Commander-in-Chief, marching (rolling) at the head of the Fusion hosts. It was "engineered" a good deal on the principle that a certain species of the bug family roll their balls, with help before and help behind.

A splendid boat, (which is said to have been very courteously tendered for the use of the Fusionists by the Democratic Club,) was in the procession with thirty-one young ladies dressed in white, bearing flags, representing the several States of the Union, to which was added another young lady, clad in black, bearing a flag draped in mourning, to represent, I suppose, the sorrows of Abolitionism at their continuous defeats in attempting to bring about civil war between the North and South, and the admission of Kansas as a State under her Topeka constitution. This was followed by other and numerous matters, not remembered. There was a representation of Judge DOUGLAS riding a negro; another where a parcel of white persons, representing different ages and sexes, painted to African colors were chained and bound together, followed by a huge taskmaster, with his long slave lash, at every few steps cracking it over their shoulders and driving them to a market. Others, where the slave mother was theatrically exhibited off, as her offspring, torn from her arms, was brutally sold to the unfeeling slave trader.

Again: the Border Ruffians of Missouri were personated in considerable numbers, by a large gang of Fusionists dressed to suit, armed with guns, pistols, tomahawks and butcher knives, marching the streets with a banner at their head, and doing all they could to represent what they supposed to be the atrocious conduct of Missourians, who have taken part in the Kansas difficulties.

And again: a wagon with a platform representing the floor of the U. S. Senate chamber, with persons on it, one personating SUMNER, the libeller, and another Brooks, of South Carolina, knocking him down and beating him over the head; this act being repeated at the corner of every street, as the wagon passed onwards. Mottoes of the most insulting character to the South were frequent, some of which in substance said—"the slave Propagandists are against FREE SPEECH, FREE RIGHTS, FREE LABOR," etc.

The speakers were HENRY S. LANE, ORTH, HANSAURCK, a German infidel from Cincinnati, MORO, and others unimportant; and from the little I could gather, their remarks were in full consonance with the displays of the procession. The day was intensely hot, with thermometer ranging near one hundred; and water, ice, and refreshments were in great and rapid demand; although their speakers had denounced the Democrats and Old Line Whigs, who associated with them, as the advocates of whiskey, it was not a little remarkable that they had a decided penchant for mint juleps, sherry cobbles, brandy smashes, and

Others of those splendid American compounds Dickens so graphically describes. It was stated by many on the streets that one of the editors of an interior paper, a great advocate of the Maine law, was so happy and jubilant over the great Fusion gathering, supposing the whole world, and "the rest of mankind" to be in attendance, and that Fremont was as good as elected already, that he actually got so tight, twice in the day, that he calmed off by gently embracing Morphine! But then there were many dozens of others besides, and I only refer to them, for the purpose of laying bare the hypocrisy of those who profess one code of ethics, and practice another. There perhaps has never been a greater humbug ever contrived for demagogues than that of political Maine Lawism. Like Know Nothingism, it means the opposite of what it proposes, and no good but much evil has been created wherever it has been established and enforced. It is one of theisms working in conjunction with others, for certain ends, and with them will soon be buried past resurrection.

At night the Fusionists wound up their doings by a torchlight procession, numbering some 1,500 to 2,000 persons. It had been advertised far and wide that a gentleman would make a balloon excursion, at sundown, and many were there to see it. According to the programme, the balloon was to start when the head of the torchlight procession defiled out, but somehow, the manager did not have gas enough to go up, or being afraid of the trip, he cut his serial ship loose, when up she shot all alone, and attaining a certain altitude, burst into ribbons, and came to earth with due celerity.

The transparencies and mottoes in the torchlight procession were on a par with those exhibited in the day. I have no comments to offer, but leave your readers to draw their own inferences of the Fusion doings at Indianapolis. Twelve o'clock at night came, and those who could stand the sultriness of the air, retired for rest to their rooms, while many preferred the open air for purposes of balmy sleep.

The morn of the 16th broke forth bright and glorious, and "Old Sol" gave indication of the warmth of his rays as they were shot athwart the horizon, and by 9 o'clock, Fahrenheit stood up to 95 degrees, seemingly illustrating the one-idea party of Know Nothings, who as intensified Americans, had met in Convention to carry out their ultrisms, and promote the slim prospects of their favorite for the Presidency, Mr. FILLMORE. It is right to say that this "happy family" had made no extra exertions to get up a great Mass Convention, but in most instances was represented by delegates appointed by their different councils. There were some three thousand persons present, of whom it is fair to infer some fifteen hundred to two thousand were delegates of the "Dark Lantern" order, representing in all some thirty-six counties.

A temporary organization was effected by the appointment of Mr. ARMSTRONG of Clark, as Chairman, and Mr. THOMPSON of Rush, as Secretary. Committees were announced to report permanent officers, and one on resolutions, to which all resolutions were to be referred without debate. So far all went smoothly. At this juncture a Mr. DAVIDSON of Indianapolis, moved that the Committee on Resolutions be instructed to report the names of two Senatorial and eleven District Electors, for the FILLMORE ticket in Indiana. This motion led to considerable discussion, developing a tolerably strong current of Black Republicanism, a number of speakers openly advising the repudiation of FILLMORE, and endorsement of FREMONT. Conspicuous among the friends of the latter was a Mr. RAY of Jeffersonville, who is understood to be a sort of "right bower" of SHERETZ, the late Grand Master of the K. N. of Indiana, and who has gone over in full communion with the Sectionalists, being one of their "leading managers." RAY, backed by others, under the instructions of SHERETZ and other fusion tricksters, including his Honor, Judge GOOKINS, of the Supreme Court, and JOHN P. USHER, the Abolition candidate for Congress in the Vigo district, and presiding the day preceding as President of the FREMONT gathering—these men, through RAY and their other instruments, boldly attempted to sell the friends of FILLMORE to FREMONT. The attempt, however, most signally failed. The Fremonters backing RAY were sternly and harshly rebuked; traitors, Black Republicans, Abolitionists, Disunionists, were the terms unsparringly applied to the friends of FREMONT, who had unwittingly found their way into a FILLMORE Convention, and RAY & Co. either quietly took their seats, or left it for their bodily good. A Mr. REEL, towards the end of the discussion, got upon one of the Representa-

tative desks, and in a short speech, with stentorian lungs, proclaimed that they were not to be sold out or trafficked off like "sheep in the shambles," but like true men would stand by their own candidates and principles to the last. This declaration was received with delirious applause by the Convention. Hon. R. W. THOMPSON also favored the resolution, and the question being put, it was declared unanimously carried.

At this stage of the proceedings, a Mr. HUNT offered a resolution to the effect that none but the friends of FILLMORE be permitted to participate in the Convention, which being agreed to, it adjourned until 2 o'clock.

The Convention re-assembled at 2 o'clock, and the Committee on officers reported, Col. R. W. THOMPSON, of Vion, as President, &c., all of which you will have given to the public since this reaches you. Col. T., on taking the Chair, avowed himself a National man, and said the contest we were now engaged in was that of Sectionalism against Nationalism, and that he as a national, conservative man, could not and would not support FREMONT—he was in favor of an electoral ticket in favor of FILLMORE and DONELSON.

The Committee through their Chairman, Mr. HUNT, reported a series of resolutions, in substance as follows: That this Convention having assembled with reference to the election of President and Vice President of the United States, deem it inexpedient to recommend any organization with reference to Congressional or State tickets, having confidence "that those who co-operate with us will so act as to promote the welfare of the State and the Union." That they would support FILLMORE and DONELSON, as honest, conservative, national men, complimenting the former for his previous administration; that they were unwilling to engage in any sectional contest for the Presidency, as calculated to weaken and destroy the Union, &c., &c. The resolutions were adopted with great unanimity.

Here another expiring effort, and a strong one, too, was made to sell out to the Black Republicans. Some juggling had been done, during the adjournment, among the FILLMORE editors, and a plan agreed on that was doubtless intended to break up the Convention. It was this: Mr. HUDSON, editor of the Terre Haute Express, and one of the leading Fillmoreites, offered a resolution pledging the Convention to the support of the Fusion State ticket, the nominees of whom are all openly engaged in advocating FREMONT's election to the Presidency. This resolution was received in the most cold and contemptuous manner, with an almost universal shout of No, no, never! It was with great difficulty a hearing could be had for HUDSON, but the President succeeded in calming the crowd, when Mr. H. proceeded to state he was an ardent Fillmore man, but if this Convention did not carry out the pledges he had made to the Black Republicans on the 1st of May, he would bolt and go for FREMONT! Great confusion prevailed for a few moments, as the friends of FREMONT, who had thrust themselves in the lobbies, applauded HUDSON's declaration. But the feelings of the Convention were firm and decided; scores of the delegates exclaimed: "let him go, we want no sectionalists or traitors in our ranks;" "we are glad to get rid of your Jesuitical course;" "it is better for us that you are an open enemy than a pretended friend." Having made his frothy speech, the gallant editor of the Express took his hat and cane and retired. He was followed by a Mr. FRENCH, of a Jeffersonville Fillmore paper, and it was obvious he too was running over with hankering after negroedom, and he too retired with the gibes and sneers of the Fillmoreites. MASON, editor of the Vincennes Gazette, in the most self important manner, said that he too should have to withdraw, which had the unanimous consent of the Convention. The last Black Republican card had been played, the tricksters in Indiana staking all on its issue, and they have lost. The strong national element among the Fillmoreites triumphed, in their refusal to coalesce in the election of the Black Republican State ticket, knowing, as they did, its success would ensure the electoral vote for FREMONT. They selected an electoral ticket, appointed a permanent committee to fill vacancies and to superintend their interests until the election closes, and also deputed a committee of five to address the people of the State, and having closed their business, adjourned to hear the speech of Hon. R. W. THOMPSON, in front of the State House, which was very able and interesting, and listened to by an audience of some four or five thousand persons. I ought to have mentioned that the Fremonters had out their great flags and banners, inscribed with the names of their men, and left them flying all

around the main hall of the Convention, and in addition their great ball was engineered down to a point close to where Col. T. spoke, in its passage having received an ugly gaping wound, an omen thought to be somewhat indicative of the hole the Fillmoreites had dug out among the Fusion-Abolition hosts that day. During the delivery of Mr. THOMPSON's speech, he was interrupted frequently by Black Republicans, but in every instance he overpowered the presumption of intermeddlers. Someone of them pronounced a statement made by him a lie, when a zealous Fillmoreite pitched into him, and for a half minute a pretty hard fight went on, the crowd rushing to get a sight. The contestants being separated, order was restored, and Mr. T. concluded his speech. It was able, argumentative and National, but I could not assent to his philippic against the National Democracy. At the close of his remarks, the gathering quietly and orderly dispersed to take their departure. Its general action has put a great damper on the friends of FREMONT in Indiana. The Fillmoreites are good pluck, claiming a plurality of 15,000 to 20,000 votes at present, and they say they intend to increase it, but that can only be done at the expense of FREMONT. So ended the 16th instant in Indianapolis.

Query, Mr. Republican: Was there ever a Know Nothing Convention that did not have its bolters, and they, in turn, their sub-bolters, held in any portion of the country?

During the night of the 16th the temperature of the air modified considerably, and the morning of the glorious 17th was ushered in by cool and bracing breezes, as if Heaven favored the day selected for the getting of the friends of the Constitution and Union. It is a day that will be long remembered by the people of Indiana, as the day upon which the real people proclaimed their fixed determination to maintain the whole Union, one and indivisible, by giving their support to BUCHANAN and BRECKINRIDGE, as the direct types of that national unity they believe necessary to the welfare and interests of all the Confederacy.

At the dawn of day, the booming cannon announced that the gallant Democracy and their friends were wide awake. In a few moments after, I heard the "shrill life and spirit-stirring drum," and arose from my couch, and going to the window in the fourth story of the "Palmer House," cast my eye up East Washington street, and beheld the first battalion of the day, numbering some thirty one and two horse wagons, filled with the hardy sons of toil. The wagons were trimmed off with gay flags and streamers, having on them the names of BUCHANAN and BRECKINRIDGE, and mottoes and devices emblematic of the Union. The leading wagon had two hickory trees, one in the front end, and the other in the rear, some forty feet in height, with a streamer running from tree to tree, having on it in large letters "THE UNION FOREVER!" From the moment this company had entered, up to ten o'clock, you could turn your eyes in what direction you pleased, and you were sure to meet delegations on horseback, in buggies, wagons, by companies, battalions and regiments, momentarily arriving from every part of the compass. The old grey headed patriarch, with his sons and grand sons, were there to maintain the Union he had fought for. The intelligent yeoman and skillful mechanic, whose labor made the wealth of the Republic, and filled the army and navy with the men who did the fighting, when the honor of the country was at stake, were there. The conservative banker, merchant, and property holder were there, giving countenance to the "doing of the day," with a full knowledge that the value of their business and property depended on the maintenance and prosperity of the American Union; and the people were there, the glorious "Old Liners" of Indiana, National Democrats and National Whigs, to swear eternal fealty to the Constitution and that Union which Washington and the Fathers of the American Revolution had bequeathed to us. By ten o'clock the scene had already become grand and imposing beyond description—the hosts on hosts of people, the splendid flags and banners, the music of the bands, the roll of the drum in every quarter of the city, the booming of the loud-mouthed cannon, the deafening shouts for BUCHANAN and BRECKINRIDGE, all conspired to show to the listening throng that the hearts of the people were profoundly aroused.

Several thousand persons, with a number of bands of music had congregated at the great Union Depot, to receive the various delegations approaching from every point in the State. Then followed a scene beggarly all description, as some fifteen or six hundred huge rail-trains, crowded to their utmost capacity,

250 their stations, one after another, all decked with "stars and stripes," with flags, streamers, banners, and splendid music. The cheer on cheer that went upon them, told the Fusionists the fire of the "Old Liners" had dampened their last hopes of carrying Indiana, and their countenances expressed the consternation and dismay this great national demonstration had made upon them. Among the prominent devices brought by some of the delegates from distant parts, I noticed some very pithy ones. One was, "The Gospel, by Веккер," illustrated by a huge SHARP'S rifle; another, SAMBO swallowing SAM; another, a white free speech advocate in the act of swallowing a darkie—the Abolition platform illustrated; ditto, Topeka constitution. The manner in which most of the trains were pecked with humanity, was a sight to see—the seats, with two persons on them, and they in turn with two persons on their laps, the gangways standing full to repletion, the break platforms with dozens on them, and to crown all the tops of many of the cars were as full as they possibly could be stowed, and yet such was the good management of conductors and engineers that not a single accident transpired. One train alone, from Laurenceburg, with 27 large cars, brought 3,500 persons; another, on the Central, brought 2,500, &c.

General MAY, Chief Marshal of the day, and his staff, were on the ground, and organized as far as possible the several delegations into procession as they arrived. At this period the Democratic draymen of Indianapolis, about 100 on horseback, each bearing a small flag, with an appropriate banner at their head, marched up and formed in front of the American Hotel. Their cheers rung out broad and clear, for BUCK and BRECK and the Constitution. The delegations having generally arrived, the Marshals proceeded to organize them in procession.

First came the far-famed New Albany Saxe Horn band, followed by a magnificent boat car, with canopy, a splendid national banner with stars and stripes in front, and thirty-one young misses in white dresses, about seven years of age, each bearing a small satin flag with the names of the different States of the Union on them. Next followed thirty-one ladies on horseback, aged about fifteen years, similarly attired, each bearing a like flag. These in turn were followed by thirty-one young ladies in white bodices and dark skirts, with scarfs of pink and blue, emblematic of union, each lady having a cavalier by her side. The ease and gracefulness evinced by these fair equestrians was the admiration of all, and their appearance in procession was understood as an offset to the foul insults to the bachelorhood of Mr. BUCHANAN, offered by the Fusionists on the 15th. No emblems or mottoes were borne by these fair beings, to excite the ridicule of the multitude or insult the holiest feelings of the human heart. BUT! must condense.

Next came a lot of draymen and drays, with merchandise, flour, etc., emblematic of trade, and what it owes to the American Union for its existence; then one hundred draymen on horseback, then a wagon with platform and shop on it, and smiths at work, then a large wagon with stone-cutters at work, do. with peddlers, do. with clothiers, do. with shoemakers at work, do. with tinslers at work, do. with bricklayers at work, do. with plasterers at work, really doing a fair job while in motion on the street; do. with coopers at work, do. saddlers, do. gunsmith shop, and other representations of science and mechanic arts growing up under the Union; then followed a wagon with a large boat with some twenty persons in it, with bass and kettle drums and fife playing a *la militaire*, then came a wagon with twelve pairs of horses, covered with flags and streamers with some fifty persons in it; another wagon horses' heads rigged with large buckhorns and flags, and a large likeness of WASHINGTON, and a large streamer with the words on it of "BUCK, BRECK and the Union forever." Another device read significantly, "No more Fusion Legislatures." Another bold motto read, "Statesmen, not adventurers." A conspicuous device referred to Know Nothingism in 1854 and 1856. For '54, "21 years for the red-eared Irish and the lopped-eared Dutch." 1856, "Intelligent Germans and rich Irish brogue, do vote for us." Another most appropriate device read, "The owls and bats can have no abode in the home of the Eagle." But they were so numerous I forbear further quotation.

I observed a gorgeous and splendid banner, gotten up by the ladies of Cambridge, Wayne co., and presented to the Democratic Club of that place. It had

a large half likeness of Washington, with the words over head "the Constitution and the Union," and underneath "Be faithful to the one and preserve the other." The Irish from Lafayette had a glorious banner of green, with a large likeness of Washington, with the words around, "The Father of the Constitution and the Union." On the reverse side a representation of the Maid of Erin and the Irish Harp, with the words "gratitude to the Republic—where Liberty dwells, there is our home!" The Germans were also represented by flags and banners, one containing this device, "This is where the Germans will go, for BUCHANAN and BRECKINRIDGE."

After these followed delegation after delegation, with bands of music at intervals, and after marching through several of the streets without reference to any particular order, were halted in front of the State House, where many thousands were already assembled in Convention, which was organized by the appointment of Gov. JAS. A. WRIGHT, as President of the day, with other officers. Speeches were then made at the main stand by several speakers, at the South-east stand by several others, including a German speaker or two, and at the North end of the State House. I heard Gov. WRIGHT, Hon. JOHN L. ROBINSON, Hon. A. P. WILLARD, Col. DREW, and several others, the names of whom I do not know. All were characterized by great ability, and fervent, burning eloquence, appealing to the lovers of law and order to stand by the constitution and the Union. The responses that went up there, indicated that Indiana, whatever others might do, would be found "right side up."

At four o'clock the vast crowd was dismissed to seek refreshment, and to prepare for the grand torch-light procession of the night. About an hour afterwards a new procession—one not in the bills—gotten up by the boys, came along down the streets, causing the most tumultuous laughter. Some one hundred persons personated a lot of Congos, with their lady-loves, migrating to Kansas. They were dressed in every grotesque and conceivable way, and their leader carried a large placard with the words, "Kansas Emigrant Aid Society—We go for Free Kansas, Free Speech, Free Labor, Free Rights," etc. The burlesque on the Fusionists, for their Border Ruffian representations, was so good that all parties, including themselves, joined in the laugh.

I cut from the *Sentinel*, of the 18th, their short sketch of

#### SCENES OF THE EVENING.

We now come to the closing scene of the grand gala day of the Democracy, and here we feel that language is inadequate to convey a true picture of the sublimity and grandeur by which they were characterized. The torch-light procession was the monster affair of the season—the largest procession ever witnessed in this city or State. The universal opinion is, among those capable of giving an opinion, not wholly biased by party prejudice, that there could not have been less than five to six thousand in this moving mass of human beings. It was at least one third larger than the Fremont procession of Tuesday. As the procession came out into Washington street, the display of fire-works was commenced from the roofs of the Bates House and Palmer House and blocks opposite, and followed the marching column of torches in its progress up Washington street. This principal avenue of our city was made perfectly brilliant throughout its entire length, with torch-lights, fire-works and bonfires. It was one of the grandest spectacles we ever witnessed, and was greeted with the most overwhelming bursts of joy and enthusiasm. The welkin rung again with shouts for Buchanan, Breckinridge and Democracy.

The cry was caught up by the masses who lined both sides of Washington street for nearly a mile, and sent back again in joyous response. We can conceive it to be scarcely possible for the spirit of enthusiasm to run higher than it did on the night of the memorable 17th, in Indianapolis. We feel that our brethren from abroad who were with us at that hour, can go to their homes and report in the fullest confidence, that Indiana is good for 20,000 majority for Buchanan and Breckinridge. We feel it in our very bones, that a draft for that amount will be duly honored by the gallant "Hoosier Boys."

The scenes in the State House grove, where the procession made its final halt, were but a counterpart of those, at the same place, during the day. Details are unnecessary, as they would be impossible. We need add to what we have written the simple remark only, that if the fusionists can hereafter have the "face" to claim Indiana for the husband of Jessie Benton and his confederate, Wm. L. Dayton, they have a "face" for anything within the scope of human comprehension.

Lengthy as this sketch is, scarcely a tithe of this magnificent demonstration is delineated. Enough is known to enable us in saying that Indiana will vote for Buchanan and Breckinridge, in November, by a large majority. She appeals to Missouri, and the States of the South who vote in August next, to stand side by side with her—she appeals to Iowa to stand

with her upon the Constitution as the Axis of American liberty and prosperity.

This great demonstration has told with fearful impression upon the Fusionists of Indiana and Ohio, and their press—conspicuous among whom is the Cincinnati *Gazette and Commercial*, with the "little barkers" in detail—are busy in their efforts to lie it down to nothing. That hour has passed, and the lies of the Abolition press are fast becoming a commendation in the public mind. I am with respect, yours,

RED JACKET.

Kansas again Invaded—Lane's Regiment in the Territory.

From the Leavenworth Journal, 23d July

Six hundred and fifty Abolitionists, the "Rower" of the "redoubtable" Col. Jim Lane's army, crossed the Missouri River into Kansas on Monday, the 21st inst. They were all "armed to the teeth" with Sharpe's rifles, bowie knives and Colt's revolvers.

After they had crossed Lane stated that he would not go any further just then, but would return and force his way up the Missouri with his other regiment.

We are indebted to Capt. D. H. Silver, of the steamer Martha Jewett, for the above. Capt. S. witnessed the crossing of the invading forces, and represents them as being the best armed set he ever saw. There were no women or children accompanying them, and their baggage consisted of a single small carpet-bag to each man. Up! Sovereigns, and at 'em!

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JUDGE HALL!—This man, who early distinguished himself by carrying off the Poll Books of Pottawattamie county in his saddle-bags, has been delivering himself to the good people of Western Iowa, during the past week or two. So far as we have heard, his speeches will do neither his party nor his brother "Gustus" any good. Certainly, so far as this vicinity is concerned, he made more Republicans than any other man who has been among us. His speeches are of a character to disgust all sensible men, and are made up in about equal proportion of falsehoods and intimidation. He was loud in his proclamation that "this agitation must be put down," a work however, which he will find it exceedingly difficult to perform. He openly justified the course of the administration in Kansas, and argued that the destruction of the Free State Hotel, and the printing offices at Lawrence, were necessary and justifiable. He thought it was treason to form a Free State Constitution for Kansas, and was as zealous in defending Border Ruffianism, as Stringfellow himself. We really hope that Hall will continue his labors in these parts until the election. Nothing could help the Republican cause more.

### Kansas Free or Slave?

This is now the question presented to Congress. The House of Representatives has passed a bill to admit Kansas as a Free State—the Senate has passed a bill, proposed by Toombs, of Georgia, which is certain to make it a Slave State. AUGUSTUS HALL voted against the former, and stands ready to vote for the

latter, or, in other words, he voted AGAINST MAKING KANZAS A FREE STATE, and is ready to vote for a bill that is certain to make it Slave. Let the people bear this in mind. If you want slavery in Kansas, then by all means vote for HALL, but if you desire to see its beautiful plains and smiling prairies all dotted over with the dwellings of free men and sacredly devoted to Free Labor, Free Speech, and a Free Press, then give your vote for SAMUEL R. CURTIS, the Republican candidate, and you may be certain that his vote will never be given in Congress against Free Kansas.

**THE DAILY SENTINEL**  
 KUYUS KING & WM. H. WATSON,  
 PROPRIETORS.  
 Under the Name and Firm of Rufus King & Co.  
 MILWAUKEE, WIS.  
 Wednesday Morning, July 23.

**Border Russian Violence.**

County after county in Illinois is rolling into the list of those whose representatives have been butchered in cold blood for opinion's sake. And as if for the more clearly demonstrating the enormity of such an outrage, these representatives hail from the Democratic party, and endorsed Squatter Sovereignty in a majority of instances.

We are now called upon to record the murder of Martin White, of Christian county. Mr. White was well known to most of the early settlers of that county. He was one of the most unflinching Democrats—a Baptist preacher. He once represented that county in the State Legislature. We learn the following facts in regard to his murder from the Springfield Journal of the 14th inst:

**The Valley Whig.**

KEOKUK:

WEDNESDAY MORNING, JULY 23, 1856.

**The Senate Bill for Kansas.**

Some considerable effort is being made to deceive the people under the specious pretences of Douglass' new bill for Kansas, which passed the Senate a few days ago, and is now before the House. But the character and intent of the bill will not bear a moment's clear and honest examination. Let us consider.

Who bring it forward? Toombs, the great leader and champion of the Slave-Propagandist party, introduced it, and Douglass adopted it in place of his own recommendation. It is urged and advocated unanimously by the Slaveryholding interest. It is their bill. Can there be any doubt, then, as to what interest it is intended and expected to subserve? We have the judgment of the Slaveryites in the matter.

Every man in Congress who is in favor of making Kansas a Free State, is opposed to it, and every man of that party in the Senate voted against it.

Is not this position of parties in Congress, this public recognition of its character and intent by the friends of Freedom and the friends of Human Bondage, pretty emphatic evidence of its true character and expected fruits?

If it is not intended to discriminate against Freedom, but to let the will of the people govern, why adopt this bill and reject the bill of the House, the only objection to which is that it makes Kansas a Free State, agreeably to the admitted desire of a majority of the resident Kansas people?

The bill provides for the appointment by the President of commissioners to regulate all preliminaries, and under whose auspices all proceedings in the Territory are to be conducted. All public affairs in Kansas so far have been conducted under the orders of the President, by officers of his appointment. Have they been conducted favorably to the interests of Freedom or Slavery? Have they been upheld by and satisfactory to the friends of Freedom or the Slave-Propagandists? Is there one friend of Free Kansas of sound mind who believes the President would change his policy, or is going to be governed by any motives in the future which have not governed him in the past; and if so, who believes the South would place their interests so completely in the hands of his appointees if they thought he was going to?

The plain fact of the matter is just this: The Ruffians under Atchison and Stringfellow have driven out a great proportion of the Free State settlers, and have prevented many others from coming in. This bill provides for three months previous residence.—No man not in Kansas by the 1st of August can vote on the question of the proposed constitution. It is thought that not many of those driven out can return, and not many others can get there, by that time. And that is very apparent. They think, considering how many they have driven out, that they can colonize enough from Missouri in season to control the character of the constitution and the question of Slavery beyond all doubt, and so they want to settle the question by a "snap-judgment," as this bill has been concocted for the purpose of enabling them to do.

Is there a well-informed man who don't know this, a candid man who doubts it, or an honest man who can deny it? There is a great deal of evidence besides what we have indicated, bearing directly upon the point.—We have an item just at hand, which we will introduce.

The Parkville (Mo.) Democrat publishes the following appeal:

**"TO THE RESCUE!!—**There will be township meetings held in the different townships

in Platte county, next Saturday, (12th,) to determine upon the means to be used to get settlers into Kansas by the 1st of August.—It is important that every one who feels an interest in the future of Kansas should be present. What we do must be done quick. If we would save it from the pestiferous influence of abolition reign, we must do our duty now. A bill has passed the U. S. Senate, and but little doubt is entertained of its passage in the House, authorizing an election of delegates to a convention to form a State constitution. The election takes place on the 1st Monday in November. Three months residence in the Territory entitle one to a vote. He must be in the territory then by the 1st of August."

All these things are very clear to those who are willing to understand. There is no need of mincing terms. All those who say that this bill offers a fair settlement of the question, or that it was intended that Freedom should have a fair chance under its provisions, or intended for anything else but to make Kansas a Slave State, is either deluded,

or too prejudiced to admit a demonstrable fact, or destitute of ordinary comprehension.

The author of the bill, Mr. Toombs, who has the boldness at all times to say what he means, does not disguise its intent, but frankly avows it.

No man whose love of Freedom is not a sham, can be humbugged by it; none, but a scoundrelly impudent man will try to humbug others by it.

**To the Voters of Lee and Van Buren Counties.**

MY FELLOW-CITIZENS:

Just on the eve of the August election I find myself, very unexpectedly and very much against my wishes, a candidate for State Senator. It had been urged upon me repeatedly to permit my name to be used for this purpose up to the time of the nomination made by the Republican committees of the two counties, and I had peremptorily refused. I also told the members of the committee from Lee county, when they started for Farmington, not to use my name, for I could not possibly run the race. The reason why I refused to become a candidate was this: that I could not properly canvass the District without causing immense injury to the affairs of others, committed to my care as a lawyer. It is near a year since we have had a term of the court at Keokuk, and there are on the docket now, for trial at our next term, commencing on the first Monday of September, some three hundred cases in which I am engaged for one side or the other. The ordinary office business of our firm demands the continual attention of one man. My partner, Mr. Rankin, is absent in the East and will not be home before the election, and with all the preparations for trial of these cases on my hands, besides the usual business of the office, it was impossible for me to canvass the two counties. If, however, I were to refuse now to accept the nomination it would be equivalent to leaving my political friends without any candidate for Senator, as it is too late to take measures to get out another with any hope of success. I have therefore concluded to accept the nomination, and have offered the foregoing remarks by way of apology for failing to canvass the two counties in person. I am compelled, then, in this manner to address you, my fellow-citizens, in order to apprise you of my sentiments upon the political questions which are agitating the country.

My political action heretofore has been in general accord with the Whig party. That party no longer has an existence, or if it has, there is no representative of it in the field for any office in regard to which you and I are called upon to vote. In speaking of it then as a party which has passed into history, I may be permitted to say that I believe that in the true honesty of its purposes, in the soundness of its principles, and in the brilliant constellation of talent which guided its course, it has never had an equal in this or any other country, and its members who yet survive find themselves enjoying those honors which are usually paid alone to the dead. The questions which gave vitality to the Whig party, and which constituted the battle ground between it and the old Democratic party, having been either adjusted or passed away in the rapid progress of the country, or having become of such minor importance as no longer to attract public attention in any sensible degree, I find myself, in common with all my fellow-citizens of both the old political parties, compelled to act in reference to a new, a vastly important, and overshadowing issue, thrust upon us in a manner that admits of no evasion and requiring at our hands a conscientious solution.

You will understand at once that I speak

of the Slavery question. Upon the subject of Slavery I have no unfounded prejudices. I was raised and lived in its midst until 30 years of age, and have had ample opportunity of knowing its workings and observing its influences. The result of this is, a conviction that both to the white man and the black it is full of evil. The institution of African Slavery as it exists in the United States, is in my judgment the most stupendous wrong, and the most prolific source of human misery, both to the master and the slave, that the sun shines upon in his daily circuit around the globe. The last vote I ever gave in Kentucky was given for a candidate for delegate to amend the Constitution, who was pledged to vote for a system of gradual emancipation, and when that hopelessly failed I determined to leave the State.

But while thus opposed to Slavery, I recognize, in the fullest sense of the term, the exclusive right of the States within which it exists to deal with it for themselves.—Slavery is the creature alone of local statutory law, and to the States where those laws exist, belongs the responsibility of its continuance, and the sole right to provide for its removal.

But while the nation was reposing itself upon the satisfactory settlement of the Slavery question after the agitation which resulted in the Compromise measures of 1850, the men who had obtained control of the old Democratic party, with the Democratic administration at their head, without any necessity or reason for so doing, which has ever been shown, except personal aggrandizement, commenced a series of measures for the extension of Slavery into regions where by law it did not previously exist. This statement I make advisedly and on due reflection, but can only allude, without amplification, to some of the evidences of its truth.

1st. Then the only effect which could flow from the repeal of the Missouri Compromise was to permit Slavery to flow into the Territories which were organized by the Kansas Nebraska Act; and I do the persons who voted for that repeal the justice to believe that they would not have hazarded the awful convulsion which they knew must follow that act, unless they had some strong and well defined purpose in view in so doing?

Judging men's motives by their conduct, then, the only one to be found for removing the Slavery restriction, was the intention to avail themselves of its removal to bring Slaves into Kansas.

2d. The departure from the uniform course of Congress in organizing Territories, which was to include all the unorganized country contiguous into one Territorial Government. In this case there was no reason for departing from this principle, because there were but ten thousand inhabitants at the time in Nebraska and Kansas both. But it was thought that by making two territories, which should soon become two States—one with Slavery and the other without it, the equilibrium would be kept up, and the North in some measure appeased, and that the matter could be carried through.

3d. The removal of Gov. Reeder for the harmless peccadillo of dealing in Indian lands, when he could never get them without the President's approval of the deeds. This was used as a pretext to remove a man not disposed to force Slavery on the people, and shows the determined purpose of the Administration to do so.

4th. The fact that Atchison about the time of the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill left a position equivalent to Vice-President, and came to Weston, Missouri, and there organized the Blue Lodges which invaded Kansas, elected themselves a Legislature, and imposed upon the people of Kansas against their consent, the most stringent pro-Slavery laws that were ever enacted by any legislator, however absolute or tyrannical he might be. No monarch now living dare make such laws.

5th. The full endorsement by the Democratic Convention at Cincinnati of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and of the course of the President on the subject of Slavery in Kan-

sas Territory, leaves the party no room to escape the charge that as a party they are for the indefinite extension of Slavery into the Territories, whatever may be the private sentiments of some of its members. And if those who do not favor that principle continue to vote with the party on the sole pending issue which it presents, they must be deemed to be classed with those who have abandoned their principles, or who permit party ties to override the most sacred conviction of moral right.

When a portion of this Government becomes the scene of fraternal bloodshed by armed bodies of citizens of the Union, one against another, and this is continued for a period of nearly a year, and no prospect is seen now of relief or redress; when organized bodies of men in one State close up such a great avenue of travel, trade and commerce as the Missouri River by force of arms; when the peaceable citizens of this Union are told that they cannot be permitted to travel over the soil of that State, nor on any terms to take up their residence in Kansas; and when we are repeatedly told by all the mouthpieces of the Democratic party, that resistance to this state of things will lead to a dissolution of the Union, I am justified in saying that the question involved in these matters overrides all others, and requires you and me to lose sight of minor matters, and shape our political action with reference to that question.

In common, then, with the great mass of the old Whig party, and with all those of every party who agree with us in sentiment, and have the nerve to emancipate themselves from old party domination, I have assisted in forming the great Republican party. That party, as well as myself, is opposed to the Repeal of the Missouri Compromise; opposed to the extension of Slavery into Free Territory, and will never consent that acts of conquest, achieved by armed invasion, shall impose upon a free people, who are entitled to the protection of the laws of this Union, the institution of Slavery against their will, and with that institution a set of laws more odious than those which govern the serfs of Russia.

A word as to two charges—the common staple of declamation against the Republican party, and I close. We are called Abolitionists.

Intelligent men who make this charge are guilty of deliberate falsehood, but there are those perhaps who think it true.

The Abolitionists are a distinct party, originating in the north-east part of the Union some twenty years ago. Their avowed purpose as a party was to abolish Slavery every where in the United States, and hence their name of Abolitionists. They have kept up their organization and their purpose to the present hour, and have now in the field as their candidates for President and Vice-President, Gerrit Smith and Fred. Douglass. They denounce the Constitution of the United States as "a compact with hell," and seek a dissolution of the Union. They are the counterpart of the present Democratic party, the latter seeking to extend Slavery every where, and the former to abolish it every where, and they are equally regardless of the most sacred constitutional and legal compacts and compromises. While the Republican party, saying to both these ultra sectional factions, Hold off, reposes upon the Union as it is, and makes the federal Constitution the basis of its eternal duration. The true Abolitionists hate us worse than they do the Democrats, because we intend to preserve the Union at all hazards, while they recognize in the action of the Democratic party the ultimate success of their own wishes.

We are called disunionists. This charge comes with ill grace from the party which includes within its bosom all the followers of J. C. Calhoun in his nullification doctrine, all the States rights men of Georgia who openly defied the laws of the Union as decided by the Supreme Court in the case of the Cherokee Indians, all the men who composed the Nashville seceding convention, and all who at any time have threatened to dissolve the Union, and whose Cabinet officer, pos-

sessing more influence than all the others put together, is Jeff. Davis, the notorious Mississippi secessionist.

In contrast with these I venture the assertion, that no prominent man acting with the Republican party, ever made the declaration that in any event would he or his party favor a dissolution of the Union.

And now even in this exciting contest, the result of which is so momentous, we intend to stand by the Union at all hazards. If we are defeated we will submit to the rule of the majority; if we succeed we shall endeavor to see if the laws of this great Government cannot be enforced, if a factious minority endeavor to carry out their disunion threats.

We are for the Union, for the whole Union, and have so declared in every public or private declaration of our principles; and if the Union must be dissolved, the Republican party, wrapping itself in the mantle of the principles of the Declaration of Independence and of the Constitution, will fall like Caesar at the base of its pillar of eternal truth, clinging to the wreck so long as a fragment of the great temple remains.

SAM'L F. MILLER.

## Buffalo Commercial Advertiser.

Wednesday Evening, July 23, 1856.

Ballots, or Bayonets!

"Choose Ye."

**THE GREAT HEART.**—Under this heading the Albany Evening Journal computes and justly applauds the generous donations of Gerrit Smith to free Kansas.—*Ex Paper.*

Yes, the Albany Evening Journal, the leading State organ of the Fremont Republican party, did lately "applaud" in extravagant terms some large donations made by Gerrit Smith.—The following is an extract from the Journal's approving plaudits of Mr. Smith, and we invite thereto the calm and earnest and impartial attention of every elector, irrespective of partisan divisions, for it reveals a startling feature of the present campaign, deliberately exposed by a master-spirit of the Black Republican party, which will be seriously and deeply pondered by the American people. We quote from the Journal:

"Gerrit Smith has just published 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 this he had sent about \$1,000 to the Boston Emigrant Committee. Out of his own funds he subsequently equipped a Madison Co. company of 100 picked men and paid their expenses to the distant Territory. At Syracuse he made a vote offering on the altar of Liberty of \$10,000.—When the genuine 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."

That the public may the better understand the aims and purposes of this "great-hearted man," which have thrown the State organ of the Fremont party into such an ecstacy of delight, we shall let Mr. Smith speak for himself. Hear him:

"Political action is just now our greatest evil—our greatest danger. We are looking after ballots, when our eyes should be fixed on bayonets. We are counting votes, when we should be mustering armed men. We are looking after the interests of civil rulers, when we should be seeking after military rulers."

I only hope, sir, to hear that there has been a collision at Topeka. I only want to hear of a collision between the free state men and the federal troops, and that northern men have fallen; and then will soon follow the gratifying news that the northern states have arrayed themselves against the federal government in Kansas. And will that be the end? No! Missouri will be the battle-field in her turn, and then slavery will be driven to the wall!

If it had remained with me to use the power of the government, we should not have waited thus long, but our oppressors would have been converted into heaps of dead men on the fields of Missouri. But I am willing to wait till to-morrow, or till two to-morrows, when I am on the trail of an enemy to whom I have a deadly hate. I would follow him with cat-like tread, till I could surely strike him dead."

So, it will be seen that the "Freedom" of which the Journal characterizes Gerrit Smith, a "Champion" with a "great heart," is a sort of highwayman's "Freedom" which deprecates

"political action," repudiates the genuine publican theory of acquiescence in the will of the majority, stigmatizing it as the "greatest evil," and rebukes its supporters for even "looking at ballots" instead of "bayonets." It is a kind of "freedom" which does not propose to be troubled with "counting votes," but whose efforts and "generous donations" are all directed to "the mustering of armed men;" which scuds the idea of "civil rulers," and is in eager pursuit of "military rulers," and whose bloody appetite hungers for the "gratifying news" that a frightful civil war has broken out, and that brother has met brother in the shock of battle, and that the opponents of this proposed military despotism are "converted into heaps of dead men on the fields of Missouri." It is the "voive offerings" of Mr. Smith, on such an "altar of Liberty," as this, which the leading Fremont paper in this State applauds, and in consideration of which it joyfully predicts a high place for Gerrit Smith in "the history" of its Republican party. It is quite possible that such treasonable doctrines as these may entitle Mr. Smith to a high place in the Republican party, and in case it succeeds in its desperate effort to promote a bloody civil war for the establishment of a "military" despotism, he will figure in "the history of American Republicanism," as the "great Champion" of that peculiar sort of "Freedom" which he teaches—a "freedom" which mocks all law, and which is based alone upon the common plea and which is based alone upon the common plea of tyrants in every age, that "might makes right." Many a man, before the days of the craze, Gerrit Smith, for doing far less treason to his government, has found himself entitled to an uncomfortable "high place."

How much farther Mr. Smith will be induced to push his treason, now that he finds his sanguinary purposes encouraged and "applauded" by the leading organs of Seward's so-called Republican party, or what will be his fate, time alone can determine. But this much is certain, the great issue of the American people. Still we stand by the Union, and guard the ballot-box, as the great palladium of our Liberty, or shall we join the Sectional party of Fremont, whose appeal is only to the bayonet, which professes itself eager for civil war, and in place of "civil rulers" desires to inaugurate the despotism "military rulers?" "Choose ye."

heroism in endurance and forbearance, have for them the sympathy of every just and intelligent man. The story of her wrongs has been often told, but is looked upon with an incredulous eye by our brethren in the northern States, while they have given too much credence to the lies of the supporters of the southern "peculiar" institution, and allowed too much for exaggeration on the part of the advocates of liberty and freedom.

The people of the north and east are wary and cautious—surrounded as they are with laws and institutions of their own creating, that secure to them peace, liberty of speech and action, an unfettered press that thunders its anathemas against injustice and all that threatens to subvert those institutions for which their fathers bled. I say they are cautious about believing the tales of injustice, tyranny and usurpation, that come in quick succession from far away Kansas, and are too apt to believe them exaggerated, or that the hue and cry is only raised for the purpose of making "political capital." But they are fatally mistaken, as one week's residence in our fair territory would convince them.

I have just returned from Topeka, the State capital, where I have been in camp since the 1st inst., in company with some one thousand Free State men. The cause of this gathering was the anticipated assembling of the Free State Legislature on the 4th inst., and the threats of the bogus government, that "they should not meet, or if they did they would be driven from the hall!" These threats called out the Free State Militia, under Maj. Gen. Topliff, to protect the legislature from any mob that might attempt to interfere with them. Our company started for Topeka on the 30th ult., about 8 1/2 P. M. We rode all night and made our entry the next morning. Our object in making a night march was to avoid the U. S. troops, who were on the road for the purpose of intercepting us. We did not wish to come into collision with them—not because we were afraid, for we could easily have whipped them out; but because it was entirely in opposition to our settled policy, for the moment a war was commenced between our party and the troops, that moment we were thrown from the position we have struggled so long and patiently to attain—non-resistance to the authority of the United States. For this reason we did not desire a collision with them, but I cannot say as much for the Border Ruffians. As far as I was concerned, an engagement with even three times our number would have been gladly and confidently met, and I think I am correct in saying that this was the universal sentiment of our little party; and if any of them had been found or offered us battle, our boys would have handled them without mince. We found but one company at Topeka on our arrival, but they were fast coming in, and before night we were some eight hundred strong.

Topeka is a place of some 400 or 500 inhabitants. The location is beautiful, and if you could be transported thither without seeing any of the rest of our fair domain, you would say unequalled; but one sees a hundred such in a day's journey. The town is situated on the south bank of the Kaw or Kansas river, some eighty miles from its mouth and thirty from this place, and is laid out in the usual multiplication table style familiar to all western settlers and all speculators in western "city lots." The buildings are mostly of logs or the limestone abounding in every part of the territory, though I noticed a few built of brick, of which an excellent article is made at Topeka. There is a fine large hotel, a frame building, capable of accommodating some 200 guests, but it could not begin to satisfy the demands made upon its hospitality during the last several days.

On the 3d, a mass convention was called to consider the condition of affairs in the Territory, and to obtain the sense of the people upon them. Much excitement was manifested by the citizens, and great confusion prevailed—indeed, altogether too much, but they had occasion to be excited and no one can justly blame them for it. Judge Wakefield was called to the chair and a committee appointed on permanent organization who reported Col. Cutler, of Leavenworth, as President, with various Vice Presidents and Secretaries. The President was conducted to the chair amid loud and continued applause, and proceeded in a brief and intelligent manner to inform the citizens of the objects of the convention. He said that "they had not come there to resist any law of the United States—that it was not the object of the meeting, or for the interest of the cause to do so. They had met as order loving and law-abiding citizens of our great Republic to express their indignation of the wrongs they had suffered, and to ask that they be admitted immediately into the Union on the Topeka Constitution, as the most speedy manner of settling their troubled condition, and preventing further outrage." He counselled prudence and forbearance, and advised them to be cautious and not take any position they could not maintain.

Numerous speakers followed and none advised a different course. A committee was appointed to draft resolutions expressive of the sense of the

meeting, and also to memorialize Congress. Another was directed to form a plan for a general state organization for the more effectual means of ascertaining the condition of the territory, and a wise disposal of all moneys, &c., that may be deposited in their hands for the aid of Free Kansas. An animated discussion occupied most of the P. M. upon a resolution offered by Mr. W. Hutchinson of Lawrence, calling upon the legislature "to meet at the appointed time, and persevere until the State code be complete: ever recognizing the authority of the U. S., but resist even unto the loss of life, before abandoning that duty for which they would ever be held accountable by their constituents."—The resolution was finally lost, on the ground that a sacrifice, such as that called for by the resolution from the members, should be voluntary and not forced.

The morning of the 80th anniversary of that ever memorable day, the 4th of July, dawned upon such a scene as has never been witnessed, since the day we celebrate, upon the soil of these United States. It was indeed an exciting and stirring time. The town was filled with armed and determined men. Strains of martial music floated upon the air, and gruff commands mingled with the roar of fire arms, and the tramp of companies marching and drilling, in strange confusion. The heavens, as if prophetic of coming events, were dark and lowering, but anon!—the clouds broke away, and the brilliant sun burst forth in all its effulgent splendor, and I trust that the dark cloud now hanging over Kansas will soon be dispelled, and the glorious sun of liberty and freedom flood the land with its pure rays!

The Convention met in the forenoon and proceeded with its regular business. About 10 o'clock, U. S. Marshal Donaldson came in and read a proclamation from Pierce and Shannon, directing the Legislature not to meet, and ordering Col. Sumner to prevent them from so doing. Marshal D. was (ignorantly, we presume) rather premature in presenting his proclamations before the mass Convention, as they were intended for the Legislative body, and of course, had nothing to do with this meeting. The hour for the convening of the Legislature was 12 M. Fifteen minutes before that time, Col. Sumner rode into town, at the head of 250 dragoons, and formed them around the State House. He also had a park of Artillery which he planted ready for action. At noon, the hall being densely crowded, the Clerk proceeded to call the roll. Col. Sumner was present all this time but said nothing till the Sergeant-at-Arms was ordered to go after absent members, when he rose from his seat and ordered the assembly to disperse; stating that such were his instructions from the U. S. authorities. It being asked him if the U. S. troops would be called in to enforce this command, Col. S. replied that he "would use the whole force under his command, if necessary for its enforcement." It having been resolved in convention the day previous, that they would not resist the U. S. authorities, the Legislature therefore dispersed peaceably. What a picture is here presented to the world! A Legislature of the people, elected by them, legally and lawfully assembled, has been dispersed at the peril of their lives! Will the people of the East, North and West, permit the coming administration to complete the ruin commenced by the present? I hope not. If you would save Kansas from the curse of Slavery, and restore her to freedom, and her people to happiness, vote for FREMONT! Very respectfully,  
Wm. C. Lewis.

**NEW-LONDON CHRONICLE.**  
WEDNESDAY, JULY 23, 1856.

The Providence Post complains the very improper books are circulated among the Sunday School children by the Fremont party; one having lately been introduced which contains among other enormities, a passage to the effect that, "President Pierce is a very bad man and that he is doing all he can to force slavery into Kansas." This same tract is true as gospel, but the distributors have made a little mistake in the distribution; that is all. The "Christian friends" of Messrs. Pierce & Buchanan, could hardly send a more efficient document into South Carolina. The pious denizens of that region might object, to branding Pierce and Buchanan as bad men, but it says (what is true) that they are doing all they can to "force slavery into Kansas," is canonizing them in the Carolina and perhaps Buchanizing the Carolinians. In New England, however, it may not be the readiest way to establish a man's saintship to charge him with being an admirer of slavery. The editor of the Providence Post we dare say looks upon such horrible doctrines as are disseminated in this Sunday School book, as almost as bad as a justification of hard drink or too much indulgence in the Society of bad women.

**The Courant.**

HARTFORD:  
WEDNESDAY MORNING, JULY 23, 1856.

LAWRENCE, K. T., July 5, 1856.

Mr. Editor.—At the present moment, the eyes of a whole nation are centred upon Kansas. The sufferings of her people under the most tyrannical government ever known upon this continent, and their

**The Evening Press.**

HARTFORD:  
WEDNESDAY, JULY 23.

**The Senate Kansas Bill.**

The New York Herald, leading Fremont paper, says: "We cheerfully recommend the passage by the House of the new Kansas compromise which has passed the Senate."—Times.

The Times does not dare to state the ground upon which the New York Herald advocates the Senate bill. The Herald is as strongly pro-slavery as ever, and supports FREMONT from mere motives of policy, because it ever intends to be on the winning side, and is shrewd enough to see that he is to be elected.

In its leader of Monday it says: "The Senate Kansas bill now before the House of Representatives, is unquestionably adapted and intended to make Kansas a Slave State. The power to appoint the commissioners who are to overlook the execution of the ingenious provisions of the act is vested in the President, and it is very easy to comprehend what will be his course of procedure."

The Herald does not advocate freedom in Kansas, but avows itself in favor of making that territory a Slave State, and therefore supports the bill in question. It is not at all deceived by the thin disguise spread over the bill.

The bill is a fraud. Sure to make Kansas a Slave State, it yet has an outside show of fairness, designed to save the Administration party at the North from the rout which awaits them. The Times, although knowing that it will fasten the blight of Slavery upon the fair fields of Kansas, still supports it. To preserve or strengthen the worn-out party organization, The Times would willingly curse the whole country with Slavery.

Keep it before the People.

KEEP IT BEFORE THE PEOPLE.—That a Bill has passed the Senate at Washington, declaring void the obnoxious laws of the Kansas Legislature, and giving peace to the distracted Territory; and that the Black Republicans in the House refuse to vote for it.—Times.

KEEP IT BEFORE THE PEOPLE.—That this same Senate bill which the Hartford Times advocates, while it repeals some of the odious and offensive laws of the bogus legislature of Kansas, gives validity to others enacted by that legislature, of an odious character, thus sanctioning the Border Ruffian invasion.

KEEP IT BEFORE THE PEOPLE.—That the Senate bill authorizes the President to appoint five persons, with power to say who may, and who shall not, vote in Kansas.

KEEP IT BEFORE THE PEOPLE; that the Senate bill, which The Times is supporting, contains an express provision to deprive German and other foreign born citizens, who now have the legal right of voting in Kansas, of that privilege, and places them on a par with the negro slaves carried into the territory by their masters.

KEEP IT BEFORE THE PEOPLE, that the Senate bill directs that the five commissioners who decide what persons may vote, shall also appoint the delegates to be elected, and that the delegates thus elected under the direction of President Pierce's commissioners, are empowered to make a constitution for Kansas, without submitting it to the people to be by them ratified or rejected.

Cheer up, ye gallant prisoners!  
Cheer up, our youngest sister!  
'Tis the light of the morning  
That breaks o'er your plains;  
For the people, they are coming,  
The people in their vengeance,  
The people with the outcry  
Of "Kansas and Fremont."

# The Republican.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.  
WEDNESDAY MORNING, JULY 23, 1856.

### Christianity and Politics.

The indignation of Senator Douglas over the fact that 3,000 clergymen of New England had dared to protest against the passage of a sacrilegious act by Congress, is well remembered: Since that time, nothing has so disturbed the nervous sensibilities of politicians of the democratic school, as political sermons, or the implication of ministers, in any way, with political movements. The grand reason for this sensitiveness lies in the fact that the democratic politics of this day; whatever they may have been in other days, are repugnant to Christian sentiment and Christian principle, and are received as such, with great universality, by the Christian ministry. That this is the fact may readily be perceived by the readiness and marked approval with which the democratic press publish extracts from religious papers bearing with favor upon their cause, and compliment ministers whose publicly expressed views accord with their own. They are not opposed to political preaching on principle: they object to the turn it takes.

No greater evidence of the degeneracy of the times can be adduced than this claim, set up by politicians, that politics are the exclusive property of politicians, and that it is impossible for a man to speak of politics, except as a partizan. In their blind and selfish zeal for party success, they cannot comprehend the possibility of a man speaking for the good of his country, as a patriot and a Christian; and thus they would stifle the voice of the pulpit, and establish a censorship over the religious press. If the politicians have descended thus low in their estimate of the country's interests—if party success is thus thrust forward in advance of the nation's present and lasting welfare—then, indeed, is it time that the pulpit should speak out, and speak in earnest. There is no truer patriot than the true Christian; and though clergymen, in the main, make impracticable politicians, from their very natural desire of compassing, at once, the eradication of evils which naturally require the work of years to be removed, yet their apprehension of principles is almost uniformly just, and their preaching on the right side. We speak, of course, of those whose Christianity has been uncorrupted and whose consciences unperverted by life-long complication with a great wrong, like those who live at the South.

In the time of the Revolution, the clergymen of New England were particularly prominent advocates of liberty. They seized hold of a great principle, and they contested for it, persistently, and with all the power of their immense influence. The triumph of that principle was, in a very great degree, the result of their unflinching devotion to it, in public and in private; and those who now rejoice in the result of their labors, look back to them, with pride and gratitude, as the occupants of a proud place among the champions of American freedom. The clergymen of New England now are but imitating the noble example set them by their revolutionary predecessors. Like them, they have apprehended the danger that threatens the subversion of a principle that lies as one of the foundation stones of our American institutions, and like them, they join in the contest for its preservation. They may rest assured that the descendants of those who now vilify them will, one day, point to them with pride, and refer their successors to their high example. As only Tories objected to political preaching in the time of the Revolution, so now, and hereafter, will only the enemies of the country's best interests object to their labors.

It is sickening to witness the display of anxiety on the part of the partizan press, for the preservation of the purity and sacredness of the pulpit. As if declamation against a wrong could pollute an institution established for the maintenance of the right! As if the advocacy of Christian morals, as the basis of the nation's politics, could degrade an office instituted for the broadest inculcation of Christian morals! As if the country's welfare, which has its basis in religion, could be foreign to religion! As if private sins should be condemned by the pulpit, and public sins ignored or winked at! Ah! there is a deep meaning in this opposition to pulpit politics, and one which the people should not be slow to recognize. When a party is engaged in schemes which lead it to deprecate the influence of a high-toned Christian ministry like that which exists in New England, it is high time that all good men in the party should ask themselves the reason for it. The fact itself is one of profound import, and is evidence prima facie, if not demonstrative, of corruption and a reckless partizanship little if any short of immorality, on the part of those who complain. Policy, at least, if nothing higher, should dictate a discreet silence on this subject hereafter.

CHAINS FOR FREEMEN.—One of the chains used in confining free state prisoners in Kansas has been taken to Washington for exhibition. It is 7 feet long, made like a trace chain and quite heavy. The two ends were fastened around the ankles with two heavy padlocks. The slack part of the chain was then brought up by a strap, fastened in the center and attached to the body. Eight free state men were bound by U. S. marshal Donaldson in this style, were kept thus confined near a month, and then driven with their chains on, like a southern slave gang, thirty miles beneath a burning sun, under escort of a company of U. S. dragoons; and it was then found that against six of them there was not even a complaint entered, and the other two were retained on charge of high treason—that crime consisting in resistance to a gang of robbers and murderers employed to enforce what is called 'law and order' in Kansas. The chain is to be sent to Boston, that Massachusetts may see what treatment her sons in Kansas receive at the hands of this administration for daring to be true to the principles of their native state. Hurrah for the Buchanan democracy!—bludgeons for free speech—chains for free men!

"A Man is Known by the Company he Keeps."

Did it ever occur to the democrats of Massachusetts that the men they support and the principles they contend for are those entirely sympathized with by the enslavers of their kind and the advocates and devotees of ruffianism? Why is it that there are men in Massachusetts who can work side by side with Washington bullies, Kansas murderers and robbers, slave owners and slave drivers, and the vilest demagogues everywhere? It cannot be that Massachusetts men really, at heart, fraternize with such people, and yet, there are those among them who will work with them, for them, and by their dictation. What is the bond between these parties? Is it anything better than an old party name? Is it anything stronger than a silly pride of consistency? Is it anything more dignified and manly than an old party hatred that forbids them to change their associations? We submit that it should be something better, stronger and more manly than any, or all, of these, and yet, what is it? Certainly, the work of fastening slavery upon Kansas, of approving the foul acts of this administration, in all their length, breadth and dirty depth, is not the proper work for a Massachusetts man.

Then come out from among them, and be separate, as thousands and tens of thousands of your brethren are doing throughout all the free states! The men of the North—the true men—are engaged in a great work,—that of repelling the aggressions of a power which, while it tramples on human right, endangers the existence of the republic. It is a work worthy of very hand and heart in New England; and yours should be in it. Else, you must be known by the company you keep. You must be known by the abettors of those who cheated the North out of the soil



NEW HAVEN:  
WEDNESDAY, JULY 23, 1856.

FOR THE PALLADIUM.

### SONG OF THE PEOPLE.

Old Granite State,  
We are coming from the mountains,  
We are pouring down the valleys,  
We are sweeping o'er the prairies  
Of our own Free land!  
'Tis the gathering cry of millions,  
Who are party always no longer,  
But have sworn to do, or perish  
For Kansas and Fremont!  
They have threatened to "subdue us"—  
To bring their whips and minions  
And range their slaves and minions  
Upon oldunker Hill!  
But the spirits of our fathers  
Would burst the sod of Freedom,  
And swell the loud chorus  
For Kansas and Fremont!  
'Tis a traitor guides their counsels;  
'Tis a drunkard leads their armies;  
And the blood of sons and brothers  
Is crying from the ground!  
But the day is come for vengeance  
On the Arnold of the prairies,  
And his Buchanan puppet—  
Ho! for Kansas and Fremont!  
Where is now our noble Sumner?  
And where the coward bully,  
Who with more than heart of murder,  
Struck at Freedom of debate?  
Shall he dare pollute yet longer,  
Those sacred seats of Council?  
Hark, the answering cry of millions,  
For Kansas and Fremont!



pledged to them, who trample on northern men and personal and political right in Kansas, who cudgel senators and murder waiters, and bully and brow-beat all who stand up for free speech and free territory. Do you like the association? Are you proud of your faithlessness to the interests of freedom and freemen? No? Then renounce them once and forever.

A CLERGYMAN'S REMEDY FOR AGITATION.—Rev David Fosdick Jr. of Groton, with whose letter against the emigrant aid society and in favor of Buchanan and Breckinridge the democratic editors are much delighted, says in that letter "The coming election is momentous. I have spoken freely. Ministers have as much right as anybody to talk or act on politics; but they should do so in a proper spirit. Agitation of slavery, as well as other subjects, will go on; we cannot stop it; we ought not to try. The aim should be to exempt the agitation from bitterness." That is sound and sensible, although the democratic editors profess to believe otherwise. But when Mr Fosdick proceeds to argue that the emigrant aid society and other agencies for making Kansas a free state are responsible for the evils of the present sectional excitement, he is considerably less sensible. Mr Fosdick's theory is, to keep the peace by letting the slaveholders have their own way in everything. If they want Kansas and Nebraska, Oregon, New Mexico and Utah, it is better to let them make slave states of the whole than to disturb the peace by resisting; and if resistance causes excitement then the friends of liberty are guilty for the evils of that excitement. That may be very good doctrine on the plantation, but the Rev Mr Fosdick should recollect that the free states are not a plantation and the people are something higher than chattels personal. But they have tried the virtue of submission and acquiescence in the demands of slavery already quite too many times, and they find its only effect to be to embolden the slave oligarchy to make new and more dangerous aggressions. They begin to think now that it is high time to try what virtue there is in the good old maxim, "ask nothing that is not clearly right, and submit to nothing that is clearly wrong," and if the South is not content with her just rights under the constitution, and chooses to grow indignant and furious about it, on her own head is the responsibility, and on her will rest the consequences of her own folly. If the Rev Mr Fosdick will recur to the lessons of that book out of which he teaches the people, we think he will find that his theory of pacification as well as his idea of responsibility are just the reverse of the old and authoritative models.

**What the South think of it.**

It is well occasionally to refer to the opinions of those pro-slavery presses which are most directly and vitally concerned in the success of Buchanan for a view of the prospects of the canvass. Buchanan is safe enough in that hot-bed of slavery, South Carolina, and in the certainty of success there, the press has time and judgment to survey the contested fields. We commend the following from the Columbia (S. C.) Times, to "the deserted and disheartened political leaders of the northern democracy."

"The scenes of strife and bloodshed enacted 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 abolitionism 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 leaders 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 selection 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 ally the element in the northern states and repair the falling fortunes of the democracy.

The Charleston (S. C.) Standard takes the same view of the case in the following paragraph about Col Fremont:

"He still displays address in sticking to the simplicity of the issue upon which he proposes to stand. No one in a free state can possibly say any thing against the proposition to exclude slavery from the territories of the United States. Some are too conservative to propitiate the act, but all will approve it, and if he can carry all the free states he will carry the presidency also; his tactics are judicious. Mr Buchanan has to carry forty years of service, and an immense platform, which contains something offensive to every body. Mr Fillmore carries the platform of the nothing party, at least, and besides this, the traditions of a political career, and one term in the presidency. Both are weighted against him for a good race, and there can be no question but that in this respect at least Mr Fremont will have vastly the advantage.

# The Daily Spy.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 23, 1856.

**Free Territory! Free Speech! Free Men! and Fremont!**

For the Spy. 1000  
**The Overland Route to Kansas.**

Inquiry is often made in regard to the Iowa route to Kansas. The following appears to be the best information yet attained:—

It is well known that Iowa City is the most westerly point yet accessible by railroad. The following is an extract from a circular of the Iowa Kansas Committee (dated July 4,) in regard to the route beyond:—

"Leaving Iowa City, proceed to Sigourney thence to Oskaloosa, thence to Indianola thence to Sidney, and to Quincy in Tremont county, Iowa, on the Missouri river, eighty miles from Topeka, the capital of Kansas. An agent has been through this State by this route, and the citizens in each of the aforesaid towns have appointed active committees. The inhabitants on this line will do all in their power to assist emigrants. The distance from Iowa City to Sidney, on the Missouri River, is 300 miles, and the cost of conveying passengers will be about \$25. The Western Stage Company have formed a new line of coaches, and will put on all the stock necessary for the accommodation of every emigrant who may come. This can positively be relied on. You will at once see that this must be a general and concerted effort, or the project will fail, and each body of emigrants be left to their own guidance."

A letter, dated July 14, from Mr. F. A. Hunt of St. Louis, states that he has just returned from an exploration of the Kansas portion of the route, undertaken at the request of Gen. Lane and others. He says:—

"The route from Iowa City is nearly a direct line to Sidney, which is fourteen miles from Nebraska City (or old Fort Kearney,) where they have a good hand ferry-boat. Thence nearly South to Topeka, about 110 miles, crossing Little and Big Nemaha and Grasshopper rivers, passing through a beautiful country as ever man saw, there being many excellent locations for Eastern colonies, with sufficient timber, stone, coal, running and spring water. The average time from Chicago to Topeka need not be more than nine days. Twelve men, with only about 40 lbs. of personal baggage, [each.] can travel with one team of two horses, and carry camping 'fixings' and provisions to sustain them on the journey, each walking part of the way, the same that they would be obliged to do by stage.

"There is immediate need of two, good and true men to open a receiving and forwarding house, with a boarding house or hotel, at Nebraska City, in order to accommodate the emigration passing through to Kansas. Any good man, with a cash capital of \$4000 or \$5000, invested right can double their money the first year. I am ready, for one, to undertake this, except for the want of funds.

"Say to our friends, that there are just as good claims, with timber, water, &c., as I have ever been taken—enough for 500,000 settlers." T. W. H.

# The Daily Transcript.

Z. K. PANGBORN, Editor.

WORCESTER, MASS., WEDNESDAY MORNING, JULY 23, 1856.

**Do not Forget Kansas.**

The reign of terror in Kansas continues; none of its horrors are in the least abated.—The deep interest felt in the Presidential canvass has caused an apparent forgetfulness of the state of affairs in Kansas, which we are sorry to observe. Some may have supposed

that with the subjugation of Lawrence, the illegal arrest and detention of Gov. Robinson and his compatriots, and the dispersion of the Free State Legislature, the outrages of the Slave Power, and the Federal administration in Kansas would cease. It is not so, Kansas is to-day under the divided government of the South Carolina ruffians and the U. S. troops, under Gen. Smith, both of which are subject to the miserable tools of Franklin Pierce, Shannon and Donaldson. The territory is filled with roving hordes of assassins and robbers, who enjoy their time in committing, upon unoffensive Free State settlers, outrages which have no parallel in the history of civilized nations, and all these acts of these unhung villains are committed with impunity, nay more, are sanctioned and sustained by the Federal administration. It is but a few days since a company of Buford's Georgia scoundrels, who are under pay by order of Franklin Pierce, and supported at the expense of the United States, broke into the dwelling of Mr. Richards, a Free State citizen, and not finding him, they forcibly seized and violated both his wife and daughter, leaving them half dead! When the injured husband and father, on his return, sought redress for their inhuman wrongs he found no power to aid him; thus does the Pierce administration keep in its pay and protect creatures who commit robbery, murder, rape and arson, wherever they please in the territory of Kansas.

Two cases of highway robbery, and one of deliberate murder, have occurred in Kansas within three weeks past, the victims being Free State men, the criminals, these same devils incarnate who are now daily disgracing the nation by the perpetration of deeds, which, even savages hesitate to commit. The fact is, there is no law in Kansas to-day, except such as the Slave power, as represented by its meanest and most reckless minions, enact and administer, no protection to life or liberty, but the fell spirit of slavery rules unchecked, and is aided and sustained by the administration at Washington.

The spirit and designs of these sham Democrats, who are now, in violation of the Constitution and of all law exercising unlimited authority over the territory of Kansas, may be inferred from the following extract, which we copy from the Atchison (Kansas) *Squatter Sovereign*, an official Democratic organ, and supporter of Buchanan:

"We are of 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."

Here we have the organ of the Border Ruffians, a newspaper advocating the election of James Buchanan, openly counseling the wholesale murder of peaceable citizens, simply because they do not agree that slavery shall be supreme in Kansas.

At a recent public dinner, given by these same South Carolina and Georgia invaders, who are such friends of Pierce and Buchanan, the following sentiments were given and received with great applause:

"Kansas—Our chosen home—stand by her, Yes! sons of the South, make her A SLAVE STATE, OR DIE IN THE ATTEMPT!"

"The Distribution of the Public Lands—One hundred and sixty acres to every pro slavery settler, and to EVERY ABOLITIONIST SIX FEET BY TWO."

Does any man doubt what the intentions of these pro-slavery invaders are? Does any man believe there will be any such thing as justice, freedom or peace in Kansas, while these servile and blood thirsty tools of Franklin Pierce hold the power in the territory?

We confess to a feeling of deep mortification and shame, that the Free State settlers

and emigrants have not long ago resorted to the last argument, and met violence with violent resistance; we regretted it when Lawrence was abandoned to the Missouri invaders; we were ashamed and sorrowful when a company of Massachusetts men surrendered their arms, although they were opposed by fearful odds; and now we have scarcely patience to read these accounts of the villainies perpetrated in Kansas, and at the same time think, that a small force of determined men could, if they would, put an end to them. It is too much, that in this country, in this age, we should be compelled to wait the slow and peaceful process of redress by the ballot box, and meanwhile our brethren in Kansas are robbed and murdered, while justice waits and vengeance sleeps. But we must wait, we suppose, and meanwhile let every friend of Freedom and Freedom bear in mind that there is just as much cause for a deep interest in the affairs and fate of Kansas now as at any previous time. Let the wrongs of Kansas be kept fresh in the mind of every lover of liberty, and give strength to his resolution and vigor to his exertions.

## FOURTH EDITION

WEDNESDAY, JULY 23—11 P. M.

## BOSTON HERALD

**THE CONNECTICUT KANSAS COLONY.** The New Haven Palladium is informed by Mr. J. J. Walter, Esq., of New Haven, who has recently returned from Kansas Territory, that the Connecticut Company is well and happily located. They have some four hundred acres under cultivation, and are now erecting their saw mill. The population now numbers over one hundred. The report of the death of E. J. Lines at the hands of a Wyandott Indian, is not true.

### Grand Reception of Job Sass, Esq., at the Worcester Depot, this (Wednesday) Afternoon.

All persons, disposed to join in a Public Reception of Mr. Job Sass, and tender him their hearty congratulations on his safe return from the Kansas Territory, are requested to assemble in Beach street, (the military resting on the upper part of the street,) at five o'clock this afternoon, 23d inst.

After the arrival of Mr. Sass, (which will be announced by the discharge of cannon, at the moment the train approaches the Wash. bridge,) and at the conclusion of the delivery of the welcome speech, and the reply of Mr. Sass thereto, a procession will be formed, which will proceed, by the route designated below, to the depot of the Providence Railroad, whence the old gentleman proceeds, per special train, to his home in Walpole.

The procession will move in the following

- ORDER:
- Military Escort.
  - Cavalry.
  - Chief Marshal.
  - Job Sass, Esq.
  - in the barouche in which His Excellency the Governor was conducted to Cambridge, on Commencement Day, and drawn by the same team of four horses.
  - Mr. Benjamin Ticombe, with old Mr. Joseph Brown, on foot.
  - Band.
  - The Mayor and Aldermen of Boston. Common Council.
  - Drum and fifes.
  - The Mayor and Aldermen of Roxbury. Common Council.
  - Drum and fifes.
  - The Mayor and Aldermen of Cambridge. Common Council.
  - Drum and fifes.
  - The Mayor and Aldermen of Charlestown. Common Council.
  - Band.
  - The Clergy of Boston and vicinity.
  - His Excellency the Governor and Staff, mounted.
  - President of Harvard College, and Faculty, Students, by classes.

Band.  
Judges of the Police Court.  
The Fire Department, with their engines.  
Band.  
The Board of Brokers.  
Citizens generally.

### ROUTE OF THE PROCESSION.

From Beach to Lincoln, down Essex, up South, into Summer streets:—through Summer, down Washington, up Court, into Tromont streets:—up through Tremont to Boylston, and thence to the Station of the Providence Railroad.

### SPECIAL NOTICE.

The Chief of Police, in accordance with the request of the Committee of Arrangements, who are desirous of preventing accidents, and of making the crowds on the sidewalk, (assembled to witness the Grand Pageant,) as comfortable as possible, orders that all drivers of omnibus, stage coaches, cabs, drays, wagons, trucks, etc., shall abstain from driving their teams in the streets through which the procession will pass, while the same is in motion.

CALEB BLESTER,  
Chief Marshal.

## Boston Journal.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, JULY 23.

**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 rights 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 prayers of all good people for the mistake of his 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 foist 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 of Messrs. Edw. Bangs, J. Crafts, J. A. Locke, and J. A. Holden, Esqs.

□ We publish in our columns to-day a verbatim report of the speech of Mr. Brooks of South Carolina, made in the House of Representatives after a large majority of the members had voted to expel him. As the member from South Carolina doubtless regards this speech as a full and satisfactory vindication of himself from the charges which have been made against him, it is but fair that his defense should be laid before Massachusetts readers. We need accompany it with no extended comments. If anything can add to the contempt and disgust in which the assailant of Mr. Sumner is held in this State, it is a perusal of this speech. We say nothing of its bad logic and of its palpable violation of all parliamentary rules. A man who is smarting under a degrading rebuke, may be excused for a little wildness of speech. But what will particularly attract attention, is the struggle between the ruffian and the bully which betrays itself in many passages of the speech. The latter half of this precious tirade will strongly remind the reader of

the indignant remark of the Irish bully at Donkey-brook Fair, "Past 11 o'clock, and no fight yet! Will any gentleman tread on the tail of me coat?" The sensitive feelings of Mr. Brooks seem to have been particularly hurt because no gentleman would consent to fight with him, and with the indignation of injured innocence he in turn pitches into Messrs. Morgan of New York, Knapp of Massachusetts, Woodruff of Connecticut and Comins of Massachusetts, all of whom he seems to think are amenable to him under the code of honor, for words spoken in debate. We wonder it has never occurred to Mr. Brooks that even if public sentiment at the North sanctioned duelling, the cowardly nature of his assault upon Mr. Sumner left him without the pale of that unwritten code which is supposed to have been framed for the regulation of affairs growing out of the wounded honor of gentlemen.

If Mr. Brooks is really anxious to fight, we think he can be accommodated. We have a letter from a correspondent in Concord, Mass., who describes herself as "an old woman who has almost finished her course, and become indifferent to caste and all the distinctions of society." She offers to meet Brooks on as favorable terms as he met Sumner. She says:

"I will meet Preston S. Brooks in deadly combat. I understand that by your code of honor the challenged has the right to choose place and weapons. I stipulate to meet him in any place that he shall appoint. He shall be seated in an arm chair and confined by a desk or any other fixture, provided it is strong enough, and placed in front of the chair in such a manner as to make it impossible for him to rise to his feet until he is able to tear up the fixtures while seated, with his arms pinioned by the chair. He shall be armed with a good gold pen, and all his friends shall be removed out of sight and hearing.

I will appear on the ground at the place and time appointed, armed with a new broom handle, which I will submit to the inspection of any third person, who may be appointed by my antagonist, and who may ascertain beyond doubt that it is not made hollow, concealing any blade which on pressure may spring out and act as a tomahawk; and I pledge my word that I will take no advantage of him by surprise or in any other way, such privileges being monopolized by the chivalry of the South. I will have no second to guard the avenues to the field of fight, nor any third, with cudgel and pistol, to guard me from that terrible gold pen with diamond point.

Mr. Brooks and his friends cannot object to my terms for I have adhered closely to the code of honor by which he is guided in the noble outpourings of his valor and patriotism.

If it be true, as accounts from Washington state, that notwithstanding the apparently all-engrossing anxiety of Mr. Brooks to fight with deadly weapons, he has declined to follow Mr. Burlingame to Canada, where alone a duel can be fought without becoming amenable to the laws of this country, we are inclined to think the above proposition may chime in admirably with his humor. Broomsticks are not apt to kill, but pistol bullets, as Brooks is evidently conscious, have an ugly way of searching out and letting daylight into vital organs. When Mr. Brooks has become tired of challenging those who do not hold themselves amenable to the barbarous code of duelling, and of evading a fight with those who do, we commend to him the very sensible proposition of our old woman correspondent. Any letter addressed to "Elizabeth Mates, Concord, Mass.," will doubtless be promptly responded to.

**POLTROONISM.** A. Williams & Co. have published to-day a metrical farce in one act, founded on recent events at Washington, and an admirable imitation of the conspiracy scene in Shakspeare's Julius Caesar. The plot is derived from the conspiracy against Senator Sumner, and Butler, Brooks, Edmundson, Keitt, and other of the conspirators are aptly represented in Anchises, Publius Quixot, Poltroonius Servilius, Mundsonius, and Mendacious. Other of the conspirators are hit off, and the farce is written with much skill, spirit and sarcasm.

### SPEECH OF HON. P. S. BROOKS, OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

In the House of Representatives, July 14, 1856, on Resigning his Seat in the Thirty-fourth Congress.

Mr. Speaker—Until this moment I have felt that there was a propriety in my remaining silent, and in trusting my defense to friends who are abler and more learned than myself. I have heretofore felt that other and higher interests than any which affect me personally were involved in the proceedings of this case. The interests of my constituents, of this House, and of all indeed, who are concerned in the Constitution itself



side the bar. I told him I wanted to speak with him, and we had better walk to the window, which we did. I then said, in substance: "Colonel Brooks and his friends myself are engaged in understanding you, in your speech, to hold yourself out as a fighting man, subject to the laws of honor; and I am requested to present you Colonel Brooks' compliments, and inquire whether you are willing to receive a communication from him under the rules of that code?" He replied, that he did not intend to be so understood; he did not intend to hold himself out as a fighting man; and, if there was anything in his speech that would bear that construction, he, like Colonel Bingham, would be ready to explain. I then told him, that I considered that his declaration on his part ended my mission on the part of Colonel Brooks; but I would advise him to look over his speech before publication; that I thought, if he would examine it carefully, he would find points and sentences that would indicate to a man of honor and sensibility that he did intend to hold himself out as a fighting man, subject to the code of honor. He replied, that he would do so; and this ended the interview. I was fully satisfied, as your friend, believing you to be as generous as brave, that it could not be your duty or inclination to press the matter further.

I am, respectfully, your friend and obedient servant.  
JOHN H. SAYAGE.

HON. PRESTON S. BROOKS.  
Now, sir, I have to say to that member, as Uncle Toby (of Tristram Shandy memory) said to the fly: "Go, little wretch, there is room enough in this world for both you and me." [Laughter.] Another quotation has just come to me, and I will give him also the benefit of that—

"You can hurt no man's fame by your ill word; Your pen is just as harmless as your sword."

I now desire the attention of my *quondam* friend from Massachusetts, [Mr. Comins.] He alluded in the opening of his speech to our past personal and family relations. I have to say to him that my attachments do not set so loosely upon me as to be cast off unnecessarily, and that I yet take deep interest in the welfare of his excellent family. Had our relative positions been reversed, I should have said nothing, or I should have none more than he has done.

From his place in the House—in his representative character, and at the time armed to the teeth, and not with a rifle hypocritically and cowardly disguised as a walking cane, and carried in the hand of a poulterer and puppy, but with the genuine articles—in quoting the language and endorsing the sentiment of Chevalier Webb, of poor Jonathan Cilley notoriety, as follows: "Looking at it solely as an insult to the country, a trampling upon the constitution, and an outrage upon the sanctity of the Senate Chamber, it was an outrage which merited death on the spot from any patriot present who was in a position to inflict punishment."

Now, sir, I say to that gentleman that no man has the right to wear arms who does not dare to use them. In my country, the cock that crows and won't fight, is despised by the hens, and even by the pullets, who know a thing or two instinctively. [Great laughter.] His chivalric spurs dwindle before the charges of the valorous gout, and his place is—out of sight. "I feel, sir, that the blood more stirs to hunt the lion than to chase the hare;" but if my *quondam* friend has any ambition under the direction of the Chevalier Webb, to play the "patriot," let him or le *preux* chevalier, separately or together, or backed by the whole republican crew, come take the life which they say is forfeited. Now, Mr. Speaker, I have nearly finished what I intended to say. If my opponents, who have pursued me with unparalleled bitterness, are satisfied with the present condition of this affair, I am. I return my thanks to my friends, and especially to those who are from non-slaveholding States, who have magnanimously sustained me, and felt that it was a higher honor to themselves to be just in their judgment of a gentleman, than to be a member of Congress for life. In taking my leave, I feel that it is proper that I should say that I believe some of the votes which have been cast against me have been extorted by an outside pressure at home, and that their votes do not express the feelings or opinions of the members who gave them.

To such of these as have given their votes and made their speeches on the constitutional principles involved, and without indulging in personal vilification, I owe my respect. But sir, they have written me down upon the history of the country as worthy of expulsion, and in no unkindness I must tell them that for all future time my self-respect requires that I shall pass them as strange as you.

And now, Mr. Speaker, I announce to you and to this House, that I am no longer a member of the Thirty-Fourth Congress.

[Mr. Brooks then walked out of the House of Representatives.]

# Daily Evening Traveller.

BOSTON :  
WEDNESDAY, JULY 23, 1856

Mr. Tappan, Clerk of the Free State Legislature of Kansas, who has been stopping here a few days, left yesterday for Boston, from which city he went to the territory about two years ago, and has been one of the most active free state men there. He was one of the defenders of Lawrence during the Wakarusa war last winter, and was one of the gallant thirteen that rescued Branson from the mob, of which Jones was the leader. Mr. Tappan called the Legislature together on the 4th of July, at Topeka, and was opposed to a dissolution of that body until it was done at the point of the bayonet. He has with him a curiosity—it is one of the chains with which the free state prisoners were bound, who were driven by dragoons, like cattle, from Ossawatimie, a distance of thirty miles, in a burning sun, with these heavy fetters upon them! It is a trace chain, seven feet long, and very heavy. The ends were fastened around the ankles by large padlocks: This barbarous relic is actually burnished bright by wear, for the prisoners were compelled to wear them about a month. I must close to get the mail.  
B.

# Portland Advertiser.

Wednesday Morning, July 23, 1856.

## The Extension of Slavery.

The Fusionists charge upon the Democracy that they are in favor of the extension of slavery. What is the ground upon which they make this accusation? This, simply: that they advocate the right of the people of the States and Territories to settle the question for themselves.—[Argus.]

We take this from the Argus of yesterday. It is the only apology that has been, or can be, offered by that or any other paper not openly professing to be in favor of the extension of slavery, for the repeal of the Missouri Compromise—that shameful violation of a solemn agreement out of which all the troubles in Kansas have sprung.—With such papers as the Argus, it has been the Alpha and Omega, the morning salute and evening lullaby, with which it has sought to pacify the members of its party whose indignation has been aroused by this flagrant breach of good faith on the part of the slave power, and to induce them to still continue their support of a party chained down to the juggernaut of slavery.

"Popular Sovereignty!" "The Right of the people of the Territories to settle the question for themselves!" These are the siren appeals with which the Argus seeks to divert the honest democracy from the real facts. It knows that it is a delusion and a humbug. It knows that it was declared and proved to be a humbug, at the time the foul deed was done, and the consequences which have followed—the scenes which have been enacted in Kansas—have made "assurance doubly sure," that both in theory and practice, it is a gross delusion and cheat. It is a cheat, too, for which the leaders of the party at the North—and such papers as the Argus—are wholly responsible. The speeches and action of Southern politicians, both at the time of the repeal, and since the repeal, afford no ground for any such pretence.—They took the ground, openly and boldly, that the object was to extend slavery! And while these Northern Doughfaces were telling their constituents that this Bill was to allow the people of the territory to determine this question for themselves, the Southern propagandists, and the organs of the slave power in the South, asserted in the most positive terms that, on the passage of the Bill, slaveholders might carry their slaves there, and the territorial legislature might and ought to protect them, but would have no power to prohibit

the slave relation, or to exclude slaves. In order to expose this contradiction in doctrine, this fraud in the Bill, this duplicity among its supporters, Mr. Mace moved, while the Bill was pending, to insert the following in the first section:

"AND THE TERRITORIAL LEGISLATURE SHALL HAVE POWER TO ADMIT OR EXCLUDE SLAVERY AT ANY TIME, BY LAW."

Here was an opportunity for the Northern and Southern supporters of the Bill to come to a plain understanding, and to say in plain terms precisely what they meant. But what did they? THEY VOTED DOWN THE AMENDMENT—96 to 76! That is, they voted against investing the Territorial Legislature with power to admit or exclude slavery! They voted against "the right of the people to govern themselves!" But we are able to bring forward indisputable evidence to stamp this pretence as a base fraud, from a source still nearer home and which the Argus cannot explain away.

Mr. Fuller of this State, an old line, national, "wild cat" democrat—a friend of the Administration and desirous of acting with the majority and voting for the Bill—it could be put in such shape as to afford him an *ad libitum* pretext for doing so—a *partizan*, who now supports Buchanan—offered an amendment which most effectually exposed this fraud. Mr. Fuller was willing to go as far as he could without entirely sacrificing his self-respect—and he has since been induced to go beyond that point. But then, even he was not prepared to swallow such an outrage, unless it could be put in such shape as might show that the excuse, offered for it by its Northern apologists, had some foundation. He, therefore, moved the following amendment:

"AND THE TERRITORIAL LEGISLATURE SHALL HAVE THE POWER TO ESTABLISH OR EXCLUDE SLAVERY, AS TO THEM SHALL DEEM PROPER."

As a National Democrat, he said, "he would like to vote for the Bill, and if his amendment should prevail, he would do so—if not, he would feel compelled to vote against the bill as then advised!"

This was going a great way—but the majority in obedience to orders, VOTED DOWN HIS PROPOSITION, 91 TO 75! What was the plain language of that vote? We, the supporters of the Bill, WILL NOT GRANT THE TERRITORIAL LEGISLATURES POWER TO ESTABLISH OR EXCLUDE SLAVERY! We will not give the people "the right to govern themselves!" And so Mr. Fuller understood it, and on this ground voted against the Bill. We are sorry that his subsequent political course has not been consistent with that vote—that he, with others, finally yielded to that process which has so often cajoled and coerced Northern "national democrats" into humble submission to the decrees of the slave power. But there is the record of his proffered amendment and his reasons for offering it—and there is the vote upon that amendment—standing out in bold relief, showing so plainly, that "a wayfaring man though a fool" cannot fail to understand, that all this talk, on the part of the Argus and interested politicians, about the "right of the people of the territory to settle this question for themselves," is and was intended to be, a cheat and a delusion.—The Bill never could have passed—the Southern propagandists would never have voted for it—if it had contained any such provision. Their plan and fixed purpose was to force slavery into the territory before it should become a State, allowing the actual settlers no right to exclude it, until by force and fraud they should have acquired the ascendancy so as to form a constitution allowing slavery, and thus convert it into a slave State.

People of Maine! Men of all parties, be not deceived by this specious cry about "Popular Sovereignty!" The evidence is ample to show that it is a miserable cheat and humbug! If not so, let the Argus explain why it was necessary to repeal the Missouri Compromise! Let it explain,

# Evening Telegraph.

BOSTON, WEDNESDAY, JULY 23.

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.—[Lowell Courier.]

The Courier says that a Kansas meeting was held in Billerica on Monday evening. Speeches by Mr. Patterson of the Parkville Luminary, and T. Pearson, Esq., of Lowell. An Auxiliary Society was formed, of which Gordon Parker is President, and T. F. Talbot Secretary. Quite a large sum of money has already been subscribed. A Fremont Club is to be formed, and it is thought that every man in town would join, and the women too.

BUFFALO, N. Y., July 11, 1856.

Dear Star:—The Kansas meeting, which has been in session in this city two days, has completed its task and adjourned. The North may now be said to be organized, and ready for a systematic effort to save Kansas to freedom. Heretofore our efforts have lacked system, and hence efficiency, while the South have been thoroughly organized, and have to some extent prevailed. But we believe that the tide must now change. Free State men are aroused, and this convention has resulted in unity of plan and purpose.

About one hundred delegates were present, representing all the Free States except Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, New Jersey and California, and the reports from all sections were that money and men enough to overwhelm the slave power would be readily furnished, if a judicious plan of concerted action could be devised, which promised success. This is now accomplished. A central committee, composed of five responsible men at Chicago, and one in every state that sympathizes in the movement, was appointed to manage and direct the whole matter, receive money, and disburse it, and superintend all the details of the movement. Each state is urged to organize auxiliary to this central committee, and raise funds and men to aid them in advancing the sacred cause. Reference to the names of the committee will show that the cause will be safe in their hands, and that the lovers of freedom can, with confidence, pour in their contributions for their use.

The news from the Western States is most cheering. The whole people are aroused, and all agree in reporting that any desired number of men can be had to go into Kansas, if the means to sustain them is only furnished.—Thousands of young men are anxious to go if they can only be armed for defence and be protected from starvation. But they have not the means to sustain themselves, and must be supplied by men of wealth who cannot go to Kansas themselves. Since this organization is completed, those who can give money, may be assured that it will be wisely appropriated. Eight hundred men are now on their way to Kansas through Iowa, and recruits are constantly assembling at different points, and it is only necessary to supply the cash, to send on one thousand a week until the conflict is settled.

We wish that the whole North could have been present at this Convention, and heard the speeches of Gov. Reeder, Gerrit Smith, and the story of those who have been driven from Kansas. Their hearts and pockets would have felt the effects of the outbursts of patriotic fervor of the occasion, and the contest would have been decided right here in Buffalo. And we hope that the people will catch the inspiration, and as one man come to the rescue. There is no doubt about making Kansas a free state now, if the North does half its duty. The victory will be easy. The men are ready. A solid, wise, responsible organization is now effected. All that is now wanted is money. Money! Money!! Money!!! Would to God we had enough of it to make Kansas free! But there is enough in the hands of freemen, and it must be sent to the treasurer of this cause. It must be consecrated to freedom. Every man who can give a sixpence a month must do so; and those who can follow the noble example of Gerrit Smith, and give \$1500 a month, must do so to the country, and there is less disposition

too, why Mr. Fuller's amendment was voted down! Until it gives such explanations let it be silent about "popular sovereignty"—let it be silent about the "great democratic principle" of permitting "the people of the territory to settle the question for themselves"—for the party which sustains must stand before the world, convicted of lending its powerful organization to the extension of slavery.—first by a gross breach of faith, in the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and second, by fraud, usurpation, tyranny and violence in Kansas!

# Whig and Courier.

Wheeler & Lynde, Proprietors.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 23, 1856.

We understand that the President is to be called upon by the House of Representatives to state by what authority the troops of the United States were employed to disperse the Legislature at Topeka, and what action, if any, has been taken to stop piracy on the Missouri River, to protect travel across the public domain, and to secure reparation and punishment for the robberies, and the destruction of property in Lawrence. The call is certainly proper enough; none can be more so. But who believes that it will bring out any satisfactory information or produce any other particular effect than a renewed display of the miserable blindness and weakness which has already sickened every free State with disgust. The second article of the Constitution requires that the President "shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union," under that provision, he made the representation to Congress, in his last Annual Message, that in the territory of Kansas "no acts have occurred to justify the interposition of the Federal Executive," though he went on directly afterwards to say that the people of the Territory are entitled to the free exercise of their right to determine their domestic institutions, and must be protected in the enjoyment of it, "without interference on the part of the citizens of any State." And yet a Committee of Inquiry, sent out by the very House to whom the Message was communicated, have established, by the most incontestable proof, that "every election held under the organic or alleged territorial law, has been carried by organized invasions from the State of Missouri, by which the people of the Territory have been prevented from exercising the rights secured to them by the organic law." Communications from the White House, having any relation to the affairs of Kansas, are not worth the paper they are written upon. Had our President, like the Prime Minister of England, a seat in the national legislature, it might be worth while to catechise him about his administrative conduct; worth the while, for the ordeal would be sure to crush him—it would be worse to him than the *pains forte et dure*, worse than the battle-field horrors which made him faint at Cherubusco. A rare spectacle indeed would it be to see FRANKLIN PIERCE confronted with the representatives of the people face to face, and compelled, like an English premier to answer questions, and to vindicate, as he best might, his acts and his defaults. But it could not last long. His sufferings would be very quickly terminated by a vote of a want of confidence, and the country would be rid of him. As it is, however, Mr. Pierce is out of legislative reach. There is little use of chasing him with interrogatories. Nothing but the Fourth of March can overtake him.

It is an extraordinary fact that a dozen men are now lying in prison in Kansas charged with high treason for a line of action which the Representatives of the people have justified and sanctioned, and so far as in them lay, made operative and effectual.

If Gov. Robinson and his associates are traitors for recognizing the Topeka Constitution and accepting places of trust under it, then is the Federal House of Representatives to all intents and purposes in the same category, for the bill which they have passed is but a sequel to their doings. The whole head and front of Governor Robinson's offending is his having acted with precisely the same spirit and under precisely the same presumption that the majority of the House of Representatives have acted upon; and it is as absurd to say that the spirit of presumption in the one case are any

more reasonable in their course than in the other, for it is always the intention which determines the character of a crime, though its body exists only in the outward act. How long would an old King of England have dared to keep a state-prisoner in the Tower after the House of Commons had justified and approved and given full force and effect to the act for which he was committed? Would twenty-four hours elaps, or six or one, before he would have ordered his attorney-general to enter a *notte prosequi*? And has not President Pierce the same power to do the same thing? But if President Pierce pretends that such considerations are out of place, and that the law, as he construes it, must take its course, and have its complete work, why does he not cause the arrest of the escaped Governor Reeder, who was indicted in the same manner, and for a similar cause, as Governor Robinson and his fellows? He has Marshals in every State that could effect the arrest, and Governor Reeder makes no secret in his movements. Why, then, does not this great stickler for the authority of the bogus government of the territory make it felt by the recalcitrant Governor Reeder? Why does he not attempt it? He who is so high-handed at the outskirts, why is he so imbecile in the interior? President Pierce, in this whole Kansas business, wherein he is not the hardest of scourges is the hollowest of shams. When there is soul in him there is no substance, and when there is substance there is no soul. To sound him in any case, is only to see what manner of noise he may give out. But let the House try it.—N. Y. Courier.

# DAILY FREE PRESS.

BURLINGTON:

WEDNESDAY EVENING, JULY 23, 1856.

[From the Christian Repository]

The Vermont Patriot takes exception to our news items on the Kansas affairs, intimating that they are one-sided and exaggerated. Can the Patriot refer us to a single paragraph of such news which has appeared in the Repository—one that is either untrue or false? Judging from the report of the Congressional Committee, and also from letters written in Kansas by eye-witnesses of the events, especially G. W. Colburn, of Boston, we come to the conclusion that the charges of the Vermont Patriot have not been exaggerated, and that it would be difficult to exaggerate them. We are very much mistaken if the Patriot has not often refused to select articles containing true statements of outrages in Kansas. At any rate, we shall continue to publish what we judge to be the truth, facts, with regard to Kansas, and all other matters; moreover, we may not quit the Patriot's taste, help his cause, or ask his leave. Probably, the reason why he wishes us to suppress facts is, because he knows that "facts are stubborn things," and that they are against him.

Rev. A. Webster, a very respectable Clergyman of this village, went to Kansas, a few weeks since, on a mission of mercy—to bring home an insane brother. He minded his own business,—intruded his opinions on no one—and yet he was deceived and shamefully abused by the proslavery men in Kansas; and when he returns home, the Patriot continues the abuse of him by saying that all parties there seem to have taken him for a "greenhorn." What has Mr. W. done to merit such treatment from a neighbor?

# MORNING STAR.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 23, 1856.

A late dispatch from St. Louis states that General Lane had entered the territory from Iowa, with several hundred men.

THE CHICAGO COMPANY.—The Democratic Press very properly urges it as the duty of the State of Illinois to take up the case of her peaceable citizens who were piratically plundered by the people of Missouri, an outrage which ought not to go unredressed:

100 same. Every church of Christ should regard itself an organization to make Kansas a free state, and at once solicit funds for that object. The women should engage in the work, and solicit from house to house. Children should join in the contest, and bring their pennies to the altar. The whole North should come up as one man to the rescue, and the victory will be easy. The way is now clear for work, and a hearty response will make a short work of it, and finish it in righteousness.—G. I. B.

**KANSAS.**—The Providence Transcript says that a letter has been received there, which states that Col. Topliffe, who went to Kansas from that city, has been mortally wounded, while defending himself against a guerilla party of Georgians, who ordered him to disarm and give up his pistols and horse, which he refused to do. He was highly esteemed in Providence, and the news of this outrage has created a great sensation in that city.

Col. C. K. Holliday, of Topeka, has arrived at Cleveland, and the Plaindealer obtains the following information from him:

"The most cheering news, however, that Col. Holliday brings, is, that it is not true that the free State men are leaving Kansas. None have left except a few on temporary absence. Business at Lawrence, Topeka, and other points, had revived, and was going on with unabated energy, and the free State men generally were in the very best spirits.

At Lawrence the rebuilding of the Free State Hotel was about to be commenced, double the dimensions of the one destroyed by Sheriff Jones and his mob. The new hotel will be 60 feet by 125. A fine Unitarian Church is also being completed. The border-ruffian and pro-slavery outrages and annoyances prevented sowing and planting extensively, but the crops on the ground were coming in finely and would yield abundantly. Kansas needs more enterprising, thorough-going free State settlers, and thousands should seek new homes there the coming autumn.

## Manchester Democrat.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 23, 1856.

**"The Slaveholding Interest wills it, from which there is no Appeal."**

On the eve of the election of March 20th 1855, in Kansas, General Stringfellow addressed the invaders in Missouri as follows:

"To those who have qualms of conscience as to violating laws, State or National, the time has come when such impositions must be disregarded, as your rights and property are in danger; and I advise you, one and all, to enter every election district in Kansas, in defiance of Reeder and his vile myrmidons, and vote, at the point of the bowie-knife and revolver. Neither give nor take quarter, as our case demands it. It is enough that the slaveholding interest wills it, from which there is no appeal. What right has Governor Reeder to rule Missourians in Kansas? His proclamation and prescribed oath must be repudiated. It is your interest to do so. Mind that Slavery is established where it is not prohibited."

The subsequent events in that pillaged and persecuted territory, attest with what zeal and success these instructions have been attended. Kansas lies to day at the feet of the executive of the Federal government, bound hand and foot, and surrounded by armed marauders to keep from her soil all free state settlers, while the President is exercising his utmost power through the agency of a system of tyranny both civil and military, to establish slavery there in defiance of right,

organic law, and that once indeed but now contemned democratic principle, "squatter sovereignty." The reason for such extraordinary transactions, as well as for most of the acts which have marked the administration of President Pierce, may be found without going farther than this sentence in the speech above quoted—"the slaveholding interests wills it, from which there is no appeal."

The sentiment contained in this brief but expressive sentence, is the key which unlocks all that might otherwise seem obscure in the movements of the managers of Democracy. When Gen. Pierce, who had served slavery with such unflagging ardor, met with such a reward at Cincinnati that he might well exclaim with Cardinal Wolsey, "Had I served my country with half the zeal that I have served slavery, I should not now be left desolate in my hour of need," it was considered by even his personal friends, enough that the slaveholding interest demanded the sacrifice. Truly there was "no appeal" from its commands, and the political head of Franklin Pierce rolled in the dust at the tyrant's feet.

James Buchanan was nominated by the same convention which decapitated Gen. Pierce, and for the same reason. He was a resident of Pennsylvania, and in the storm of indignation which the perfidious acts of the administration had awakened throughout the North, it became necessary to secure Pennsylvania for the candidate of the pro-slavery democracy. Personal popularity and state pride were relied upon as the two levers to raise James Buchanan to the Presidential chair. The slaveholding interest willed the nomination of Mr. Buchanan and from it there was no appeal.

We look upon the leaders of the democratic party as entirely and willingly committed to a course of action in accordance with the sentiment above alluded to. The proof on this point is abundant and incontrovertible. Kansas speaks for its truth with a thousand tongues, and other voices are not wanting to join in testifying to the verity of the allegation.

If all honest democrats would consider to what a course they are pledged by their leaders, what new deeds of wrong they are expected to sanction if they shall give to the party another four years lease of power, we believe they would hesitate long before assuming such a responsibility. The sentence at the commencement of this article so aptly expresses the only rule of faith and practice of the self-styled national democracy, that it is worthy of being inscribed upon all their banners, while by its comprehensiveness and conciseness it renders unnecessary the Cincinnati Platform. Mr. Buchanan could as easily merge his identity in the one as the other.

Whether the spell which has so long been potent is to be exorcised at this Presidential election, and a new order of government inaugurated in place of the civil commotions, anarchy and pandering to the worst of sectional demands which has characterized the present administration, the people can alone decide. The remedy lies in their hands. Let not those who have forsworn the Pierce administration because of its unjust acts, think that the banquet will be less obnoxious because another master sits at its head. The slaveholding interest "wills"

more than it has yet attained, and its success in the past has but stimulated it to new and more daring attempts. The election of the Republican candidate, John C. Fremont, to the command of the general government, is alone sufficient to turn back the tide of invasion and conquest. We do not subscribe entirely to the doctrine of "principles, not men." On the other hand, men according to their abilities and dispositions can do a vast deal for the success or defeat of the principles they profess, and executive ability combined with honesty is worth half as much as the best principles at any time. Because Col. Fremont has these qualities and stands on the right platform, beside, we believe his election to be the one thing most needful for the salvation of the Union from the fate that will overtake her if the power now in authority shall long control. The change from the general security and peace of four years ago, to the feverish unrest of the present time, with all the intermediate villany which has produced such a state of affairs speaks in trumpet tones for the necessity of a different order of government. If this demand is unheeded, the future has events in store compared with which the repeal of the Missouri Compromise is but a straw indicating the quarter from whence the tempest shall come. May this calamity be averted!

**SNEERING NOT ARGUMENT.**—We believe a sneer at the arguments of one's opponent, or what he at least has a right to consider such, is not generally regarded as either courteous or convincing. On the other hand, it very justly pronounces for the weakness of the cause whose advocates can only sneer at what they can neither controvert nor silence. We have in mind at this moment, several democratic journals, whose usual, and, we might say, only course in relation to the troubles in Kansas, and the efforts on the part of its friends in the North for such help as may avail against the stupendous fraud of converting it into a Slave State, is to pretend to disbelieve the one and sneer at the other. They become scornfully merry over "bleeding Kansas," and consider the murders, robberies and outrages daily practiced upon the Free State settlers in that territory, as an excellent farce; and those individuals the greenest of hypocrites, who see in them rather a tragedy, whose consummation would be the direst calamity that ever befel our Union. The heart or the intellect that can see in the heroic efforts to retain Kansas as the heritage of Freedom, anything to "sneer" at, may belong to an excellent joker, but is not indicative of either just or humane views of important events.

From The Morning Star.

### Washington Correspondence.

Sad Fourth of July—Prostitution of our Government—Kansas free in the House—Kansas Investigating Committee—Slavery courtesy vs. freedom courtesy—Douglass' new bill—the "Wheatland Sage" and the "American Zuluander"—Who will re-ignite the fire—Who will save the ship?—Jessie an "abolitionist"—A turtle with his head drawn in is a turtle still.

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 4, 1856.

Mr. Editor.—Yes, another "Fourth of July" has come, and it finds us at the Capital of this great nation—at the very heart of that land which eighty years ago this day our fathers declared to be a land of liberty. We were never here before on such a day. We never felt so sad before on such a day. Instead of liberty, slavery surrounds us. Instead of a government for freedom, we have a government prostituted to slavery! In-

stead of remembering God, and warning him, as a people, we have gone away from him—we have trampled down his law—oppressed his poor—scoffed at his threatened judgments, and construed his forbearance into approbation. He has granted us prosperity, and we have revelled in it like the swine feeding upon the fruit of the majestic oak. He has led us to know the use of the steam-boat, the railroad, and the telegraph; and we have grasped wire, car, and steamer, and freighted them with selfishness. Not one engine in a hundred draws us toward God—not one despatch in a hundred reminds us of the brotherhood of man. He has given us a territory, vast in its extent, rich in its soil, and ample in its resources; and we are seeking to spread slavery all over it—we are eager to hear the clanking of chains upon its broad prairies—to mingle the sigh of the bondman with our mountain breezes, and water our valleys with the sweat and tears and blood of our fellow man. As the Lord liveth, this is even so. This government, formed to protect the rights of man, has come to be used to trample upon and destroy these rights. Let the Executive look to Kansas, and ask if it is not so? Let the Senate look to Kansas, and ask if it is not so? Ah! and let the President, and each Senator and officer who has co-operated with him, remember that the blood of American citizens is upon the skirts of their garments.

The 4th of July, is it? Thinking of the birth, and growth, and strength of a nation eighty years old, are you? Well, what do you think of it? Ought it to be able to protect its own citizens upon its own soil? Ay, protect them! Yes, it will, if they will bow down and worship the gods of slavery; but if they love freedom, if they will think and write and speak for liberty—think and write and speak as Washington and Jefferson did—they must be shot down as traitors. Do you say we write severely? We say we write the truth! On this very day, our brethren are in prison in Kansas, for speaking and acting for freedom—not for violating any law of this land! Large numbers have been shot dead for no pretended cause or crime but being an "abolitionist," and the authorities in that territory have made no attempt to bring the murderers to justice!

Though we feel sad on this memorable day, yet there are bright spots in the midst of reigning darkness. Yesterday, thank God, the House of Representatives of this great nation passed the bill to admit Kansas into the Union as a free State by two majority.—On Monday it was defeated by one vote; but one member's conscience troubled him and he changed to the side of freedom—and the civil authorities of the District of Columbia locked up one member in jail under an indictment for the murder of Keating; so, truth and liberty triumphed, and the "treason in Kansas" is solemnly and formally endorsed by a majority of the House of Representatives. This is much to gain, even though the Senate do not pass the free State bill. Will the President or the officers of his pro-slavery court in Kansas now release those men who are in prison, charged with "high treason," or will they arrest and imprison the majority of the House of Representatives who have thus justified their acts and become "accomplices" with them? Don't wince, ye sworn magistrates of the law and the Constitution! If you hang the principals there, hang the accomplices here! We ought to say that between the failure of the bill on Monday, and its passage on yesterday, the Report of the Kansas Investigating Committee was received and read. It reveals a state of things a hundred fold worse than was expected. Every election in Kansas has been controlled and carried by Missourians—generally three to one—always with the open and boldly declared design of making Kansas a slave State, and in most instances with bowie knives and pistols to deter free State men from voting. The infamous Jones, holding the office of Sheriff in the territory, frequently led of the mob of Missourians in the election riots. This is abundantly proved, and still he continues to hold the office of Sheriff in that territory.

The Report is written in a straight-forward matter-of-fact style, with great earnestness and ability, reflecting much honor upon its author,

Mr. Sherman of Ohio, Mr. Howard of Michigan, the Chairman, being at present, and during much of the investigation, in very feeble health. Of course, Mr. Oliver will make a minority report. He separated from the Committee in Kansas—by going to Detroit to make out their report, and he to his home in Missouri to make out his, as they supposed. They prepared their report and arrived here on Saturday, and he came the same day; but his report was not made out, and the House, by an excess of courtesy, as we think, gave him ten days after the presenting of the majority report to prepare and bring in his minority report. It will be strange, very strange, if with their report before him, and the strongest legal advisers of the South to aid him, he cannot in ten days make something of a show on his side.—Courtesy is well in its sphere, but common fairness, we think, required that his report should have been presented with theirs: Pro-slavery courtesy in the Senate appoints a committee to investigate the assault on Sumner, and puts not a single man on the committee who is his political friend. Freedom courtesy in the House appoints a committee to investigate the assault of border ruffians of Missouri on free State men in Kansas, and puts one out of three of the committee, who is himself a Missourian, and then grants him ten days extra to make his minority report. Well, so we go, so we have gone for years and always, yielding to the South and to slavery, and they in return denouncing the North as sectionalists and agitators, crying "give, give," like those of old.

A wealthy, benevolent man meets a poor, weary footman in his journey—has compassion on him, and gives him his horse and chaise to carry him on his way. He seats himself upon the easy cushion, looks at the fine steed, and as he starts off, he casts a reproachful glance at his benefactor, and exclaims, "You gave me no whip, sir!"

This case may be rather too strong to portray human nature; but it is weak, too weak, to be even a fair illustration of the ungrateful and aggressive nature of American slavery.

Yesterday morning, after a session of twenty hours, the Senate passed Douglas' second Kansas bill; which, though bad enough, is a very different thing from his first Kansas bill, reported last winter. This bill repeals many of the territorial laws, (where is his favorite squatter sovereignty?) removes the test oaths, guarantees freedom of speech and the press, provides for a census to be taken of all who are in the territory to-day (4th of July) by five commissioners to be appointed by the President—appoints an election to be held on the 4th of November next, at which all who are included in the census are to be voters &c. Now, in the first place, Kansas belongs to freedom, under a solemn compact (the Missouri Compromise) of more than thirty years standing, and five slave states have already been admitted into the Union out of the Southern domain covered by said Compromise—now that Kansas is to come in, "squatter sovereignty" is the cry. A neighbor meets a farmer who has with him and owns a noble yoke of oxen; the neighbor generously offers to flip a copper with the farmer to decide who shall have and own the oxen; and gravely says, "that's fair, you stand as good a chance as I do." In the second place, the free State men have been driven out of Kansas within the past few weeks—many companies have been stripped of their arms, and robbed of their property: and at the same time there can be no doubt that it is understood by Missourians that Douglas was to provide in his new bill that those who were in Kansas to-day should be voters, and hence there are in all probability thousands of Missourians in Kansas at this moment, not to remain there as settlers, but to have their names entered on the poll list contemplated in this new bill. Add to this the fact that the Missourians say boldly and openly, many of them, that what they have done is only a beginning—that they are bound somehow to make Kansas a slave State; and we ask, in the light of the past year's experience, what hope is there for freedom under Douglas' new bill? Then look at another point—the investigation of the Kansas Committee shows

of the territory voted for the present free State or Topeka Constitution! The meetings were got up, and the Constitution framed and presented precisely as was done in the case of Michigan, when she was admitted into the Union! Then why not admit Kansas now? Simply and purely because the Constitution she now presents makes her a free State, while the pro-slavery programme is to make her a slave State.

Since our last letter, the two great political parties have framed their platforms and selected their leaders for the Presidential campaign. The Cincinnati Democratic platform is so totally pro-slavery and filibustering in its character, that they dared not put Pierce or Douglas upon it, but hoped, by taking Mr. Buchanan, to hide the enormities of the creed behind the character of the priest.—Even this frail hope has failed them, for Mr. B. immediately comes out and says, "I am no longer James Buchanan, but the representative of the Democratic party;" thus, with his own hand, casting the "Buck" by both his horns to the pro-slavery altar. Mr. B. is a fine looking man, seventy years old—was never married, except that he wedded the Federalists in 1812 and 1814, opposing the war and declaring, "If he had a drop of democratic blood in his veins, he would let it out;" then, after finding this match was likely to prove fruitless, he got divorced, and married the Democratic party. His doctrines put forth in the Ostend Circular of last year, show unmistakably the policy which would govern his administration, (if elected,) and bind him in advance, either to buy or steal Cuba during his term of office. Then, so far as Kansas and slavery are concerned, bound as he is to the platform of Pierce, Douglas & Co., his administration could but be the mere echo of the slave power.

The Republican party have adopted a platform for freedom and the Constitution, as understood by Washington and Jefferson; and have selected as their standard bearer, Mr. Fremont, the great "American Pathfinder!" Mr. F. is comparatively a young man, being but forty-three, and if elected will take command of the government at precisely the same age as Washington when he took command of the Revolutionary army. Fremont has always been a Democrat; was first conspicuous in political life when California was struggling for admission into the Union as a free State. He resided there then—took the lead in her contest for freedom; was victorious in the fight, and was elected one of her first U. S. Senators. He was born and educated in a slave State, (Georgia,) and knows enough of the "peculiar institution" to be "unalterably opposed to its extension;" while his noble wife, (Jessie, daughter of Hon. T. H. Benton,) with the heart of a true woman, utterly detests slavery, and openly declares that she is an "Abolitionist." Mr. F. was never a Catholic—was never a slaveholder. He is the living embodiment of American manhood—the true and earnest representative of progressive and Christian civilization. He dashed through the unexplored regions of the Rocky Mountains, bearing the torch of freedom firmly in his grasp. He has planted the institutions of liberty and human brotherhood on the golden shores of the Pacific! Now, that unprecedented dangers surround us—now, as the light of freedom is fading away in the dreary darkness of slavery—now, as old party engineers have run the ship of state plump upon the breakers,—the people—the *crede*—the owners—and the underwriters—are calling upon Fremont to right the ship—put her in the old channel, and bring her into port! Then there are thousands of old men and matrons who remember the cheery days of our fathers, and are praying that they may live to see the fires of American freedom re-kindled once more upon the hearth-stones of the White House!

The true men and women of the country are saying, "Old Buck can't do it!" "Fillmore didn't do it!" "Fremont and Jessie will do it!" Will the people so decide on the 4th of November? If so, then the 4th of November and the 4th of July shall be alike dear to the future history of our country.

We ought to say, as a matter of interest to the country, that there is less disposition

to fight here than there was six weeks ago. Political engineers saw that they had got too much steam. They seem to have changed their harum-scarum-border-ruffian policy. They were frightened from the nomination of Pierce—they are backing down from their ultra Kansas measures—not that they have changed the object they have in view, in the least, but because they saw unmistakably that they must change the programme, or lose the audience. They regret the spilling of Sumner's blood, simply because each drop of that blood will give a thousand votes to freedom—they will drop the bludgeon and knock-down argument, because they see that its continuance would be their own annihilation.

If we and your readers live to see another 4th of July, may there be a clearer sky over our heads than at present. God and ballots can dispel the clouds and assuage the storm. Will you, reader, pray to the One and use the other?  
"DANIEL."



NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, JULY 23, 1856.

**KANSAS AFFAIRS.—Report of the Minority.**—On our first page will be found a portion of Mr. Oliver's Report to Congress on Kansas affairs. This document ought to be read by all who have read the majority report, signed by Messrs. Howard and Sherman. But we fear it will have a poor chance of meeting the eyes of Northern people generally. As yet we have not seen it in a Republican or Know Nothing paper. Such papers publish only one side. We published the majority report nearly entire, although well convinced that it was a one-sided and strongly prejudiced document. In publishing the minority report also, we render but equal justice to the parties concerned.

## New-York Daily Times.

NEW-YORK, WEDNESDAY, JULY 23, 1856.

### HOW TO MAKE KANSAS A SLAVE STATE.

If the Senate's last Kansas inquiry is taken up in the House, it will probably be amended by incorporating into it a provision for the restoration of the Missouri Compromise. This and other amendments, distasteful to the Senate majority, may be made; but even that is not sure, for the matter will be in the hands of HAYES, DUNN, and other doubtful Northern men—and HAYES's speech of to-day clearly shows that he, for one, cannot be relied upon to vote for the restoration of the Missouri restriction. But admitting that the House does thus amend the bill, the Senate will at once reject the amendments. The bill being returned to the House, the question will be, "Shall the House recede?" And upon that question, in all human probability, HAYES, DUNN, *et cetera* *omnes* *genus*, will unite with the professed Pro-Slavery men, carry the motion to recede upon the plea of the necessity of "doing something to quiet Kansas," and so pass the bill in the precise shape demanded by DOUGLASS & Co. Now that strikes me to be an evil which our friends will do well to avert at almost any cost, for to attempt to give peace to Kansas by passing the Senate's bill, would be even worse than to quiet a sick man by taking his life with arsenic. The only way in which to avoid the trap which the Pro-Slavery men are setting, is to fix a day for adjournment, so that we may have in our hands the parliamentary machinery with which to do almost any trick of the character I have described. Be assured there never was more danger to the cause of free Kansas than is impending now in this capital, and it behoves every patriot to "watch and pray" without ceasing.

## Newark Daily Mercury.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, JULY 23, 1856.

### The Disastrous Condition of Kansas.

We had the pleasure, a few days since, of hearing a speech from a gentleman recently returned from Kansas, who having participated in the defence of the territory against the border ruffians, and resided for a considerable period directly on the battle-ground, spoke ably and understandingly of the position of things in the territory. He spoke in the highest terms of the Free State men, and asserted that from first to last they had sustained the part of prudent, peaceable, patriotic men. For the most part they were men of high character, the possessors of more than

ordinary intelligence, and not in any sense amenable to the charge of fanaticism. Their only and supreme desire is to be permitted to live peaceably, in the enjoyment of their natural rights, upon the "claims" which they have located and surrounded with the conveniences of civilization. Through all the difficulties, wrongs and oppressions which have befallen them, they have maintained stout hearts, and have never resisted in any particular the exactions of Federal authority. Men like these, argued the gentleman whose testimony we give, are entitled to the support and encouragement of freemen everywhere as is every movement that looks to the preservation of free institutions in the territory.

That argument of our friend is a correct one, no true-hearted citizen of a free State will dispute. "The rescue of the free State men of Kansas" should be a rallying cry wherever the banner of opposition to the National Administration is reared. Their bravery, their sufferings, entitle them to universal sympathy, and the party which ranks itself on their side cannot but be successful. Yet, while laboring for their protection, we must not forget that we are contending for a great principle. Men are nothing when principles of equal importance with that now involved are at stake. The great end and aim of the Republican party is the execution of the purpose of the fathers, which was the establishment of FREE SOIL every where in the land. Our principles—Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Speech—stand above all merely individual or personal interests; they are identified with the progress and welfare of the human race; they are linked inseparably with the history of the world; flourishing in their strength and glory, before parties or governments were known, they will survive in success or defeat, when parties and governments are falling to decay. Let us fight the contest upon principle, considering the relation of the free men of Kansas and of all the States thereto, and we shall possess a strength which no other party in the struggle can boast.

There is no cessation to the reign of terror in Kansas. Gen. Smith's presence fails to afford the hope 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 G. V. Shannon and Marshal Donaldson in the execution of the Missouri code, and those worthless 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 Georgian-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 Col. Sumner.

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 brigades, 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 the 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, what may not slavery demand and accomplish? The only hope for Freedom in Kansas is in the election of Fremont and Dayton, and those men who, claiming to be friends of Freedom and opposed to Slavery, yet vote for Buchanan or Fillmore, are most grossly deceived.

### A Curious Revelation.

Governor Reeder, appointed Governor of Kansas Territory by President Pierce, was afterwards removed by him, proceeedly 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 Governor 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 published by the *New York Times*, 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. See p. 100 of Vol. 1.

## Daily Pennsylvanian.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, JULY 23.

### The Kansas Troubles.

A brief narrative of some of the events connected with Kansas will explain the true cause of the difficulties existing there, and where the responsibility rests. It will demonstrate that the only true remedy for present or future territorial evils is to be found in rigid and honest adherence to the principles laid down in the Democratic platform. It is not our design in this article to argue the correctness of those principles, nor to demonstrate logically on Constitutional grounds, that the theory of the Kansas Nebraska Act is the only correct and consistent exposition of that subject; for that work has been so efficiently performed by the ablest minds in the Union, that every one accessible to reason must long ago have reached the same conclusions enunciated at Cincinnati and proclaimed by the Democratic nominees. If men in the Territories are capable of making laws for themselves, there can be no valid ground for subjecting them to Colonial vassalage. And we know of no operative cause to make those who, when in the States, were capable of self-government, utterly incapable the moment they change their homes from the East to the West side of the Mississippi. Independent of all Constitutional questions—of the vital doctrine of State Rights and State Equality—surely, the most Democratic theory, and that most compatible with Freedom, requires that the inhabitants of every organized community shall be left to govern themselves—to determine what their domestic institutions and laws shall be, and to regulate all social and political questions as to them shall seem most expedient, with the least possible interference or restraint from abroad. "Freedom in Kansas," in its true sense, is the watchword of the Democracy—"freedom" for the citizens thereof to form their own institutions and make their own laws, without control, dictation or oppression from Massachusetts, Missouri or Washington City—"freedom" as it exists in every State in the Union—that is "freedom" to govern themselves, subject only to the Constitution of the United States, which, in its legitimate sphere, is the supreme law of the land.

For many years before the passage of the Kansas Nebraska Act, the people of the West, and especially of Missouri, had urged the organization of that Territory, with a view to opening it for settlement. Repeated movements had been made in Congress to that end, but all of them had failed. The policy of the Government, previously adopted, had set apart that region for the many Indian tribes which had been removed thither from States East of the Mississippi; and for their protection, laws with severe penalties against white intrusion had been enacted.

The final organization of Oregon, and the subsequent acquisition of California, especially before the inter-oceanic routes were opened for transit, caused an immense annual migration across the Plains to our Pacific Coast.

No such movement had been previously witnessed in all history.

Tens of thousands of men, women and children, with their herds and household goods, took up their line of march from the Missouri frontier, each spring; and fearless of the many hardships and perils incident to the long and dreary journey, wended their toilsome way over the almost trackless wilderness, to their destined homes on the Pacific shore. Their route had become literally



strowed after a few seasons, with the graves of those who had perished by the way, with the bones of their cattle and flocks, and with the wrecks of their caravans. This caused increased anxiety among our Western citizens, and they insisted that the great overland route to Oregon and California should be opened to settlement, that the policy which had erected a worse than Chinese wall—a living barrier of hostile savages—along the Western frontier of Missouri and Iowa, and excluded the whites from passing it for purposes of settlement, should be changed; that the time had come when the pioneers of the West should be no longer shut out from that fertile region.

Accordingly, at each session of Congress, for years, the subject was presented to the respective Committees on Territories, and brought before the House and Senate. The people of the West became uneasy at the delay, and Missouri especially complained at the injustice which doomed her to be a frontier State, with a wall of Indians along her entire border. Her representations were particularly urgent for the proposed organization. In her Western counties, the population had become quite dense, and land had risen in value from one dollar and twenty-five cents to from fifteen to forty dollars per acre, until poorer immigrants there were denied homes on the better class of lands. Across the river, in North-west Missouri, and over an imaginary line in the South-west, there were equally fertile lands, lying waste and uncultivated. The population had almost literally been piled up along that entire line, waiting impatiently for the removal of the legal barrier, that the waves might be poured over the rich plains of these Territories, and the wilderness made to teem with plenty.

Fully aware of these facts, Col. BENTON, after the close of the session of Congress in 1852, at which the bills introduced by representatives from Missouri had failed, and soon after the inauguration of President PIERCE, visited the Western frontiers of that State, and made a speech, in which he insisted that, despite the Indian treaties and the laws of Congress, portions of that immense region were open to legal settlement. He urged the pioneers to rush over the border, and take possession of the lands indicated.—He had caused a map of the country to be prepared, lithographed and circulated as if officially sanctioned, in order to give an impulse to the movement. Gen. ARCHERSON, who had for years been Chairman of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, and was familiar with the facts involved, immediately made a speech on the Western borders, also; controverting Col. BENTON's views and warning his friends against being precipitated incautiously into a direct violation of the laws. He denied the authenticity of the lithographed map, and entreated the people to await the action of Congress. The Department of the Interior was called upon for official information, and it published a statement corroborating the views of Gen. ARCHERSON, warning the pioneers that by law they would have to be expelled if they entered that Territory, and pronouncing the map spurious and inaccurate.

This controversy caused no little excitement among the pioneers, and directed their attention, with new force, to the most eligible parts of the coveted region; so that when the Kansas-Nebraska Act passed, they were ready to move to the spots they had examined, without a week's delay. Many of them had made all necessary preparations therefor, pending the discussion of the bill, even to the extent of selling their farms in Missouri, or contracting for their sale. Those who are familiar with the habits and character of the Western pioneers, will understand the eagerness with which they sold their farms, at prices ranging from fifteen to forty dollars per acre, situated among a dense population, and prepared to settle in a new region. Hence when the news of the final passage of the Act reached the West, thousands started at once, each to "stake out his claim," and begin the work of founding a new home. Most of them left their families behind until they could erect cabins for their shelter and comfort, and make the necessary arrangements for their cattle and crops. There were no mills in the country, and not much timber, and the work of building was expensive and slow. In the meantime as the officers appointed for the Territory of Kansas had not arrived, the emigrants were compelled to resort to

the usual mode adopted by frontier settlers for mutual protection—the organization of voluntary associations, to determine all disputes about land claims, and to enforce each other's just rights to their so-called pre-emptions. Most settlers joined those associations; but some refused either to join them, or respect those claims of their neighbors which they coveted, or observe the rules of good fellowship or justice. This led to many disputes and to ill-feeling; but not enough to attract the attention of the country. There were no constituted authorities there to whom to appeal. The lands had not been surveyed, and were not yet formally in the market. Title papers, consequently, could not be procured, nor could their inchoate rights be enforced, except by the mutual aid which all just and honorable men rendered each other under such circumstances.

Various pretexts were seized upon by avaricious, grasping, and somewhat reckless adventurers recently arrived, as a pretext for their disregard of the prior rights of the earlier emigrants to their claims. Then followed what is called in border phrase, "jumping claims,"—a species of land piracy, by which, in the absence of a technical title, the prowling adventurer seeks to wrest from another his homestead and the fruits of his honest industry and enterprise. This was resisted, and violence followed.

Among the most reckless of those adventurers happened to be men sent there under the auspices of the various Eastern Aid Societies, who were regarded as mere Abolition incendiaries,—a class not in very good odor among pioneers of any kind, especially Missourians. The corporation whose agents or favorites they were, desired to take possession of large tracts of the best land, and by the force of corporate strength override individual rights. There were serious objections to such monopolizing of land by a foreign corporation,—to be improved, if at all, by a body of tenantry, subject to like difficulties with those which originated the Anti-rent disturbances in New York. In the West, each farmer is the proprietor of the farm he works. He has a strong antipathy to being a mere tenant—to non-resident proprietorship—to corporation monopolies, and to the curses of absenteeism. The evils of the latter he has learned, not only from the story of Irish wrongs, but from the results of the speculations in wild lands during the year 1836—namely, the absence of neighbors willing to bear their due share in public and private enterprises essential to the growth, comfort and high improvement, educationally, socially and otherwise, of the respective districts. The East India system furnished an apt illustration, on a large scale, of the effect of foreign corporation monopolies. Besides, the course of the latter in seeking to possess large landed estates there, was in contravention of the whole land system of the government—particularly of the pre-emption system under which Kansas must be settled. The Aid immigrants, ignorant of western habits and the land system, were constantly encroaching upon the rights of others—"jumping their claims," and dispossessing those in their neighborhood, with the view of making a separate community, under foreign auspices, with peculiar habits, and assuming special rights and privileges. They had made their entry into the Territory with threats and insults. The proceedings of the meetings which met them, had reached Kansas, and the inhabitants already there were prepared to expect the worst. Their unfriendly acts and bearing heightened the suspicion aroused by their violent proclamations in the East, and led to counteracting movements in the western counties of Missouri.

**Sheer Hypocrisy.**

We have said some less than a thousand times, perhaps, that all the cant and twaddle about "freedom in Kansas" was rank hypocrisy. In the first place, there never was the slightest possibility of Kansas becoming a slave State, if matters had been left to take their natural course. The great majority of emigrants naturally would have been from the Northern States. Southern planters, who are comfortably situated where they are, it is not reasonable to suppose would desire to remove into an untried region of country, merely by way of trying an experiment. Especially when we take into consideration the fact that they would be com-

pelled to provide two or three years' stock of provisions and clothing for their negroes, in advance, and run the risk of finding the enterprise an unprofitable one in the end. Every one with even half an idea—every individual possessing an intellect one degree above that of an oyster—needs not to be told that slavery in Kansas was never to be numbered among the probabilities—hardly among the possibilities.

Northern fanaticism, emigrant aid societies, Sharp's rifles, and abolition demagoguism, lie at the bottom of all the difficulties that have arisen in Kansas. The damning denunciations of northern incendiaries, startled those living on the borders of the Missouri line into measures for self preservation. They saw that a horde of infuriated zealots, who would give ten dollars to steal a negro, but not a farthing to set him free legally, were about to become very great nuisances as near neighbors, and they took their precautions accordingly. That fanaticism on the one side produced a corresponding determination on the other, which resulted in outrageous wrong, no one can doubt or deny. The first cause of all these wrongs lies with the disciples of HORACE GREELEY, SEWARD, and company.

The Senate bill of Mr. TOOMBS offers permanent security against all future outrage from any and every quarter. The Topeka Constitution was never framed by the people of Kansas; it never received the votes of one-fifth of the electors—not one in five ever endorsed its provisions, or the movements in which it had its origin and being. The authors of it knew perfectly well that it could never be adopted by the Congress of the U. S.—that it was a fraud upon the elective franchise—and that under it, Kansas asked admission into the Union as an outlaw, with a Constitution hostile to every principle of freedom and equality. This they knew—but what cared they for all that? It would promote sectional agitation—it would make capital for the Woolly Horse. They will have a Constitution for Kansas that was never ratified by the people, or they will have nothing.

The friends of law and order offer to take a census fairly and honestly, of all the present inhabitants of Kansas Territory, to have the bona fide settlers vote upon the question and none others—to give ample time for all the Free State men to return to the Territory and vote, and to protect them by the United States troops—and now we shall see what Black Republicanism will do with this fair and equitable proposition. We shall see who it is that desires to see peace and order restored in Kansas, and who wishes to perpetuate outrage and wrong to make capital for the Presidential election.

**Just what they Demanded.**

The Kansas Committee, in their report to Congress, give the sum total of their demands in the following language:

"Seventh. That in the present condition of the Territory, a fair election cannot be held without a new census, a stringent and well-guarded election law, the selection of impartial judges, and the presence of United States troops at every place of election."

The bill which has passed the Senate provide for every requisite they here point out—a new census, a stringent and well guarded election law, and the polls to be protected by the United States troops—five Commissioners, who it is understood will be taken from both political parties—and, it repeats all the obnoxious laws of which they complain besides. This is not only what the Black Republican Committee demanded, but even more—and yet that factious party oppose the bill with their entire strength. They are determined to keep up this sectional agitation until after the Presidential election, even if it ends in the dissolution of the Union.

### Unblushing Political Knavery.

It has been forcibly remarked, by a cotemporary, that the amazing vitality of error and falsehood, and the astonishing success of plausible misrepresentation, was never more conspicuously illustrated than in the present political contest. Charges the most base, allegations without the slightest foundation in fact, outrages manufactured for the special occasion, seem to be the order of the day. Never has the anti-Democratic press been so openly licentious, shameless and degraded before. The vilest and most disgraceful libels that ever excited public loathing and disgust, almost daily crowd the columns of those notorious receptacles of falsehood, the *Tribune* and the *Herald*, now laboring so lovingly in attempting to sectionalize this hitherto prosperous and happy country. All that is pure in morals, courteous in social intercourse, honorable in private character, elevated in humanity, gives place to the most disgraceful partisan licentiousness that ever insulted manly intelligence and common decency. Laws are openly set at defiance—constitutional safeguards are treated with contempt—our judicial tribunals are unscrupulously attacked, and an attempt seems about to be made to inaugurate the horrors of the French Revolution upon the ruins of the Constitution.

We pause not here to allude to the details of frightful outrages in Kansas which are now known never to have occurred, with which the columns of the *Tribune* have been filled for months past—and even where they have taken place, it now turns out that they were, in a great majority of cases, committed by the abolition emissaries of the emigrant aid societies. We stop not here to refute the unfounded allegation that the Democratic party is in favor of ruffianism and violence, but we come at once to the mammoth political iniquity of this degenerate age, the audacious falsehood that the Kansas bill of the Senate is purposely intended to force slavery into that Territory.

In all the black record of mendacity there can be found no parallel to this last crowning infamy of the Black Republican press. Tasking their powers of invention to the utmost, the reckless and unprincipled demagogues who trade in falsehood, have fastened this atrocious libel upon a most wise and patriotic measure. They know that the allegation is utterly base and scandalous—that it is a wilful and glaring misrepresentation. Not a shadow of proof do they offer in support of this wicked fabrication—not a particle of evidence do they adduce—but perseveringly assert that it is so. If their readers waited for proof of these unfounded assertions before crediting and acting upon them, no mischief would be done, as they would soon be convinced of their injustice; but unfortunately this is not the case.

Time will ultimately correct all these infamous fabrications, but not until the poison has spread far and wide. Those who invent these atrocious falsehoods, only desire that they should be believed until after the Presidential contest shall have been decided. Their purpose will then have been fully answered. All we ask now is that the Senate Kansas Bill should be read and thoroughly examined in order to put this glaring falsehood forever at rest.

## EVENING BULLETIN.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 23, 1850.

### THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH.

#### Southern Views of the Progress and Prospects of Abolitionism.

It is some time since the following articles appeared in the *Charleston Mercury*, but their peculiar and striking qualities induce us to lay them before our readers, and to ask for them an attentive perusal:

(From the *Charleston Mercury*, April 9)

\*\*\* But is the proposition tenable which asserts that the Abolition party is inherently weak—that it has no inherent force or power, either as a moral or political tenet?

The policy of under-estimating or despising the strength of our enemies, in politics as in war, has often produced national disasters the most fatal. The religion, the moral code of the Abolition party, are not our religion, our moral code; but they

are not on that account the less a religion, a moral and political tenet to them. It is not wise to overlook the fact that all men pursue not the same method of thought, either on morals, religion, or politics. Different methods of thought (and no two tribes of the human race pursue the same) lead infallibly to different conclusions upon all these subjects. The history of man proves the fact that the benighted Pagan will pour out his blood in defence of his idols as freely and courageously as the Christian in defence of his sacred altars. The faith of the Abolitionist is false to us, but they may deem it truth to them. But whether it be so or not, it is the same to us, for they act upon it as a belief; and it is their acts at last, and not their faith, with which we have to deal. If their faith, their moral and political tenets, produce fanatical madness, and that faith and madness produce action that may be fatal to us, the inherent power and force of those tenets is not only a fact, but even a fearful one. That they are thus led on by a wild and unreasoning faith, and fanaticism, is conclusive proof that the organization contains within itself the inherent force, the terrible energy of madness, that would goat over the horrid scenes of blood and carnage a delicious repast. In vain we urge the considerations of right reason and true religion upon their attention. When men cease to reason, to be rational beings, they become the beast of prey—the tiger in the jungle; and if they have sufficient method in their madness to augment their power, their inherent strength, by a union of their numbers, and to direct their strength to a common effort and aim, they become to the social and political organism what the whirlwind and the storm are to the physical world.

But quitting theory upon this grave question, I appeal to facts. And I point to the history of Abolition both in Europe and America, to prove, what I believe to be true, that no party has arisen among mankind during the last hundred years, which has given such indisputable evidence of inherent strength, or that has gained so many victories over its opponents—over the established orders of society and civilization, with or without resorting to the armies and navies of powerful States and Empires—as the Abolition Party has done. Let us then briefly survey the line of its victorious march, the fields of its conquests.

When, less than a century ago, a few obscure individuals first met in conclave in London, to form a programme, to commence their intended assault upon the African slave trade, African Slavery prevailed as a domestic organism, in very nearly every State in Christendom, and in the Isles of Asia, Europe, and America. The people of England alone, had many millions of pounds sterling invested in that trade. The city of Bristol, situated near the confluence of the Severn with the Bristol Channel, was at that time, perhaps, the greatest slave mart in the world. The Atlantic ocean was literally whitened with the sails of the slave ships owned by the Bristol slave merchants; and so popular and profitable was this branch of European commerce, that even reigning princes granted peculiar privileges to commercial companies, cities and states, upon the stipulated condition that they should receive a share of the profits realized from the traffic. At this portentous epoch of the history of Abolition, the American Abolitionists find a precedent for their guidance, which they are now adroitly putting in practice. The anti-Slave Trade Committee in London, disclaimed all intention to abolish Slavery at any place where it existed within the limits of the British Empire. The abolition of the slave trade alone, they declared, was all they sought to accomplish. The Abolitionists were few in number, and had but little political or social influence in the realm of England. They were opposed and denounced by all the power and influence which many millions of invested capital could bring to bear against them. They were treated with contempt and scorn by the great mass of the English people, as we have seen repeated in our times nearer home. But they did not falter—they pursued the even tenor of their way, endured with patience the reproaches which were unsparingly heaped upon their heads. They braved the storm of persecution which broke over them, and the more persecution and denunciation prevailed, the more their numbers and powers increased. They sent missionaries to France in the most stormy period of the French revolution. The immortal Lafayette and his Marchioness, Mirabeau the elder, and other leaders of the revolution, adopted their abolition tenets, and promised concurrence in national action. They sent missionaries to the United States, and sowed the seeds which now promise a plentiful harvest of ills. The ordinance of 1787 was the immediate effect of the mission to the United States. The United States has a secret history on this subject which has not yet been written.

If the record of the passage of that ordinance be searched, it will be found that Mr. Madison was in the hall of Congress a short time before, and a short time after the vote on the passage of the ordinance was taken, but his name is not recorded for or against it. The ordinance itself had a somewhat mysterious origin. Even then, almost at the birth of the Republic, there was an inherent force at work, and exerting a mysterious power, the end of which is not yet.

They, the London Abolitionists, entered the British Parliament, first by petition, then by their representatives in the House of Commons. They, too, had a method in their madness. The powerful influence of British gold failed to arrest the career of these despised fanatics. The slave trade was at last abolished, the fleet of Bristol slave-ships were turned out of employment, and the armed surveillance of the British Navy set to watch over them. They were devoted to other pursuits, or stranded upon the shore to rot; millions of capital was thrown out of investment, and invested in other forms. The property of the then flourishing city of Bristol, its commercial importance, its great social and industrial interests, were prostrated at a single blow, to rise no more. All Christendom, in the end including the United States, united in a common league to put an end to the African trade.

But the London Committee were not content with the great victory they had gained against such fearful odds. The Slave-trade abolished, they boldly elevated the black flag of Abolition, and announced the intention to abolish the institution of Slavery itself, wherever it existed in the British Empire, and thereby to free the British Crown from all responsibility on the subject of Slavery. That is the source, the precedent, from which our Abolition party derives the idea and the language in which they clothe it, of divorcing the Federal Government from Slavery and "Slave power."

In this second campaign of the English Abolitionists, they met with a stern and uncompromising resistance. The great interests of the British West Indies were at stake. Inch by inch the field was contested, and year after year the Abolition party gained ground upon their opponents.

The immense monetary power of the East India Company was enlisted on the side of Abolition, as the result of a deeply laid and comprehensive scheme of commercial monopoly, which my limits will not permit me to discuss in detail. It is enough for my present purpose to say, that Abolition again triumphed over all its opponents, by means of its "inherent force," the power mysterious and undefinable though it be, which it exercises over the minds of men. "The trace of God" was agreed to in the Parliament, Lords and Commons, and Slavery was abolished throughout the British Empire. In this vast wreck and ruin of the existing social system, slave property was not the only property that was involved in a common fate. The landed interests of the West India slaveowners, perhaps the most valuable property of that class in the world, was renounced back to the dominion of the desert, the jungle and the reptile, by the act of negro emancipation.

Thus, a single Abolition victory demolished, at a single blow, without violence or bloodshed, with-

out the aid of armies or navies, perhaps two or three millions worth of the property of British subjects, and the semblance of justice was presented to the world to justify the wrong, by paying the owners for the wholesale ruin twenty millions of pounds sterling; which, if I err not, was paid by the East India Company of merchants.

Since that London Committee of Abolitionists first met in conclave, France, England, Portugal, all Europe has abolished Slavery wherever it existed; with the qualification that Spain agreed with England, I believe, to abolish it in all her dominions, save her West India possessions, in a stipulated number of years, and for a stipulated sum of money. It has been abolished in seven of the old thirteen United States, over two-thirds of the Territorial Districts of the United States, where populous States are now running the career of nations, and including a vast country, rich in the elements which enter into the support and maintenance of human life, and capable of sustaining an empire of two hundred millions of souls. It has been abolished in Mexico, in all the South American States, except, I believe, Brazil, and in many of the isles of the sea. In order to form a right conception of the victories which Abolition has won over the organic structures of human society, let us look at the world-wide area of Slavery, when the London Committee first met, and then look at its circumscribed area now. It exists in the Southern States of this Union, in the Spanish West Indies and in Brazil. But where else? Echo answers where? It may, I think, be safely asserted, that no military conqueror, who has disturbed the repose of the world, and scourged the nations of the earth with the rod of his power, has effected such vast changes upon the social and commercial interests and organism of society, as Abolition has already done; and still, undevoted nor defeat, insatiable as the grave, it pursues its steady course, unchecked in its march, confident of gaining still more important, more devastating triumphs. And, with these great historic feats before our eyes, and the steady tramp—tramp—of the Abolition forces sounding in our ears, and disturbing our midnight slumbers, we refuse to realize the truth—the perils of our condition, and persevere in ascribing to this mighty element of disruption and subjugation, this destroyer of civilizations and social structures, "inherent weakness." May a ruling Providence open our eyes to the truth before it be too late.

**Future Relations of the Federal Government to Slavery.**

(From the Charleston Mercury, April 12.)

I have said we cannot overrate the importance to the South of a triumph in Kansas. But with the most respectful deference to the Committee, I conclude that a Free Soil defeat in Kansas would neither prostrate Abolition at home, nor "repel political ambition from its falling fortunes."

I have shown that Abolition seeks to accomplish its destructive aims by the power of the Legislative, and ultimately of the chief Executive authority of the Union. It has, therefore, not only, up to the present time, progressed by the exercise of the power of both the State and Federal Governments, but that it may do much more than it has yet done, it seeks to obtain more entire control of all the departments of the Federal Government—Legislative, Executive and Judicial. Now, what are its chances to accomplish this great aim? Let us see. I have not a line of statistics before me to refer to, of any kind. The facts stated in these numbers are drawn from memory alone. I assume, then, what I believe, on reference to the record, will be found nearly true, that the census return of 1850 shows there are fifteen millions of white population in the Northern States, and seven millions of white population in the Southern States. African slaves have no political rights; but as, under the Constitution, a certain percentage of them enter into the basis of our representation, they add to the number of our representatives. Still, the view I intend to present cannot be rightly based on any portion of the population of the United States, save that class which constitute the great body politic of the Union—for these alone constitute the State.

Now, writers on political economy, as well as the history of the Union, concur in establishing the fact, that a population that is well supplied with wholesome food, will increase to double its numbers every twenty-five years—a little more or less. With these data before us, we may, without difficulty, see what an important feature in the future of the Union this will be. In twenty-five years from 1850, the North will have thirty millions of white population, and the South fourteen millions at the end of the same decade. At the end of the next decade, the North will have sixty millions, and the South twenty-eight. We may even include the Southern slaves in the calculation—and without adding a unit in favor of the North, for the vast tide of foreign emigrants that increases their numbers every year, to which there is no set-off in the South; and at the end of the present decade, the white population of the North will outnumber the population of the South, including the Africans, to the extent of about ten millions of souls; at the end of the next decade to the number of twenty millions—even the balance against the South, outnumbering the whole population of England, Scotland and Wales—which, constitute the basis of the most powerful empire in the world. The North doubtless outnumbers us in population now, to the amount of perhaps seven millions of white population or more. We see their population already great, with an earnestness and energy never perhaps equalled, acting together with an unprecedented unanimity, to the one aim and design of sectionalizing their whole country against us upon the Abolition question. They are shrewd calculators. They know the whole power of the Federal Government will soon fall into their hands, by the silent-but sure operation of the laws of nature; and the idea and intention to outnumber and overwhelm us with their predominant millions, enters as an element into the Free-Soil movement, for they want the extended plains of the territorial districts of the United States, in which to aggregate their millions, by whose power they intend to blot out our civilization from the map of the world. The Union—the Federal Government—are not the elements which are leading on the human race on this Continent to its destiny. That race progresses by laws which lie deeper and exert a power more potent and irresistible. So far from controlling and shaping the fortunes and destiny of the people of the Union, the people of the Northern States alone will mould, shape and direct the Government as they please, and drive it before them like chaff before the storm. Look now upon the picture I have drawn, and is it not plain as noon-day, that the Federal Government of the Union will be no more Southern forever! A few weeks since we saw a Speaker placed in the Chair in the House of Representatives, without having received a single vote from the South. This is one phase, but more will follow, that are more important still. Abolition will next grasp the Senate in its hand, then the Executive power, then the Judiciary; for Abolition demands sectionalization, that by the power of the Government it may abolish slavery; political ambition demands sectionalization, for the sake of the millions which enter into and go out of the public treasury. Countless millions present and to come—passion—fanaticism—brutality—abolition—political ambition—sentiment, craved if you will, but still sentiment—moral, religious and political tenets—all—all demand sectionalization, that the north may rule, pocket the spoils and subjugate the South—FOR THIS IS THE NON-RESISTANT METHOD OF THOUGHT.

If Kansas was engulfed by an earthquake, and struck out of the map of the Union, it would matter little to the North, for they have room and landed resources enough now for an empire such as the world itself has seldom seen; and its present and future present a field for the arts and impostures of political ambition more inviting and stimulating, far, than any other on the globe. If Kansas be subjected to Southern rule, there is Nebraska, already surrendered to the North without let or hindrance, which is far more than an equivalent.

The question simply is, whether the North shall take all the fruits of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, (which has been lauded as a great Southern triumph,) or only a part. With the North, it is a question of gain, not of loss. If the North triumphs in Kansas, will our Southern National Democrats take back the songs they chanted in honor of their victory over the North upon the Kansas Nebraska bill? They like Washington better than Kansas, perhaps.

We should, as we love our dearest liberties, our hearthstones, and domestic altars, delude ourselves with unfounded hopes no more. THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT—THE UNION—WILL PROTECT THE SOUTH FROM NORTHERN AGGRESSION NO MORE FOREVER.

# Daily Enquirer.

OFFICIAL PAPER OF THE CITY.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, JULY 23

Thodore 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-horse, half-alligator men from Kentucky or Missouri would put to flight all the loud talking, spread-eagle Free-soilers 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 hardness 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.

# The Daily Journal

R. M. RIDDLE, Editor & Proprietor.  
PITTSBURGH:  
WEDNESDAY - JULY 23, 1856.

For the Commercial Journal.  
To Mrs. M. B. Stowe.

DEAR MADAM—I know not where to direct a letter to you with a confident assurance that it will reach you. I then fore take this mode of addressing you. Your new novel well, I have no doubt, contain exhibitions of the condition of the non-slaveholding class in the Southern States, tales of degradation of that class and of high-handed tyranny and aggression on the part of the slave holding oligarchy which will seem utterly incredible to those of the North who have not witnessed the condition of things South of Mason and Dixon's line. I take the liberty, therefore, to suggest to you, as an effectual means of dispelling all skepticism on the subject, if it is not too late, that you introduce into your book, either as an introduction or as an appendix, the annexed paragraph from the Charleston (S. C.) Courier. Read it and you cannot but be shocked at its most atrocious, high handed and tyrannical spirit. Where else; but in a slave State, or in the oligarchy of Venice, or in France during the worst days of Robespierre's rule, dare any person propose such a scheme of oppression and tyranny? There may be, and doubtless are hundreds of persons in South Carolina, who hotly and conscientiously disapprove of the violation of the Missouri Compromise and the forcible extension of slavery into Kansas; no doubt too, there may be many persons who are conscientiously opposed to the institution of slavery, but who are content to live in a slave State, while keeping themselves clear of what they regard as the sin of slave holding; yet it is proposed liberately in a leading paper supporting James Buchanan, that a committee there, of which, no doubt, every man is a slaveholder, shall have power to assess a certain amount of contribution upon every citizen of the State, which amount

means are devised for compelling them to pay. We have heard of the Irishman's remark about forcing men to turn volunteers. But in Charleston (S. C.) we have a deliberate, well digested scheme for forcing men to pay, not what they think they can spare, but what a committee may say they can spare; not only for a purpose which they may approve and wish to aid; but even for a purpose which they may conscientiously disapprove and utterly detest.

A list of those who refuse or are perhaps unable to pay, is to be published daily, so that as the Courier says, "we may see who are the persons who are required to be watched." But even this public exposure of men, quiet, retiring men, to the malice of such creatures as Brooks, and Herbert, and Keitt, &c., is not sufficient; but this paper actually proposes that "a committee shall be appointed whose consultations shall be secret," and who shall take "such secret measures" against "delinquents," that is, persons unable or unwilling to pay, as they may think necessary.

Such is the scheme deliberately proposed in the leading paper of South Carolina, not for the purpose of extending liberty, but slavery; not for the benefit of the great mass of the people, the non-slaveholders; but for the advantage of the little tyrannical oligarchy that rules that State.

I hope, Madam, that it will not be too late for you to introduce the article from the Courier into your forthcoming book, which will doubtless have a very wide circulation. It is very desirable to have this article extensively circulated so as to spread far and wide a full exhibition of the oppressive and tyrannical spirit of the slave oligarchy. It is a promulgation by the oligarchy itself, of its own detestable spirit and tendency, and will prepare the public mind for the more ready reception of the exposures of your book, and contribute to its wide circulation. Surely it cannot be supposed that any man in South Carolina will dare to vote against Bully Brooks after reading the Courier article.—Free suffrage is a mere joke there. P. Y. M.

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

We find in the *Alton Courier* the following action of the First Congregational Church of that City, in reference to the resignation of their Pastor, the Rev. Mr. HALEY. It is coupled with a request that they should be published in this paper, and we therefore insert the preamble and resolutions:

WHEREAS, As our pastor, Rev. Mr. Haley, has desired the pew-holders of this Church to act upon his resignation, offered to the Trustees, in a sermon preached on the 13th inst., and whereas we have now assembled for that purpose, therefore be it

Resolved, That we believe the course of Mr. Haley has been such, during his ministration with us, as to give no just cause of complaint to any one; and that however we may, as individuals, differ in opinion upon the numerous questions, political and others, constantly presented to us, yet, as a society, we will never condemn a person for upholding the cause of Truth, Justice and Morality.

Resolved, That the resignation of Mr. Haley, we, as a Society, would most respectfully request him to withdraw.

Resolved, That this Society cherishes towards Mr. Haley the best of feelings, and will uphold him in his christian ministry.

Resolved, That the foregoing resolutions be attested by our Secretary and published in the *Alton Courier*, with a request that the Missouri Republican should also publish the same. B. F. BARRY, Sec'y.

ALTON, July 19, 1856.

KANSAS FUND.—WHAT BECOMES OF IT?—The New York Evening Post publishes a letter to A. J. Bleeker of that city from a resident of Kansas, which concludes with the following paragraph:

"Not a dollar of any of the money subscribed in the East has ever reached these parts."

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 the funds. No man can tell what became of the famous Slievegammon investment. The Kossuth fund raised in the United States was a large one—those who paid their money for this purpose had very handsome 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 delusion. The Kansas call follows them, and those who give their money towards it literally "cast it upon the waters."

The Iowa Capital Reporter publishes the oath of a Mr. WEBSTER, taken before the Clerk of the District Court of Clark county, that he was in company with certain gentlemen, and among them a Mr. WOODEN, who designed establishing a depot and forming a committee whose business it should be to assist in getting armed men through to Kansas. He farther stated there would be ten or twenty thousand young men en route for Kansas, to assist Gov. Robinson and his party there. He also states that there were oaths and pledges administered of the most binding character, no less than "their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honors."

## Grand Rapids Eagle.

CITY OF GRAND RAPIDS:  
THURSDAY MORNING, JULY 24, 1856.

### Freedom of Speech.

It is idle to talk of Free Speech in this country, when we daily see such scenes as are transpiring around us. Look at Virginia, banishing a worthy Farmer for sitting as a Delegate in the National Convention of his party at Philadelphia. Look at the United States Dragoons, driving a peaceable assemblage for discussion out of Topeka. Gov. REEDER is hunted from his home—for what? For claiming the right of Free Speech—nothing more nor less. Gov. ROBINSON is in jail for claiming the right of Free Speech. Senator SUMNER lies prostrated for Free Speech. Free Speech is denied to every New England

schoolmaster and every Northern traveler that ventures into a Southern town. Free Speech is a crime, and men are hanged for it in Kansas. It is an offence for which Clergymen are dragged from the pulpit and tarred and feathered, in Missouri. Presses are thrown in the Mississippi River for free speech, and the Mails that leave our Post Offices are rifled, after crossing the Southern border, of all free speech that advocates freedom.

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

### The Feeling in Indiana—1840 Eclipsed.

The Republicans of Indiana are aroused beyond all precedent of political enthusiasm in the West. They held a FREMONT & DAYTON Ratification meeting on the 15th at Indianapolis. Cannons were fired at sunrise, and extra trains brought into the city thousands of people. One train on the Lafayette road was drawn by three locomotives and had seventy-five cars, and this is said to be a fair sample of the trains on other roads. When the attendance was fullest, 60,000 people are said to have been present. We shall append a few of the peculiarities of the celebration as reported for the Cincinnati Gazette: See P.

#### THE CAR OF THE STATES.

In the Indianapolis delegation was a car drawn by six white horses and containing 32 girls dressed in white, with garlands around their heads, representing the 31 States and Kansas. The inscription on the car was "Opposition to old Bachelors." Kansas was represented by a fair haired blue-eyed girl, sitting in the extreme end of the car, and with her white dress draped with black crape. These nymphs presented a beautiful spectacle with their bright eyes, gossamer dresses, bare arms and bare necks. They were all shaded by a canopy, except poor, fair-haired Kansas, who was crowded so far back that the burning sun shone full upon her, blistering her neck and arms.

THE CAR OF PERRY TOWNSHIP.—This was drawn by 22 horses, two abreast, and contained I don't know how many people.

BANNERS AND DECORATIONS.—Some of the banners were very large and beautiful. The white stripes in many of them were stained with blood.

One banner represented "The fawnless buck fawning to Slavery;" another "Gov. Wright and that same old Speech;" another the old buck with the horns on, bleeding under the surgeon's hand to discover that drop of Democratic blood; another, Buchanan renouncing his identity and becoming the platform; another, Douglas saying "We will subdue you."

THE BALL ROLLING.—The Indianapolis delegation rolled an immense globe, some 18 feet in diameter, through the streets. It was fixed on an axle and drawn along by ropes, as the old hand fire engines. Its surface was adorned with a locomotive and train of cars, and with suitable inscriptions, such as "We are rolling on," "Kansas must be free."

GERMAN DELEGATION.—There was a large German delegation in the procession, with decorations and transparencies, with mottoes in the German language.

AFTERNOON.—As soon as dinner was over we repaired to the State House grounds. They

comprise some five or six acres, and were generally covered with people, so that the only way to measure them was "by acres." At the same time Washington street was swarming with people from one end to the other, and all the other streets were alive.

Three stands were erected in the State House grounds, and three meetings were being held at once, but even then not one tenth of the people could get within hearing distance. Bands of music were playing in every direction, and occasionally the deep-mouthed cannon boomed forth in thunder tones.—The scene was one of the most animating we ever witnessed.

An amusing device was the Rocky Mountain Mustang kicking the horns off an old Buck. Underneath was written:

The Presidential race has just begun,  
The horns are lost before the race is run.

Among the mottoes and devices were the following:

"The White House is no place for old Bachelors;" "The Pierce Administration—the curse of the age;" "Henry county good for 1,500 majority;" "Franklin Pierce the old lawgiver and hero of Greytown;" "proclaim liberty throughout the land;" "Fremont Club to thresh buck-wheat;" "Fremont and Dayton will do to bet on;" "Resistance to tyrants is obedience to God;" "our votes shall rebuke the cowardly opponents of free discussion and the unscrupulous and dough-faced enemies of free territory;" "we need a live President."—Another device represents Fremont as hunter skinning an old Buck. "Down with the butchers of Kansas freemen;" "eternal opposition to disunionists and nullifiers;" "we have the inside track and we will keep it."

Oh! ho! old Buck,

You never can have luck,

Since you lied to Andrew Jackson

About Harry of Kentuck.

Another device was a man with a padlock on his mouth. This was labelled "Squatter Sovereignty."

"We're down on old bachelors." The German mottoes were very numerous.

#### THE EARTHQUAKE:

AN EQUESTRIAN DRAMA—FOUNDED ON THE STORY OF THE BORDER RUFFIANS.

The great performance of the day was an equestrian drama, founded on the story of the border ruffian outrages in Kansas, and the history of the Kansas-Nebraska bill.

The company dressed and mounted at J. Fletcher's on Virginia avenue, and from there commenced their march through the streets of Indianapolis about 4 P. M.

The various dresses were funny enough.—All were in costume fitting the character portrayed, and all were mounted or in wagons except the gang of slaves.

The procession moved in the order in which the characters are enumerated below:

#### DRAMATIS PERSONÆ.

1st. "Beelzebub leading out his hosts."

Motto: "My works do follow me." The ancient gentleman was dressed in black, with horns, a cloven foot, a long tail, and a most diabolical mask.

2d. "Pierce and his Cabinet in the ship of State (a huge boat mounted on wheels and drawn by four horses) playing cards as they passed along (political cards). The boat is steered by a negro, (representing the slave power, who occasionally turns when the boat don't go to suit him, and strikes some member of the Cabinet with his long wooden sword.) The episode of threshing the darkies on board occurs occasionally.

3d. Buchanan following the ship of State, begging for admission. The party hold up the Kansas Test Oath and the Platform. He consents to swallow both, but they put him off for the present.

6th. "Border Ruffians," among whom were clearly distinguished Atchison, Stringfellow and Clay Pate, with his spindle shanks and flaxen hair. At every report of the cannon he would start and tremble, and urge the rest to surrender in order to save them all from being cut off.

7th. "Buford's Regiment."

prisoners and negroes in chains, which they are taking with them to Kansas. The motto is, "Thus we will carry the institution into free territory." The slaves are driven on foot before the mounted party.

8th. "A Printing Press."  
This was carried on a large platform, built upon wheels and drawn by three yoke of cattle. The process of printing was going on until the party were attacked by the Border Ruffians, and the editor taken prisoner.

9th. A similar moving platform, on which some Methodist and other clergymen were being tarred and feathered and hung.

10th. Governor Shannon, mounted on a jackass, carrying a long wooden sword, followed by his posse also mounted.

11th. "The Cannon."  
To represent this a large steam boiler was swung between a pair of high wheels, drawn by two yoke of oxen, and from within a negro kept up an incessant discharge of fire-crackers.

12th. "Sheriff Jones and posse."  
13th. "Sumner and Brooks."

The Senate Chamber was represented on a large platform on wheels, drawn by three yoke of cattle. In this Sumner is represented seated at his desk, and Brooks approaches with his gutta serena cane, and goes through the outrage.

14th. "A drove of slaves on foot."  
15th. "A Slave Auction."

The auctioneer has an old nigger woman on the block, and is glibly running through a list of her qualities.

16th. "Brigham Young and his wives—one black one among them."

17th. "Douglass and a negro woman riding together in a buggy."

Motto: "This is my beloved." The negro woman's enormous hoops left the little giant very little room.

18th. The Kansas Investigating Committee last.

The tail of the procession was brought up by Belial.

This procession went through all the principal streets; and took the Hoosiers hugely.—Every window and even roofs and chimney tops, were crowded with spectators eager to see it pass. The boys acted their parts well, and were everywhere received with the most enthusiastic cheers.

There was a torchlight procession in the evening.

Slavery advocates. Some of the questions in this controversy are now before the public in the present political contest. The great question is not one of continued Slavery or emancipation; not of immediate or gradual abolition; not of the duty of slaveholders, nor of the interest of slave; it is simply whether the institution of Slavery shall be planted legally upon a virgin soil hitherto unpopulated and uncursed by it. The question pertains not in the slightest measure to Slavery where it is, but has sole reference to its extension over a region not only hitherto free, but pledged forever to freedom by solemn compact. A large number of slaveholders are of opinion that Kansas ought to be free, and the people of the free States think the same way, and will so decree by their votes at the coming election. If this statement is true, what egregious absurdity for the Old Liners to endeavor to brand the Republicans with the odious appellation of Abolitionists? The term has no application whatever to them in its true signification. But if opposition to the extension of Slavery by fraud and violence is abolition, then a large majority of the people will glory in the designation.

**DAILY HERALD.**  
Z. A. HARRIS, A. W. FAIRBANKS, GEO. A. BENEDICT.  
**OFFICIAL CITY PAPER.**

CLEVELAND:  
Thursday Evening, July 24, 1856.  
The Last Scheme.

We have heretofore noticed the rumor that the Locooco wire-pullers are devising a scheme by which to defeat BUCHANAN and make BRECKENRIDGE acting President. The N. Y. Post in speaking of the matter says:

It has been quite apparent for some time, to Mr. Buchanan's Northern friends, that it was impossible for him to succeed on what Colonel Benton so significantly termed the "peecac platform" prescribed for him at Cincinnati. To hold some portion of the northern democracy, if possible, the "Sage of Wheatland" has been gradually easing up on the slavery subject, in various ways, until the Douglas men begin to think he means, after all, to stand where he stood in 1848—upon the principles of the Missouri Compromise. Col. Benton's course in supporting Buchanan, while denouncing the Convention which nominated him, and the platform it laid down, first put them upon suspicion. Then the disposition manifested in Buchanan's letter accepting the Cincinnati nomination, to qualify the position he had previously taken in his speech to the committee, increased their alarm.

But the heaviest blow which has been given to the confidence of the Kansas party was struck the other day in Congress, by Barclay of Pennsylvania, in voting for the admission of Kansas into the Union as a free State under the Topeka constitution. Mr. Barclay is well known to be a fast friend of Buchanan, and his defection, attended as it was with such critical results, has spread consternation among Mr. Buchanan's bondsmen in the Cincinnati Convention. They do not disguise their belief that he is ratting, and that he will be as ready now to betray the South, as he has always been when public sentiment ran in the opposite direction, to betray the North.

Inspired by this new and unexpected danger, the pro-slavery leaders have hit upon a new plan of securing power by deceiving the people. The most they hope or desire now for Buchanan, is that he may have votes enough to defeat an election at the polls. In that case the election goes to the House of Representatives.

The three highest candidates before the House, in case of a defeat of the popular choice, will doubtless be Fremont, Buchanan and Fillmore. Each State then will cast but one vote. Rhode Island or Delaware has just as much weight in that election as New York or Pennsylvania. Neither party in the House has, according to present party divisions, a clear majority. The Republicans have majorities in and control the delegations from Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana and Wisconsin—thirteen States. The Democrats are represented by majorities in Alabama, Arkansas, Virginia, Illinois, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Florida and

California—eleven States. The American party numbers a majority in Maryland, Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, and Delaware—five States. Iowa presents a tie—one Republican and one Democrat, as also does Texas, represented by one Democrat and one American.

The Republican candidate, having but thirteen States, would thus lack three of a majority. California, Illinois and Iowa are the three States from which the required aid would be most naturally expected.

The Kansas party, now disgusted with Buchanan, are laying their plans not only to defeat an election by the people, but by the House of Representatives. In the event of the House not choosing the President before the fourth of March next, should the choice devolve upon it, then the Vice President becomes the President *de facto*. Who the Vice President would be in that event is not at all doubtful. The Senate has the power of choosing the Vice President from the two candidates having the highest vote for that office in the electoral college, and the strong democratic majority in the Senate would insure the immediate choice of Mr. Breckenridge, the *factotum* of Mr. Douglas in securing the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and of the most thoroughgoing believers in slavery *jure divino*, in the United States.

To make Mr. Breckenridge President by the vote of the Senate; to defeat the popular choice; to take from the popular branch of Congress a constitutional prerogative and transfer it to the Senate—these are the plans which are just now said to engross the whole ingenuity of the pro-slavery leaders. This is the consummation towards which Mr. Fillmore and his friends are laboring, some ignorantly and some designedly with all their might.

Deeply as we should deplore such a result, we have no commiseration for Mr. Buchanan. His subservience to the South, and his faithlessness to all his political convictions, time and again, entitle him to no better fate. The man who in his position and at his years, would make himself the organ of the barbarous creed proclaimed at Cincinnati, deserves to be betrayed.

**Chenango Telegraph.**  
ROSWICH, N. Y.:  
THURSDAY MORNING, JULY 24, 1856.

The happiest political anagram we have met with, is that hit upon by a Boston editor, who finds the ominous motto, "Gold and treason help us," in the name of "Stephen Arnold Douglas." The same letters add the same number of them.

FOR THE CHENANGO TELEGRAPH.  
**YE FREEMEN, AWAKE!**

TUNE—"Farmer of North Bend."  
Ye freemen, awake! Raise your shouts to the skies—  
From the North, from the East, from the West let them rise.  
Till tyrants and ruffians your thunders shall hear.  
And the lips that "subdue" us shall falter with fear.  
Chorus—Then rally, then rally, ye conquering brave,  
From the hills and the valleys your country to save;  
With Fremont and Dayton and Freedom to all.  
No hands can "subdue us," no threats can spall.

Ye freemen, awake! Know ye not 'tis the hour  
That is big with the fate of your empire and power?  
Do ye hear not the clashing of arms in the fight,  
Where your brethren are bleeding for Freedom and Right?  
Chorus.

Ye freemen, awake! Let ye not to the sound—  
To the clanking of chains over the hallowed ground—  
O'er the ground that is hallowed by patriot graves,  
Rouse! rouse in your might, as ye scorn to be slaves!  
Chorus.

Ye freemen, awake! for your country and God!  
Shall the land that our forefathers gallantly trod  
Be the land of the lord and the home of the slave,  
Or the land of the Free and the Home of the Brave!  
Chorus.

Ye freemen, awake! To the ranks of the brave  
That rally by millions your country to save;  
For Fremont and Dayton re-echo the cry,  
And conquer like freemen, or like freemen die!  
Chorus.

**The Daily Journal.**  
Indianapolis  
THURSDAY MORNING, JULY 24 1856

Old Line Postmasters.  
We received yesterday a Cleveland *Leader* of July 2d, containing the call of the Kansas Emigration Society for the recent Convention at Buffalo. The paper was marked, with a request that we should copy the call. We received it just three weeks too late. What was the cause? Mr. Gray, editor of the Cleveland *Plaindealer*, and Postmaster at Cleveland, detained these papers in his office until it was too late for them to reach their destination in proper season. All persons to whom these papers were sent were served in a similar manner.

At the Indianapolis Post Office, according to all the information we can obtain, the bills sent through the mail for the Republican Convention of the 15th were similarly detained. We hear complaints of their failure to arrive all over the country.

It is time the Government and the Post Office were divorced, or honest men entrusted with the business of the mails.

**The Real Question.**

For more than twenty years past the nature of Slavery and the duty of slaveholders to their slaves have been subjects of earnest discussion in our country, and a great variety of views have been given to the public from those of the Garrison Abolitionists to those of outright pro-

THURSDAY, JULY 24, 3 O'CLK, P. M.

**Kansas Meeting in Brockport.**

Correspondence of the Rochester Daily Democrat.  
 Brockport, July 21, 1856.

On short notice a Kansas Meeting was held in this village, this Monday evening, and the audience were highly entertained by Messrs. G. N. PROPER and A. H. SHURTLIFF, agents for Kansas, and W. C. BLOSS, Esq., of Rochester. Mr. PROPER is from Kansas, and having been an eye-witness to much that has transpired in that ill-fated Territory, and also an attendant of the Congress Commission during its investigations, was well prepared, and gave a plain statement of facts as regards the illegal voting, and many vivid descriptions of the outrageous manner in which it was accomplished; and also related many cases of crimes committed by prowling bands of armed men upon the innocent and harmless.

Mr. A. H. SHURTLIFF was next called, and proceeded to paint in glowing colors the necessity of immediate relief in order to rescue Kansas from the grasp of the Slave power. His censure of the Administration was severe, but just. I have heard some old Democrats say it was too harsh, but perhaps Mr. Shurtliff thinks, as many good men do think in these times, that as liberty is being crushed out with a vengeance in Kansas, truths must be told with a vengeance, and when the gentleman closed his remarks, the audience felt the force of them to the amount of nearly \$75, which was raised on the spot.

Mr. Bloss now came forward and entertained the meeting with some good sentiments appropriate for the occasion, and exhibited a Map for the times, showing the present area of Freedom and Slavery in the United States and the Territories.

A Treasurer was elected to hold the Kansas fund, and also a committee to solicit more aid in this community.  
 J. RAMBO, Secretary.



THURSDAY EVENING, JULY 24, 1856.

Gov. SEWARD's eloquent speech on the night of the passage of the Douglas Bill in the Senate, was so marred by the imperfect abridgement that first reached us, that we preferred to wait for a fuller report. Our readers will thank us for having done so, since we are now enabled to lay it before them entire. With a masterly hand he uncloaks this last cunningly devised scheme against the liberties of Kansas and exposes how its authors

"With a virtuous visor hide deep vice."

The Squatter Sovereign (K. T.) makes a brief paragraph from the Evening Journal the text of a tirade which winds up thus characteristically and belligerently:—

If the people of the North 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, unequalled 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 carcasses 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 grace in Kansas, engage in this unholly and unjust war that is now being waged against the South by the fanatics of the North.

This paper is the recognized organ of the Buchanan party in Kansas Territory. It receives the patronage of the Administration, and carries the names of BUCHANAN and BRECKENRIDGE at the head of its columns. It looks to their election as the event which will lead to the execution of these threats.

Buchanan journals here, of course, do not avow their designs with the same frankness. Yet they do what they can to bring about their consummation. They defend and make common cause with the men who, in Missouri, are "determined" to "color the rivers with blood" and the ground with "carcasses of the dead"—rather than see the Territory made a Free State.

With the election of FREMONT will vanish the high hopes of these Missouri cut-throats. Peace will be restored. Law and Order will be proclaimed in fact, as it is now in mockery. The "Squatter Sovereign" will find its occupation gone, when the telegraph wires bring to its office, on the 4th of next March, the unwelcome intelligence that John C. Fremont has taken the Presidential chair.

**The Evening Press.**

HARTFORD:  
 THURSDAY, JULY 24.

**Keep it Before the People.**

KEEP IT BEFORE THE PEOPLE, that Gen. CASS denounced in the Senate the laws of the bogus Legislature of Kansas as a "disgrace to the age;" yet that President PIERCE declared that he intended to enforce them with all the means invested in the federal executive; that armed troops have been spread over the territory to enforce them; that the Cincinnati convention approved the course of this administration, and nominated JAMES BUCHANAN, who has pledged himself to carry out its policy.

KEEP IT BEFORE THE PEOPLE, that Senator CLAYTON, from the slave State of Delaware, said in the Senate, "The territorial laws are infamous, tyrannical, and worthy of revolutionary resistance;" yet that the administration and JAMES BUCHANAN sustain those laws, recognize the Border Ruffian legislature which they know to be a usurpation and fraud, and under the illegal action of the United States officers and soldiers, robberies are committed, houses burned, men captured, chained and imprisoned, and still held in close confinement.

KEEP IT BEFORE THE PEOPLE, that the Senate refuses to recognize the free constitution formed at the Topeka convention and adopted by the people of Kansas, which has passed the House of Representatives; but insists that a new convention shall be held, and a new constitution formed by delegates chosen under the direction of five commissioners appointed by PIERCE and the Senate, and that this constitution shall not be submitted to the people for their approval, as is the case with every other constitution, and essential to and a part of a popular government where sovereignty resides in the people.

KEEP IT BEFORE THE PEOPLE, that the sham Democracy are waging a systematic warfare on popular rights, and in order to extend and nationalize Slavery are sapping and undermining the whole structure of our government, by oppressive and tyrannical laws, by imprisoning men who have the courage to assert their rights, and by dispersing at the point of government bayonets men peaceably assembled to vindicate their inherent, inalienable and constitutional rights and privileges.

KEEP IT BEFORE THE PEOPLE, that the Senate obstructs and prevents the quiet and peaceable adjustment of the disturbances in Kansas, by refusing to act upon the constitution which the people have adopted, and the Representatives of the people acknowledged and approved.

KEEP IT BEFORE THE PEOPLE, that the President and the administration have filled Kansas with officers hostile to the people, enemies to freedom, and advocates of slavery extension, and are sustaining these enemies of liberty and justice by armed men at the public expense.

KEEP IT BEFORE THE PEOPLE, that the party political convention assembled at Cincinnati which nominated JAMES BUCHANAN, had not one word in behalf of popular rights and public liberty thus outraged in the proceedings enacted in Kansas, although a Democratic candidate for the Presidency declares in his place in the Senate that "the laws are a disgrace to the age,"—although a Senator of a Slave State says those "laws are infamous, tyrannical, and worthy of revolutionary resistance,"—and although the Senate has felt itself compelled by an almost unanimous vote to annul and declare void some of these laws.

KEEP IT BEFORE THE PEOPLE, that the *Hartford Times*, while opposing the Free State men and the Free State cause, has been compelled to speak of "the obnoxious laws of the Kansas legislature;" that the *Hartford Times* claims that the Senate is now willing to "abolish those local laws which Gen. Cass denounces as unworthy of the age," "those oaths which the Kansas legislature imposed;" admits that there are "objectionable qualifications as to the manner of voting;" that it is disposed "to prohibit the Kansas legislature from enacting similar laws in future;" and yet, BE IT REMEMBERED, that the *Hartford Times* has for months vilified and denounced as "Black Republicans," as "Abolitionists," as "Fanatics," those bold and honest men who declared they would not sustain the administration, the party, or the candidates of a party, that perpetrated these enormities.

**Northwich Evening Courier.**

THURSDAY, JULY 24, 1856.

For the Courier.

As proximity to danger sharpens our apprehensions of its reality, so distance from it gives us a feeling of security from its effects. Had the outrages and wrongs which have been, and still are, perpetrated in Kansas, been enacted in any of the New England States, they would have called forth the universal execrations of the community upon their authors.

Living as we do, in peaceful quiet, protected in the enjoyment of all our rights of personal liberty, of property and reputation, it is difficult for us to come to a full realization of that State of Society where all these blessings are unknown. The same sun which rises upon the smiling cities and villages of Massachusetts and Connecticut, upon fields teeming with golden harvests, upon manufactories resounding with the busy hum of industry, rises over the plains of Kansas, to discover scenes of violence and strife, an encampment of Border Ruffians holding their revels over a sacked town, or standing guard over a band of free State men! And strange to tell, the government of the country, so far from rebuking all this misrule, is actually, if not openly, encouraging and approving it—certainly, the annals of all history will be searched in vain for a parallel. A tithe of the lawless acts which we the free citizens of a free Republic are compelled to endure, would, if committed under any of the arbitrary despotisms of Europe or Asia, kindle the flames of Revolution, to be extinguished only by the blood of the tyrants who committed such atrocities. And yet amid all this internal strife, we are proudly claiming for ourselves the name of the best governed nation in the world!

Disputing with England about the Mosquito Territory, bullying Spain about the Queen of the Antilles, and hoping soon to annex the Canadas and the Sandwich Islands to our domain, we are like the Pharisees of old, who made clean the outside of the sepulcher, while within it is full of dead men's bones, and all uncleanness. Surely the times are strangely out of joint. All the blood, and all the treasure so lavishly bestowed to achieve our national independence was worse than wasted, if this unnatural state of things is to continue. The spirits of the illustrious dead call to us, to arouse from the lethargy, that has well nigh paralyzed us—Washington and Jefferson, Hamilton and Madison, Jackson, Clay and Webster, could they burst the fetters of the tomb, and come once more upon the stage of action, would unite their voices and their efforts to restore our country and save to the world the precious blessings of republican freedom. I only wish to say that when the blow comes, Connecticut, as in the days when she stood "side by side and shoulder to shoulder" in the Revolution, will strike with her-

advising that the Legislature proceed, at all hazards, to establish a code of laws and put the government in operation, but the proposition was defeated, the general sentiment of the Convention being in harmony with the resolutions of our own Company.

Before the adjournment, two important votes were passed; one raising a committee to impeach Shannon, Lecompte and Donaldson; the other to provide ways and means for constructing a stage road through Nebraska to Iowa, in order to provide a thoroughfare for emigrants, clear entirely of Missouri. This last movement is one of great importance. An instance illustrating its necessity occurred just previous to the session of the Convention. A company of emigrants, numbering about sixty, were on their way from Illinois and Indiana, and were stopped at Lexington, on the Missouri river, where they were robbed of their arms and permitted to proceed to Leavenworth, where they were not allowed to land but compelled to return to St. Louis.

It is amazing that the minions of the Slave Power can be so stupid as to suppose that these atrocities and their outrages in Washington will help sustain their "peculiar institution"—that a system whose foundations are laid deep in blood—whose walls are built of human bones, and cemented with scalding tears, can long be propped up by violence, while the combined forces of truth, love and mercy are leveled against it, backed by the determined spirit of all good men and the power of a just God. The people of this country will not ratify such infamous assaults upon their dearest rights, the very substratum of our whole system, and if they understand that the success of the democratic ticket in the coming election will involve an endorsement of these outrages—that success will not be realized. Politicians may talk about the "great principle of Squatter Sovereignty" until they smart with the lashes of their own conscience, but they cannot make the people believe that knocking down a Senator for words spoken in debate, and committing all sorts of abominations here in Kansas, to serve the behests of slavery, constitutes the kind of democracy worthy the support of Free men, and handed down from the democrats of '99.

cost comes, indeed, we are in such a case, that the supporters of the papacy ask, "Would it not have saved much conflict—saved much blood, had there been some tribunal before which the parties could have been summoned—a tribunal above kings and nations, which should, in such a case, pronounce such formal and conclusive sentence? How beautiful and grand this seems to the wisdom of men! But it has not seemed so to the wisdom of God! The true relation of Christianity to law and to the conduct of government and states, is the relation of vital and spiritual force to that which it informed and organized. Christ's power upon earth is not and cannot be committed to a mortal substitute. It is a diffused and spiritual force acting on the free minds of men, moulding their thoughts, quickening their sense of justice, guiding their judgment, and animating them to sympathy with goodness. To substitute for such a force as this the formal judgment of a pontiff, from which there is no appeal to reason, to time or to God, is a perversion of truth, like that by which penance is substituted for repentance, and the recitation of a credo for faith. The invisible force, with the influences which seem to attend it, is gone. The form which has come in its place is rigid and lifeless. Nor is the case materially better if the power of formal judgment is transferred from the pontiff to a conclave, or from a conclave to a general council, or from a Catholic council to a Protestant assembly of divines of clerical and lay delegates. By whatever method, in whatever way we substitute for the action of truth upon the mind the decision of authority that must not be questioned, the dominion of Christ on earth. We establish in place of it, a spiritual despotism adverse to all liberty, and tending to infinite corruption.

There is a sense, then, undoubtedly, in which theocracy, the day-dream of the Puritans, is not all a dream. In proportion as Christianity becomes a ruling force in any state, inspiring its legislation and controlling the action of its government, that state becomes the kingdom of God. In proportion as it does this, by influencing free minds and hearts, by infusing itself into all forms of life, gaining wider power over the earth, subduing the nations, abolishing wrongs ordained by law, and chasing away darkness by its beams of light,—in that proportion the kingdom of God has come in its beauty and blessedness, and His will is done on earth as it is heaven. The kingdom of God on earth! Is it a dream! The consummated identity of law with right;—the completed subjection of human powers and sovereignty to the will of God and to his spirit. Is it a dream? Sometimes as we watch the vicissitudes of the law of conflict between good and evil we are tempted to discouragement. When shall the darkness fade away? When shall the power of darkness be dethroned? With liberty battered and cloven down by men who were sworn to defend it,—flaunting the banners of victorious wrong;—with might ruling over right;—with violence and fraud going hand in hand to trample upon justice,—we are tempted to break forth with the cry, "Where is the kingdom of God?" Where the influence of Christianity upon law and government? Is it a dream?

No!—by the ancient word of promise, by the steadfast faith and hope of patriarch and prophet and righteous men of old,—by the prayers which thousands of years have wafted to the throne of infinite pity, by the groans of the ages that have travelled in pain together, by the cross and its victories,—we know it is not a dream! The force by which the world shall be saved, by which Christ accomplishes, as time advances, the work of its salvation, is His with whom one day is as a thousand years,—and a thousand years are as one day: He suffers nothing to be lost. No mortal's ashes are scattered on the wind or mingled with the waters in vain,—no manly protest against public wickedness,—no example of patience under wrong,—no appeal to justice on high,—no voice of prayer has been or shall be in vain! All has been gathered up, all has been added to the slow accumulation of infinity. Let us do our little part with an unflinching hope! Who is there of all that can do nothing? It is not ours to give a silent testimony only. When wrong is perpetrated in the name of law, it is not ours to suffer only, and in uncomplaining meekness wait for God to vindicate our cause and His. Ours is a higher call! We are not slaves! We are not subjects! We are freemen! We are partakers in the sovereignty of the great republic! In public questions of mere expediency and policy, we may perhaps, as men of letters, be silent or even indifferent. But when the power of the republic is to be employed in some great wrong, then, if our voice do not ring out, in loud protest and remonstrance, we are traitors to the kingdom of God!

These passages of the address were frequently interrupted by applause.

**The Brooks and Burlingame Business.**  
The following was published by Mr Brooks at the end of his farewell speech in the House:

**THE MEMORANDUM.**  
Mr Burlingame, in a fair and manly way, admitted his responsibility for any language used in his speech, and disclaimed any 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



NEW HAVEN:

THURSDAY, JULY 24, 1856

Correspondence of the Palladium.

From Our Kansas Colony—The Topeka Legislature—Action of the Topeka Convention—A New Route to the Territory—Squatter Sovereignty—For the Register's Editor—Its Late "Hoax"—The Colony's Needs—The Company Well.

WAUBONSEE, July 7, 1856.

MESSES. EDITORS:—We were disappointed in part in regard to our celebration of the 4th of July. We had made very full arrangements some weeks since, which, had they been carried out, would have been satisfactory to all, but circumstances we could not foresee, changed our plans. After the teams and eight members of the company left for Kansas City, an application was made from Topeka, earnestly requesting our Company to be present at a Convention in that place on the 3d and 4th inst. Some of the members, and among them the Captain of the Prairie Guard, were of opinion that we ought to respond to the invitation—consequently the committees suspended operations and no preparations were made. The difficulty was also increased by the protracted absence of the members gone to Kansas City, and we found on our return the state of things as above described, with only four days intervening before the "glorious fourth" would be upon us. We accordingly called a meeting of the Company to consider and decide upon some course to be pursued.

A proposition was made to send a delegation to Topeka, in connection with resolutions expressing the sentiments of Company in relation to the existing state of things, which, after considerable debate was adopted with great unanimity. Captain Mitchel and C. B. Lines were appointed delegates, but Mr. Lines was unable to attend, in consequence of severe exhaustion from a long journey and the impossibility of procuring any conveyance except saddle horses, and M. C. Welch, Esq., was appointed in his stead, and attended the Convention. Our delegates returned on the 5th inst. and reported that the attendance was large, numbering at least five hundred, and the debates earnest and some of the time exciting. Mr. Welch, of our Company, was Secretary of the Convention. John Hutchinson, Esq., of Lawrence, offered a resolution

**Mr. Culver's Simplicity.**

At the Middletown ratification meeting one Mr. Mons. Culver spoke, and among other things delivered himself of the following:

"But it is said the Democratic party are in favor of the extension of slavery into territory now free. Is this true? I declare to you that I am not in favor of extending slavery into free territory. All the democrats with whom I have conversed on the subject, say they are not. I do not believe the same—if I did, I would not vote with them."

Mr. Culver is entitled to the hat! His simplicity is very remarkable. Probably he never read the New York Day Book, which is the organ of Buchanan in New York City, and which says—

"The Democracy are not opposed to slavery extension. There is not a single democrat in the whole North opposed to the expansion of Southern society, or so called extension of slavery."

But this declaration, plain as it is, is nothing compared with the repeal of the Missouri Compromise by the loco foco party, for the purpose of removing a great barrier to the extension of slavery—nothing to the anarchy in Kansas which has been promoted by loco foco leaders, and sustained by this loco foco government, until what decency there was left in the party, induced a temporary and partial suspension of the robberies, murders and conflagrations in that devoted territory. O, Mr. Culver—Mr. Culver!

**The Republican.**

Springfield, Thursday Morning, July 24.

**"Who Shall Declare an Impious Statute Void? Who Shall Free the People from Oppression?"**

(From the address of Rev Leonard Bacon of New Haven before the Phi Beta Kappa Society at Cambridge, July 17.)

Our fathers pronounced the sentence for themselves—for themselves and us. From a king who had undertaken to enslave them, they absolved themselves, and appealed to God and the moral sentiment of mankind to ratify their declaration. God and the moral sentiment of mankind have responded. Time, the handmaid of God, has interpreted his answer. The answer

such manner as his representative duty required him to do.

The above is a statement made by Mr Burlingame in reference to the presence in the late speech which referred 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. W. BOYCE,  
THOMAS S. COCKOC.

MR BURLINGAME'S CARD.

I am informed that the Memorandum of a recent conversation of myself and friends with the friends of Mr Brooks has received, in some quarters, from its position, as appended to Mr Brooks' speech, an interpretation which does injustice to its real meaning and to my intentions.

This is what I say, and have said, in relation to my speech. That I observed in it the rules of personal and parliamentary decorum; that I could not qualify or retract any portion of it, and held myself responsible to any gentleman aggrieved by it.

This is the only construction which I supposed would be placed on the memorandum, which my friends reduced to writing, that there might be no misunderstanding. But inasmuch as attempts, not altogether unsuccessful, have been made to pervert its meaning, I now withdraw it. And that there may not be any misapprehension in the future, I say explicitly, that I leave my speech to interpret itself, and hold myself responsible for it, without qualification or amendment.

A. BURLINGAME.

Washington, July 19, 1856.

The publication of this last card of course threw the burden of a challenge upon Mr Brooks, and Washington was thrown into a fever in expectation of it and its issue. Mr Brooks addressed Mr Burlingame a note Monday evening, asking where "outside of the district" he could "negotiate;" Mr Burlingame replied that he would be at the Clifton House, Niagara Falls, Canada side, on Saturday, and meet him for "negotiation;" duelling being a criminal offense in the district of Columbia and most if not all of the states of the Union. Mr Burlingame with his friend Gen Charles James of Wisconsin immediately started for Niagara, expecting Brooks to follow, instead of which he remained at Washington, and on Tuesday was arrested and put under \$5000 bonds to keep the peace. The officers of the law could not find Burlingame to serve him with a similar prohibition. Mr Brooks published a long card on Wednesday morning, reviewing the history of the difficulty, and closing as follows:—

"He requires me to meet him in Canada, a distance of near seven hundred miles by the mail route—a route running through the enemy's country, and through which no man knows better than Mr Burlingame that I could not pass without the gauntlet of mobs and assassins, prisons and penitentiaries, bad fits and constables. He knew that I could never get to Canada, and that were I to do so, and he were to fail, that I never would get back. He might as well have designated Boston Common. His proposition is of so preposterous a character, that the public will appreciate it without comment from me. When he read this memorandum which was prepared by his friend, and delivered in his own presence, I felt some sympathy for the agony of a proud man driven to doing wrong, that he might retrieve the honor of a state which had been tarnished by unworthy representatives. But his last condition is worse than the former, and I deliver him to that condemnation which honorable men in every community will sternly inflict. I have no further demands upon him, but should he be served up to the point of making demands upon me, I will yet treat him as a gentleman, and meet him at any convenient and accessible point upon equal terms."

Mr Brooks thus declines to fight the duel except under such circumstances as are agreeable to himself; although his opponent, as the challenged party, has by the "dueling code" the selecting of both place and weapons. Nor will his choice of Canada be regarded by the public, we think, in the light represented by Mr Brooks. It is probably the only place where the parties could meet for such hostile and unlawful purposes without interference. And Mr Brooks magnifies altogether the dangers to which he would be subjected in going and returning. His movements anywhere must have been secret to avoid arrest; and they could probably have been as secret in going to and returning from Canada as anywhere else.

Mr Brooks also withdraws his challenge or threat of one; but endeavors to provoke Mr Burlingame into challenging him, which it is well known the Massachusetts representative will not do under any circumstances, and would not to any one. Mr Burlingame does not profess to be a duelist; but will accept of challenges simply as, in his view, the best means of self-defense and of putting a stop to the system of personal assault and political bullying which the representatives of the slavery party at Washington so largely indulge in towards northern men.

Among the various unfounded stories connected with this affair, which got into the papers, was the one that there was a hostile meeting between Mr Ashmun of this city and Mr Brooks at Washington on Tuesday.

The Boston Journal of Monday evening, says: "We have the best authority for stating that there has not been and will not be any duel between Messrs Burlingame and Brooks, and that the former will probably be in his seat to-morrow."

### The Defense of Free Speech.

We do not believe in dueling. We consider the practice a relic of barbarism, and, in this country, a legitimate concomitant and companion of slavery. Our opinion is that the only true course is that of falling back upon the original, indefeasible right of self-defense. If a member of Congress, in the course of discussion, speaks words at which others take offense, let him defend himself from personal attack, by every power of nature and appliance of art. This is legitimate. The instinct of self-protection is Heaven-implanted. Let it be obeyed. This is the sentiment of New England, and the sentiment of the practicable and sensible Christian world.

We say thus much for ourselves, and for what we deem to be truth, but, while we say it, we disclaim, *in toto*, any direct condemnation of the course which Mr Burlingame has pursued in his affair with Mr Brooks. We know that northern men in Washington occupy a difficult and extremely trying position. They are brow-beaten, insulted, bullied, taunted with cowardice, jostled and treated with all imaginable contumely, because they will not fight duels, and, consequently, can be maltreated with impunity. We recognize, too, the difference between accepting the whole dueling code and accepting a challenge. We have no idea that Mr Burlingame would challenge anybody, but he chooses, for the maintenance of his position, and in defense of the sentiments and principles which he boldly proclaims, to say that he will fight, and thus meet the South on its own ground. He chooses the duel rather than the ruffianly attack. In this, he exercises his right; and it poorly becomes us, sitting in our quiet homes, on the safe bench of an abstraction, to hold judgment over his conscience. We may say that we think his position a weak one in itself, and a weak one before the people, but we may not condemn a man who is contesting for human right, manfully and well, for exercising his own choice touching the manner in which he will meet the ruffianism which, in some form or other, he knows he is to encounter.

We presume that after Mr Burlingame's last card we shall hear no more taunts from his opponents of a lack of personal courage. We never had a doubt of his courage. The taunts may now, with advantage, be directed to the individual who, having challenged him, and thus given him the choice of place and weapons, declines to meet him.

But what a picture does this give of our American civilization! How humiliating is it to think that, in order to maintain the right of free speech in Congress, and to insure decent and respectful treatment at the national capitol, every free-tongued northern man is necessarily driven to a choice between a street fight or a duel! It is time that the power possessed by the North were exercised in establishing an influence so strong in the federal government that the lower grade of civilization which prevails there were at once and forever extinguished.

## The Daily Transcript.

Z. K. PANGBORN, Editor.

WORCESTER, MASS.,  
THURSDAY MORNING, JULY 24, 1856.

### Letter from Kansas.

The following letter is from a former resident of this city, and will interest our readers.

LAWRENCE, K. T., July 6, 1856.

I went up to Topeka last week, and was there on the 4th, and saw the only legal legislature ever chosen in Kansas, dispersed and broken up by the United States dragoons. It was very warm, and although I rode up and back, I found my rifle and three days' provision, rather more than I wanted to carry, with the thermometer at 98° in the shade. But I

was determined to go if able, and although we were not allowed to defend the legislature, I shall never regret that I was there. I have been in many scenes where people were moved by strong passion and excitement; but I never saw a body of men so deeply moved as on that day. There was a mass meeting of the citizens of the Territory called to meet there on the 3d, and there were about one thousand present. There would have been many more but in many parts of the Territory the free State men dared not leave their families and property, for fear the ruffians would take advantage of their absence, and pillage and burn their homes. It was the intention of the people to be there in such numbers as to protect the legislature from the ruffians, and against the troops if the free State leaders and the members of the legislature thought necessary. It has all along been supposed that we should have help from the North, and Col. Lane in particular was expected with a large force here by the 4th. But no help came, and instead of it came Mr. Hartwell and Mr. Emery and several others, who have been making the tour of the Northern States, and told us that we could not expect help from the North at present, and furthermore, that the people of the North were not prepared to stand by us in resisting the federal government. They got through to Topeka on the morning of the 4th about nine o'clock, having travelled night and day in order to be there. After a very exciting debate the majority of the free State leaders and the legislature decided not to resist the United States troops by force if they were found to be acting under orders directly from the President. In the forenoon Marshal Donaldson came into town in company with Judge Elmore, who read to the crowd assembled the proclamation of the President, and a note appended to it by Col. Sumner, who stated that it would be his duty to carry out the instructions of the federal government at all hazards. In the proclamation the legislature were forbidden to organize or even to assemble and attempt to do so. The Chairman and officers of the mass meeting allowed the Marshal and the Judge to come upon the platform, and read the proclamation, and then taking no notice of it went on with the business of the meeting. The legislature was to meet at twelve o'clock, according to their adjournment last March, and at that hour they assembled in their respective rooms. At the same hour Col. Sumner appeared at the head of Main St., with a staff of officers around him and followed by one hundred and sixty dragoons and one company of artillery. The troops drew up around and in front of the building where the legislature was assembling, and the cannon were placed so as to sweep the street. Col. Sumner then entered the room where the members of the lower House were assembled just as they were calling the roll, and ordered them to disperse. They asked him if his authority was from the President, and he answered that it was. They accordingly desisted from completing their organization. Col. Sumner then went into the Senate Chamber and completed the tragedy. He was very polite, and told them they might consider themselves dispersed by force, just as much as though he had ordered his men to drag them out of the house, and threw the whole responsibility of the affair upon President Pierce. The free State men were very much divided, some of them wishing to fight the troops at any risk; others would make no active resistance to the federal government. We should no doubt have been defeated, as Col. Sumner had concentrated a large body of troops near the place, I heard as many as eight hundred, but I did not see as many. The Fort Riley troops who had been sent for and were encamped near, did



come into town. We could have rallied I think five hundred men who were ready to fight if the leaders said so, and I saw no finching among them. Some of the boys begged of the officers with tears in their eyes, to be led against the dragoons. I expected there would be a collision before the troops left, as the boys were so excited that they could not refrain from insulting the soldiers. They however gave three cheers for Col. Sumner as he rode off, and three most unearthly groans for Frank Pierce. I must confess that things look more discouraging to me at present than they ever did before. Mr. Emery addressed the mass meeting on the afternoon of the 4th, and said there would be no great emigration from the East at present, and the reason they would not come was because they were afraid to come. Rather discouraging that. It seems strange that the North should be so besotted and blind to its interest on this vital question. They may raise money, but money without men will be nearly useless. They might easily send us ten thousand men, and they would if they had one quarter of the courage they ought to have. This would decide the question aright. The decision is in their hands and they are responsible.

Yours, truly,

J. H. M.

## The Daily Spy.

THURSDAY, JULY 24, 1856.

Correspondence of the Spy.  
Letter from Kansas.

LAWRENCE, KANSAS, July 8, 1856.

DEAR SIR:—Here I am again, after having been through Cincinnati, Indianapolis, Chicago, Iowa City, Nebraska City, &c., &c., to Topeka, where I arrived in time for the celebration of the 4th. Uncle Sam has been playing smash with our legislature. Col. Sumner, in pursuance of a proclamation issued by the acting Territorial Governor Woodson, adjourned us in a somewhat summary and informal manner, with two hundred dragoons and two field pieces. And we, thinking it best not to abuse him nor whip his men, as it was not his own doing but that of our heroic President, suffered ourselves to be dispersed.

We had about 1000 men in Topeka, who had assembled to have a celebration. About one third of these were armed for the purpose of appearing on parade, and also to chastise the Ruffians if they interfered with us in our celebration, as they had threatened to do.

There were no men there but Free State residents of the Territory. There was a rumor that Col. Lane was coming with a large force, but it was unfounded. There were scarcely any men there except what belonged within 25 or 30 miles of Topeka, and none at that from the western, south-western, and northern part of the Territory. The celebration was a mere local affair.

Perhaps, if you should come here now, I could convince you that there is something real, as well as a little humbug, in our difficulties. However, you see to it that Fremont is President, and admit us this session of Congress as a free State, and allow us to chastise our enemies as they come across the borders, and it will be all right; if not, we cannot afford longer to furnish campaign capital for you at the North by allowing those devils to overrun and murder us. Only last night, some of them came sneaking into town, and stole a horse. Yesterday a quiet young man happened to be outside of the town on the highway, about four miles, to attend to some business of his own, when he was stopped by five Ruffians, and his money, horse and pistols taken from him.

On the morning of the 5th, a man was waylaid near Big Spring and shot. (he was not killed—might as well have been) and although we are surrounded by troops on almost every side, yet they cannot prevent these things, or restore our property and the lives of those who have suffered innocently.

Colonel Sumner, I have no doubt, means to act impartially in the premises, yet he is many times misinformed as to our intention and action, by the F. O. officials, as was the case when he brought his cannon *shotted*, and with the matches *lighted*, and directed them upon a peaceable gathering, on the 4th, in front of Constitution Hall. Donaldson had told him that we were there to fight him. (Sumner) in the hope that Sumner might be induced to butcher—hence the course he took. As one of the indications of the times, I noticed this morning that four of the best old Democrats

that ever cursed a National Bank or supported the Kansas-Nebraska bill, leaving the place this morning for their native State, (Pennsylvania) to stump it for Fremont and Free Kansas. Old Pennsylvania will feel sensibly the effect in the coming election. The violent measures and foul play, to which supporters of the administration and the enemies of Northern institutions resort, is proof enough that their cause is in a desperate fix. Let not our enemies for a moment suppose that we have the least idea of abandoning our State Constitution, or of asking anything less than unconditional and immediate admission as a State of the Union, because our Legislature has been dispersed by force, and our State officers imprisoned upon false charges.

## BOSTON HERALD

FIRST EDITION

THURSDAY MORNING, JULY 24.

**FEMALE AID FOR KANSAS.** A meeting of the ladies of Boston and vicinity was held in Mercantile Hall, Summer street, yesterday afternoon, "to express their gratitude to Hon. Charles Sumner for his fidelity to his country, to freedom, and humanity and to extend their sympathies for his sufferings." The gathering was not very numerous, and no reporters were admitted, it being desired that no publicity should be given to the proceedings by the getters up thereof, who regarded their action in the matter as strictly of a private nature; they were desirous, however, of having it distinctly understood that they acted not of the capacity of "Women's Rights" advocates or "Female Politicians,"—but as women who sympathized with the Hon. Senator and the sufferers by the Kansas outrages. A series of resolutions were passed, one of which is to raise funds for the cause of Kansas, to be contributed in the name of Mr. Sumner. The meeting was addressed by Rev. Sylvanus Cobb, the only gentleman who participated in its proceedings, in commendation of the objects of the call, and at the close of his address a poem was read, and then the assembly, after devising means to collect subscriptions in aid of their views, dissolved.

## The Atlas.

THURSDAY MORNING, JULY 24, 1856.

Kansas Correspondence of the Atlas.  
TOPEKA, July 8, 1856.

MR. EDITOR:—I wrote you a short time since, that Atchison, Buford, Hannegan (of Indiana) & Co. were holding secret meetings at Kansas city and Wyandot, and that there was a prospect of still more serious conflicts in the Territory. It now appears that a more complete and full organization has been made over the border, to carry out the project of Atchison & Co., and our people, during the short interim, have also been organizing and getting ready to give them a warm reception. What these projects are, cannot yet be fully proved by the evidence before us. The fact of the capture of arms on the river, and the preventing of the travel of citizens of other States, with the long catalogue of outrages committed heretofore, show the intention of the Southern ultraists to make this a slave State by any means, and regardless of consequences. To those who know, it is not necessary to show that the U. S. troops have been resisted by armed bands of invaders in Kansas, to prove the fact that there is no less an actuating motive than the disruption of the Union for *personal ends*. Those who are unsophisticated enough to believe that David R. Atchison and his co-conspirators will be appeased by the offering up of the people of Kansas as a sacrifice, will find that they have "missed a figure" somewhere. After all the vain attempts to force the people into a rebellious attitude—i. e. to resist the U. S. authority—by the most cunningly devised and aggravated complicity of Government officers and Missouri minions, they have committed the very crimes, for the commission of which by any of our inveterate liberty-loving people, perdition would have been too merciful. So has spoken the demon in every ruffian heart. The troops were resisted by Missouri forces, (not until they outnumbered them largely). Nothing from Franklin Pierce, nothing from a government official, until in a peaceable mass convention the U. S. Marshal appeared, interrupted the proceedings, and read a proclamation of Franklin Pierce, dated February 11th, a

proclamation from Wilson Shannon, of June 4th, a proclamation of — Woodson, of date July 4th, annulling the proclamation of the people, dated July 4th, 1776, and the proclamation of the people of July 4th, 1856.

On the 4th of July a party of 125, from Missouri, on their way to Lawrence, were met by Lieutenant McIntosh, of Company E, 1st Cavalry, and disarmed. They were a portion of the force that are collecting again to invade the Territory under the new organization. Parties, in smaller numbers, are collecting at Franklin. If we can have one round with them, they will get glory enough.

The boys of the Buffalo State, like the *lord of the prairie*, harassed or wounded, will be found *terrible*. Lieut. McIntosh has proved himself the hero of Sumner's troops. He had command of the soldiers who were victimized by being forced to follow Jones' and Salter's "sheriff" round Lawrence. He has executed his orders from Sumner with alacrity—other officers, many of whom are Southerners, have struck the blow after there was no one to hit. There are as many grades in obedience to orders as there are grades in the character of men.

Yours truly,

THERMOPYLÆAN.

P. S. We had news this evening from Leavenworth that 25 rifles, just sent out, had been taken at Leavenworth by the mob. A Mr. Golliday, a "typo" of Lawrence, was taken yesterday by six of the mob, and robbed of his horse, saddle and some money.

The conduct of Mr. Dunn in Congress, when the Kansas question came up, has been heard of with deep sorrow. We hope that the friends of Kansas will not be divided, but for the sake of humanity unite. If they are not willing to sacrifice every minor issue and feeling, they are guilty. There is a great exodus going on from the Territory, not of timid men, but of brave men, who have become discouraged. The danger of living here is no greater than for the past six months. The lessons we have learned have put us on our guard. Some will, however, return.

MAJOR BUFORD.—It appears from the St. Louis News, that the gallant commander of Southern chivalry, who was in at the sacking of Lawrence, has not succeeded very well in Kansas. He has gone home disgusted. Kansas does not pay. Conquering the Territory is, after all, a costly business. The slave power will find perhaps that freedom is not to be put down without some sacrifice, some cost, some losses and defeats.

The News has the following in regard to the disappointed Major:—

"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 pre-empt 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 pre-emption 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."

# THE LAST HOPE OF THE DISUNIONISTS.

Boston Post July 24 '56.

The following article appeared in the Washington Union a few days ago, under the caption given above. We commend it to our readers as a faithful representation of the position of the republican party at this moment. Finding themselves foiled in an attempt to juggle Kansas into the Union with a constitution adopted by only a portion of a single party, and against the wishes, undoubtedly, of a large majority of the people—adopted without the sanction of law, national or local—with no regard to the forms of law, and in open defiance not only of law, but of precedent—this party now turns about, and boldly proclaims its purpose to keep the territory just where it is, so far as legislation in congress is concerned, but in the meantime to encourage the Emigrant Aid Company and its followers in their work of erecting an independent state government, which shall set at defiance, not only the territorial legislature, but the law of congress under which the territory was organized! A more palpably treasonable and revolutionary movement, we venture to say, was never planned or advocated under a government now existing upon the face of the earth.

That the bill which has passed the senate is perfectly just and fair in all its provisions, is apparent from the fact that not a word could be offered against those provisions while it was under discussion, and that the bill was cordially supported by such men as the Hon. Philip Allen, of this state, who is known as a straightforward friend of free territory, and as having been decidedly opposed to the repeal of the Missouri compromise from the first moment that that question was agitated:—*Providence Post.*

*The Last Hope of the Disunionists.*—The last hope of the disunion leaders rests upon the defeat of the senate pacification bill in the house of representatives. Their opposition to this measure fully unmasks and exposes the hypocrisy and treason of their Kansas policy. They have asserted, again and again, that their friends were in an actual majority in the territory of ten to one, but that the Missourians had violently and fraudulently taken possession of the ballot-boxes and placed the legislative power in the hands of the pro-slavery minority. This has been their standing apology for their rebellious resistance of the laws of the territory. Upon this assumption, they have insisted upon the validity of the lawless and revolutionary proceedings which adopted the Topeka constitution. Mr Toombs came forward and said—"Now, gentlemen, you claim that your friends are largely in the majority in Kansas, and that their voice is smothered by the illegal interference of the Missourians at the ballot-box. I don't believe a word of all this; but I want to test your sincerity—I offer you a bill which will decide this question. I propose that a vote be taken on the 4th day of November, and that every actual settler in the territory on the 4th of July, and every one who has been an actual settler since the organization of the territory, and who has left on account of the disturbances there, but may return by the first of October, shall vote for delegates to form a constitution. If the majority is, as you assert, in favor of a free state, we will admit it as such; if you have been mistaken, let Kansas come in as the majority shall determine. I have provided the most stringent regulations of which I am capable for securing a fair expression of the popular will, and, to make it doubly sure, have provided for the employment of the military force to guard the purity of the elective franchise; but I tell you, in all frankness, that if you can devise more stringent and effectual regulations, I will adopt them cheerfully. But, gentlemen, you have made loud complaints against the tyranny of certain laws in Kansas which abridge the freedom of speech and of the press, and which apply certain test oaths which are odious to you. I propose to abrogate all these black laws over which you have expended oceans of indignant eloquence; to remove every obstacle to the full and free discussion of every question that your friends may wish to debate."

The answer to these just and liberal propositions, leaves the champions of disunionism without an apology. Every pretext on which they had relied was thus swept away; and yet, instead of coming forward like honest men, and showing their sincerity by accepting the offer of pacification, they concede that the terms are fair enough on their face, but they fear the result will be that Kansas might be a slave state. "Our friends," say they, "have been imprisoned, are now in the jails, or have left for parts unknown, and we apprehend there is now a majority of pro-slavery men in the territory." Mr Douglas replies: "If your friends are all in jail, what are they there for? Has any one of them, or have all of them, been incarcerated for

violating the "odious black laws" which you have denounced? If so, this bill operates as a general jail delivery—it unlocks their prison doors and allows them to go free. But you know that no one man has been imprisoned for violating these laws—those of your friends who are in jail are there for murders, robberies, larcenies, and such crimes as are punishable by all civilized communities. Do you want us to turn those criminals out and make legal voters of them? Your friends who have fled from the territory, and are now skulking through the northern states as missionaries of your cause, have fled from indictments for crimes of the greatest enormity. These can return whenever they are ready to answer to the charges. As for those who have fled from mere fright, the bill invites them back, and tenders to them the whole military power of the government as a guaranty of their safety in their persons and their rights." How do they meet those positions? "Our friends will not return," say they, "because they have no confidence in President Pierce; under his policy they have been frightened off, and we are not willing to risk their safety when the officers are appointed by him." General Cass replies: "Don't be alarmed on this subject, gentlemen, as I know that the commissioners to execute this law will be good men—the parties will be fairly represented, and the nominees, who are to be confirmed by the senate, will be men of known character for honesty, intelligence and fairness; we will not do as your friends in the house did; we will not send a board composed of two democrats to one republican, but the parties will be as equally represented as is practicable." But even this was not satisfactory. Kansas was too fruitful a theme for sectional agitation to be given up. The bill was still opposed, and every republican voted against it.

Let it now be remembered what the measure is that has been thus unreasonably and factiously resisted. The republicans have voted against a fair ascertainment of the popular will in Kansas by means of a fair election; therefore, they do not want the will of the majority to rule. They have voted against the repeal of the Kansas law which abridges the freedom of speech and of the press; therefore, they do not want the people of Kansas to enjoy the freedom of speech and of the press. They have voted against the repeal of the test oaths which abridged the freedom of conscience; therefore they do not want the people of Kansas to enjoy freedom of conscience. From these conclusions there is no escape. They cannot deny that the bill is fair, and just, and liberal in all its provisions, and that its faithful execution is guarded in every possible way. Nothing will do them but the Topeka constitution, made a year ago by a mere fragment of a revolutionary political faction, or a continuance of the sectional agitation which constitutes their only hope for overturning the government. They prefer civil discord, fraternal dissensions, the continued perpetration of crimes, and all the evils which follow in the train of sectional agitation, to the restoration of peace, order and law in Kansas, and quiet, and fraternal amity throughout the Union. In a word, they have made up their minds to have Kansas as a free state, with Fremont for president, or a dissolution of the Union. If this be not treason then we do not comprehend what it takes to constitute the crime. If this be not disunion then there is no such crime in the catalogue of offences.

## Boston Journal.

THURSDAY EVENING, JULY 24, '56.

**KANSAS AID MEETINGS.** A large and enthusiastic meeting was held in Marlboro' last night, in aid of Kansas. The Town Hall was crowded. Speeches were made by Hon. O. W. Albee, who presided; F. B. Sanborn of Concord, who explained the purposes and prospects of the Middlesex County Committee, and by W. J. Patterson, formerly editor of the Parkville Luminary.

A subscription of \$120 was raised on the spot, and a committee appointed to see that every family in town be called on to contribute. There is no doubt that Marlboro' will swell her subscription to a size worthy of her reputation.

This is the third meeting held in Middlesex county under the auspices of the County Committee; one having been held at Billerica, and one at Watertown on Monday evening. There will be a meeting at Groton to-night, one at Stow on Saturday night, the 26th, at Acton on Sunday night, the 27th, and at Woburn on Tuesday night, the 28th. Several other meetings have also been appointed in other towns.

# Evening Telegraph.

BOSTON, THURSDAY, JULY 24.

THE BOSTON POST, in making a base attack on the gentlemen who have charge of the collection of funds for the sufferers in Kansas, being unable to escape entirely from a consciousness of the villany of such an attack, says: "We have no imputation to make against the gentlemen of the Kansas Committees—the trustees of the collected fund—they are all honorable men." Having said this, it proceeded in the same paragraph to make one of the very meanest and falsest of imputations by representing that the gentlemen in question are using the money for political purposes. It says:

"The sufferers may be looking for material aid while the trustees may be faithfully administering political aid; the sufferers may be expecting relief in cash, while the managers may intend only to give relief in votes; the sufferers may be anxious to get the wherewith to fill their barns for winter, while the committees may be faithfully furnishing music and fireworks and orators for Fremont gatherings."

The gentlemen of the Post know that this representation is a foul falsehood, and that the men who make it deserve to be infamous. They go on as follows:

"And if the actual settlers—five-sixths of whom are against slavery—do not receive the veritable rhino, they can be assured that the fund managers are making the most zealous efforts to prevent them from establishing slavery in their midst!"

In this paragraph the Post again acknowledges that "five sixths" of the actual settlers in Kansas are free State men. Why then does this paper and its party so savagely oppose the admission of Kansas into the Union with its free Constitution? Why do they use the General Government and the army to trample under foot "five sixths" of the people of Kansas? Why are Robinson and his friends charged with "high treason," and so infamously treated for acting in accordance with the wishes of "five sixths" of the people? Why have "five sixths" of the people of Kansas been subjected to the robberies, murders, and other infernal outrages of border ruffianism, backed up by military despotism? The Boston Post dare not undertake to give an honest answer to these questions.

## Lawrence Courier.

LAWRENCE, JULY 24, 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 enacted 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 abolitionism 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 that can scarce be numbered—are destroying the once boasted unity of the Democracy, and rapidly undermining its power.

Deserted and disheartened, the political leaders 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 had basely lent themselves to spread and strengthen the delusion, are chagrined at the spectacle and stand in awe, awaiting the

defeat of their forces, and scarce know 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."

## SALEM REGISTER.

THURSDAY MORNING, JULY 24.

Correspondence of the Register.

IOWA POINT, July 5, 1856.

Messrs. Editors:

We found Lexington a very pleasant town, located on a high bluff, and one of the most wealthy and flourishing towns on the river. We saw no evidence of trouble or excitement, save that we here met the "Sultan" on her way back with a party of emigrants who were not permitted to enter the territory, from the fact of their going as an organized band, armed to the teeth, and not as genuine settlers with plows and household goods. The day passed without unusual incident or remarkable occurrence. There were the usual amount of bars on which to strike, snags to be avoided, towns to pass, dull and uninteresting timber to gaze at, so much time to be spent in eating, and the remainder spent in talking politics and playing whist.

We reached Independence at 10 o'clock P. M., and could not see any of its beauties. We have set up the principle of never judging of beauty in the dark, and therefore I will not venture an opinion of its merits.

Matters begin to look warlike. Cannon are planted on the river banks at Wayne City and Liberty Landing, and I feel myself to be in the midst of a hostile country. We land at Kansas City during the night, and take on board some 30 or 40 Georgians and Alabamians, bound for Leavenworth City. They are a rough looking set of customers, each armed with a "six shooter" and a dirk or bowie knife. We also took on board Col. Daniel Boone, grandson of the famous Daniel Boone of Kentucky, a hale, hearty old gentleman. He resides at Waverly, Mo.

Early on the morning of the 2d we passed Delaware, a small settlement of a dozen houses, and here we caught our first view of the "pride, pomp and circumstance of glorious war." A company of about 25 men, dressed in all sorts of colors and armed with muskets, were training themselves for the defence of their own opinions, without regard for those of their neighbors. They were the Pro-Slavery defenders of Kansas. As we approached they fired a volley, wheeled, charged bayonet, and disappeared in a whiskey shop.

In a short time we approached Leavenworth City, which is the best point I have yet seen, and will become the largest city of Kansas. A large crowd awaited our arrival, and among them we saw muskets. Our Illinois party, headed by the Rev. Mr. Strawn, landed with their "plunder" and removed it to a warehouse. In a few minutes some 25 or 30 men, armed with muskets and rifles, entered the warehouse, and, without authority of any sort, searched their goods. The Pro-Slavery party have constituted themselves into a "Vigilance Committee," and take upon themselves the right of searching all goods landed at the Levee, all personal "plunder" and every steamboat. This can not be justified. Kansas has a code of laws, and, whenever those laws are violated, the law provides for a trial, and has a penalty for crime. If the laws of the Territory can not be enforced, then the General Government must be called upon. But this self-constituted committee usurp an authority equalled only by that of the Autocrat of the Russias. Some thirty Sharpe's rifles were found secreted among the goods of the Illinois party, and these were taken away. If this were done by the proper authorities, it would be perfectly correct and would tend to suppress the excitement; but, as it now is, it only adds fuel to fire. I regretted

that these weapons were found on these men; they were led by a minister of the gospel, and were really honest settlers. There could be no excuse for such arms in the present excited state of the country, and they ought to be taken from every party landing upon the soil of Kansas. Peace will never dawn upon this distracted land till men learn to cultivate those arts which "make for peace," and the use of rifles is not in the category. Kansas ought to be a Free State, but this result can never be attained by bloodshed and rapine. We must go back to those principles of mutual love and forbearance taught by Him who came to bring peace, "gentle peace" to all our race.

Another party of the committee came on board and searched all our state rooms and other portions of the boat, but found nothing.

Going on shore, I found a general feeling of indignation, even from Pro-Slavery men, who protested against these proceedings as disgraceful to the city and the Territory. Much to our comfort, we here parted with the Southern company, who went on shore without molestation.

About four miles above Leavenworth City is Fort Leavenworth, a most beautiful spot, a depot for Government stores, and the starting point for Santa Fe, California, and other inland stations. Above the Fort floated the stars and stripes, and we learned that we were under the protection of the U. S. Government!—a fact which we failed to learn till now. But where, I ask, is the Government?—Who will "take the responsibility" in this crisis? Is Gov. Shannon the embodiment of Gen. Pierce as the representative of his energetic action? or are we to conclude that the throne is greater than the power behind it, and hence there is no force, no energy, no power, no strength, no desire to do right, no wish to assert and maintain the Territorial laws by either the President or his Governor, who is fortunately in St. Louis?

Atchison is finely located for a commercial point and is growing fast. Doniphan is one of the prettiest towns on the river; a fine rolling prairie stretches away in the distance, the waving grass, with here and there a log cabin, reminding one of Coleridge's primeval shepherd, "Pitching his tent where'er the green grass waved."

We reached St. Joseph early in the morning, and spent an hour in wandering about its streets. It is located on one of those moveable bluffs and many a fine house is now in the Missouri. It contains about 6000 inhabitants and is an active business town, the centre of trade for all this region.—I do not like the taste displayed in building: the only really fine looking building is the Court House—but all the country is young, and improvement follows the hardy back-woodsman.

Sixty miles above St. Joseph, we took our leave of Capt. Terrell and his good boat and landed at this little town of 200 inhabitants and a year's growth. Its location is good, between two bluffs which rise on either hand, affording a fine chance for building; the country back of the town is very productive and is being brought under cultivation and will soon be one of the most flourishing sections of the Territory. Nearly all of the settlers here are Pro-Slavery; there are a few Free State men, and the most perfect harmony exists among them; any person coming as an honest settler with the intention of attending to his own affairs is cordially received. There are three stores, four doctors, and no lawyers or clergymen.

Yesterday being the "Glorious Fourth," the good people erected a flag staff, flung to the breeze the flag of a free people and celebrated the day by a parade of the "Wolf River Rangers," who escorted the company to the grove, "God's first temple," where the exercises were introduced by prayer by an agent of the American Bible Society, reading the Declaration of Independence by one of the citizens, and an oration by a lawyer from Missouri, which was patriotic and full of the usual eulogies on departed greatness, and confident hope in the progress of Young America. I should have enjoyed it better but for a dim recollection I had of once reading the writings of James Madison, and one of his orations was so marvelously like that of our orator, that I wondered whether or not he had ever seen it. I read it when a school boy, and a boy's memory may not be reliable, especially after having been obliged to commit it as a declamation, and I will not press this point. At the conclusion of the oration the company adjourned

to dinner, which was served up in good style and was really the best part of the exercises. Toasts followed, and the company retired well pleased with an infant settlement's first celebration of the natal day of our Magna Charta of Liberty.

This portion of the Territory does not fill up as fast as the more southern counties, and has been almost entirely exempt from excitement; the citizens are an industrious, hard working class of men, who have made Kansas their home, and intend to peaceably abide the will of the majority. The farming interest and the trade with the Sioux and Iowa Indians are the most reliable sources from which growth and prosperity may be derived, and ultimate success must crown the efforts of settlers in this region.

Kansas fills a large space in the political horizon, and may yet bring forth most ruinous results. He who comes to Kansas armed to the teeth, breathing hatred and defiance to all who oppose him is better off digging clams in the good old town of Essex. But he who comes with the plow or the anvil, with a shoemaker's "kit," or carpenter's tools, should be received with open arms. It may be urged that arms are necessary for self-defence. This may be so, but I have not seen evidence of it, while I have seen men enter the Territory without arms and receive no harm. Let, then, the young men of New England come here with the arms nature has provided, with the determination of making Kansas their home, of bravely enduring all the hardships of a border life; with the fixed purpose of maintaining their own opinions without interfering with those of others, and pledged on the altar to sustain the laws of the land as such, and to use all honorable means to make Kansas a Free State, and it will be done. The sun does not shine upon a fairer or more beautiful land, and if right means are used it shall be for Freedom, and the curse of Slavery will not rest upon it.

I remain here but a day or two, shall probably visit other portions of the Territory, and then go to Nebraska, and for aught I know cross the Rocky Mountains, but of this in due time.

H. C. L.

\*[As our correspondent remained on the boat and proceeded up the river, he probably did not know that, after being disarmed and robbed of their agricultural implements and personal property, the Illinois company were put on board another boat and sent back, and that Mr. Strawn, who escaped, applied to the authorities, civil and military, and was refused any satisfaction. He also seems to have overlooked or forgotten that provision of the U. S. Constitution which positively declares that "the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed."]

THE APPLICATION FOR A WRIT OF HABEAS CORPUS ON BEHALF OF THE KANSAS FREE-STATE PRISONERS.—We announced some days since, that an application for a writ of habeas corpus been made to Judge M'Lean, on behalf of Gov. Robinson, Mr. Brown and others, now prisoners in the hands of the Territorial authorities, charged with high treason. That application is supported by the affidavits of the Rev. Mr. St. Clair and Mrs. Brown, in which it is alleged that if the Court allows the writ a large force will be required to bring the parties before it, because U. S. Marshal Donelson would probably give the hordes of ruffians and pirates, which infest the Missouri River, an opportunity of murdering them. Should the writ be allowed, the expenses attending it will be enormous, and cast very far into the shade the expenses of the late fugitive trials in this city. We have heard that Judge M'Lean has intimated that it may be necessary to have the case argued before him by the Attorney General.—*Cin. Gazette, Aug. 7.*

## The Daily American.

MANCHESTER, FEB. 24, 1856.

FOUR ULCERS.—The New York Herald says there are four spots in this immense republic beyond the pale of civilization, to wit: California, Utah, Kansas, and the city of Washington. This last spot is the worst of the four. Murders in hotels, riots on the floor of Congress, gambling in the avenues and corruption everywhere.

TAUNTON, MASS.

THURSDAY EVENING, JULY 24, 1856.

## \* A Letter from Kansas.

The following letter was received by a gentleman of this place from a friend in Kansas:

Waubesa, June 26, 1856.

DEAR SIR:—The state of things here, is not very flattering to us as freemen, or to the nation, as one which pretends to freedom, as you must have learned from the papers. You need not flatter yourselves that the outrages here are magnified by the press. In a few instances mistakes and misstatements have appeared, but the half has not been told. Another day will disclose the wrongs and insults that have been here enacted, and that, too, under sanction of, and with aid from, the low officials of a lower and more menial administration; and another day will see a righteous retribution visited upon their heads! The christians of Kansas appeal to their brethren for material aid, but they appeal to their God to vindicate the rights of justice, and will God turn away and forsake His own people and His own cause? It is easy for you confidently to look for a truce, easy for you to philosophize on the probabilities of an adjustment of these things, and that speedily, but when you are in the midst of a civil war, (as we are,) when your houses are burned down and your goods consumed with them, when your persons are assailed both by night and by day, imprisoned, gagged, insulted by low and vulgar language, and perhaps suffer death, yea, when your innocent children fall by cold lead, and the persons of your daughters violated; then, sir, you find yourself in the midst of a reality of which you are now ignorant. It is then, that your petitions have a tone of meaning to them. I will not proceed. When the North will vote as they ought, when they are awake and united, or else when we ourselves, being no longer able to endure the exasperation, rise up, every man in his place, and go forth determined to be avenged of these wrongs, then, and not till then, do I look for peace. On the part of the enemy there has been nothing but aggression. We have hitherto been wholly on the defense, another dispensation must come before peace will ensue!

Oh, delightful land! thou art fit for the dwelling place of Princes, for the palaces of nobles. Such thoughts often fill my mind as I look around me from day to day. I am sure if you were here to see the glory of Nature, the beautiful spots she has made in this Western wild, you would say with hundreds who have already admired them, that slavery must never pollute them with its fetid touch. I am at this moment sitting under a large Burr Oak, partly in front of my cabin, a cool, pellucid stream of water, just large enough to carry a boy's water-wheel is rippling over a pebbly bottom before me in its shady course; a rabbit is nibbling some tender leaves at a little distance on my right hand; around and nearly above me, squirrels, both red and black, (for there is no vain distinction of color with them,) are leaping from branch to branch and running from tree to tree; a cold spring of lime water is gurgling over a large flat stone at my left hand, blending its melody with that of the merry birds around, and the quail and prairie chicken in the distance bring in a chorus. Looking out from this tree on my right, I can scan with a glance the green prairie, the tall grass of which is waving in the summer breeze, now rising up the gentle slope of a large eminence which has in some places a conical, and in others a pyramidal-shaped summit, then again abruptly stopping at the verge of a deep and rocky ravine.

I must close here, in hope that you may receive this early, as the mail leaves to-night. Do not forget the men and women of Kansas, and God Almighty grant that we, being delivered from the hand of our enemies, may serve Him in righteousness all the days of our life.

So prays,

Your Brother in Christ, H. P. L.

Advices from Kansas state that Gen. Persifer Smith had arrived. A deputation of citizens waited upon

the armed marauders from the South, and the Missouri ruffians. 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 Galling Chain Coming.

The Tribune's Washington correspondent writes:

"Mr. Tappan, whose arrival I announced some days since, from Kansas, brought with him one of the chains with which the eight free State men were bound by United States Marshal Donelson at Ossawatimie, and confined in camp nearly one month, and then driven by a company of United States dragoons under Lieut. Iverson, like cattle, thirteen miles beneath a burning sun in less than fourteen hours, it was found that there was not so much as a charge against any of them except two, and they were sham!"

This relic of barbarism (not of ancient Nero, but of modern Pierce) has been exhibited to some of the members of Congress here, and will be conveyed to Boston."

## PROVIDENCE JOURNAL.

THURSDAY MORNING, JULY 24, 1856.

### Slavery for Nebraska and Oregon.

The success which has attended the conspiracy for the introduction of slavery into Kansas, has emboldened the men engaged in it to extend their operations Northward. It appears that measures have already been taken to apply to Nebraska the same policy that has fastened the institution upon Kansas, so firmly that nothing but the overthrow of the Democratic party can prevent it from coming in as a slave State. The measures are taken with greater precaution, but not with less determination; and letters from the Territory say that if slavery goes into Kansas, it will go into Nebraska too. The following letter upon this subject is deeply interesting and bears internal evidences of its truth. It is a deep game, as well as a bold one, that the friends of slavery are playing:

Correspondence of the Chicago Tribune.

TOPEKA, July 7.

The important communication subjoined was handed to me this morning by a gentleman direct from Nebraska City. I will go there immediately and investigate its statements:

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 to Kansas, the immediate 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; but, on the contrary, have always opposed the free State men in the latter, as bitterly as Stringfellow's *Scatter Sovereign*, or any of the border presses. The outrage on Senator Sumner they pass silently by, or in congratulation of *chivalric* Brooks.

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 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, it 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 enticing away of slaves, it is necessary to treat them kindly; and Northern men—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,

and many from the North, would much prefer seeing Slavery legalized, to having a few free 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 in as bad repute 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 service of the Missouri clans. 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; 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 advantages 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 supposition.

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, 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 gentlemen 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 triumphantly succeed."

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 Gen. 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.

Nor does the aggressive view of slavery bound itself by Nebraska. Even Oregon is not safe, except by the power of the Wilmot proviso, which was looked upon when it was applied as only "a re-enactment of the law of God." The Rochester Democrat says that it is in possession of abundant evidence, and will soon publish it, going to show that a conspiracy exists to force slavery into Oregon, as soon as a State organization is formed. The Democrat says:

"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 doctrine that there is any climate where the strong will cease to enslave the weak, or that the desire to profit by unpaid labor is confined to any latitude, is coming to a practical refutation. Man is pretty much the same old animal, wherever you find him.

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**Discouragements.**—The *Evening Post* publishes a recent letter from a highly respectable resident of Kansas, addressed to Anthony J. Bleecker, Esq., of this city, saying:

"Missouri seems to be getting quite sick of her dirty work. Buford has fled South, and his company are breaking off for home as fast as they can steal funds sufficient."

The *Marion (Ga.) Telegraph*, reports a meeting of the Kansas Association of that place, June 27, at which it was

"Resolved, That in consequence of a failure on the part of our fellow-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 disband."

And the *Montgomery (Ala.) Journal* publishes an extract of a letter from one of Buford's men, who says he is now coming South as soon as he can make a raise. The writer, "J. F. S.," says:

"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 all their household. The South ought to send twenty thousand men here this fall, well armed and provisioned. If she don't begin to stir her 'stumps,' Kansas will be a Free State sure."

The *Charleston Courier* publishes a letter from one of the Carolinian emigrants, detailing their plans for a magnificent town at Independence Ferry, on the Big Blue, to be called Palmetto City. General Atchison has offered to lend them teams, and a subscription is to be raised in Platte Co., Mo., for their present support. But he says:

"The men sent out here by the committee I do not think are the right sort, for most of them have been clerks, and not accustomed to the work required of them here. There are very few of those sent from Charleston who are doing anything at all towards a support. Many have not the first dollar in their pockets, and how they intend summering it out I cannot see."

### THE POLICY OF THE RUFFIANS.

THE admirable Report of the Congressional Committee should be universally read, and should be commented on at all meetings. Hardly a question is left unanswered, or a doubt unsolved, or a cavil unsilenced. We copy as a sample of thorough work, the developments made of the original policy of the Border Ruffians. It shows that they looked far ahead, and counted the cost. After refuting certain charges in regard to the Northern emigrants, the Report proceeds:

Your Committee are satisfied that these charges were made the mere pretext to induce an armed invasion into the territory, as a means to control the election and establish slavery there.

The real purpose is avowed and illustrated by the testimony and conduct of Col. John Scott, of St. Joseph's, Missouri, who acted as the attorney for the sitting delegates before your Committee. The following are extracts from his deposition:

"Prior to the election in Burr Oak precinct, in the Fourteenth District, on the 29th of November, 1854, I had been a resident of Missouri, and I then determined, if I found it necessary, to become a resident of Kansas Territory. On the day previous to the election, I settled up my board at my boarding-house in St. Joseph's, Missouri, and went over to the territory, and took boarding with Mr. Bryant, near whose house the polls were held the next day, for one month, so that I might have it in my power, by merely determining to do so, to become a resident of the territory on the day of the election.

"When my name was proposed as a Judge of Election, objections were made by two persons only. I then publicly informed those present that I had a claim in the territory, that I had taken board in the territory for a month, and that I could at any moment become an actual settler and legal voter in the territory, and that I would do so, if I concluded at any time during the day that my vote would be necessary to carry that precinct in favor of the pro-slavery candidate for delegate to Congress. . . . I did not during the day consider it necessary to become a resident of the territory for the purpose mentioned, and did not vote or offer to vote at that election."

"I held the office of City Attorney for St. Joseph's at that time, and had held it for two or three years previously, and continued to hold it till this spring."

I voted at an election at St. Joseph's in the spring of 1855, and was reappointed City Attorney. The question of slavery was put in issue at the election of November, 1854, to the same extent as in every election in this territory. General Whitfield was regarded as the pro-slavery candidate for the pro-slavery party. I regarded the question of slavery as the primarily prominent issue at that election, and so far as I know, all parties agreed in making that question the issue of the election.

"It is my intention and the intention of a great many other Missourians now residing 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 of becoming legal voters upon that question. The leading purpose of our intended removal to the territory is to determine the domestic institutions of this territory, when it comes to be a State, and we would not come but for that purpose, and would never think of coming here but for that purpose. I believe there are a great many in Missouri who are so situated."

The invasion of March 30 left both parties in a state of excitement, tending directly to produce violence. The successful party was lawless and reckless, while assuming the name of the "Law-and-Order" party. The other party, at first surprised and confounded, was greatly irritated, and some resolved to prevent the success of the invasion. In some districts, as before stated, protests were sent to the Governor; in others this was prevented by threats; in others by the want of time, only four days being allowed by the proclamation for this purpose; and in others by the belief that a new election would bring a new invasion. About the same time, all classes of men commenced bearing deadly weapons about the person, a practice which was continued to this time. Under these circumstances, a slight or accidental quarrel produced unusual violence, and lawless acts became frequent. This evil condition of the public mind was further increased by acts of violence in Western Missouri, where, in April, a newspaper press called the *Parkville Luminary* was destroyed by a mob.

About the same time, Malcolm Clark assaulted Cole McCrea at a squatter meeting in Leavenworth, and was shot by McCrea in alleged self-defense.

On the 17th day of May, William Phillips, a lawyer of Leavenworth, was first notified to leave, and upon his refusal, was forcibly seized, taken across the river, and carried several miles into Missouri, and then tarred and feathered, and one side of his head shaved, and other gross indignities put upon his person.

Previous to the outrage, a public meeting was held, (245,) at which resolutions were unanimously passed, looking to unlawful violence, and grossly intolerant in their character. The right of free speech on the subject of slavery was characterized as a disturbance of the peace and quiet of the community, and as "circulating incendiary sentiments." They say "to the peculiar friends of Northern fanatics, Go home and do your treason where you may find sympathy." Among other resolves is the following:

"Resolved, That the institution of slavery is known and recognized in this territory; that we repel the doctrine that it is a moral and political evil, and we hurl back with scorn upon its slanderous authors the charge of inhumanity; and we warn all persons not to come to our peaceful firesides to slander us, and sow the seeds of discord between the master and the servant; for, as much as we deprecate the necessity to which we may be driven, we cannot be responsible for the consequences."

A Committee of Vigilance of thirty men was appointed, "to observe and report all such persons as shall . . . by the expression of abolition sentiments, produce disturbance to the quiet of the citizens, or danger to their domestic relations; and all such persons so offending shall be notified and made to leave the territory."

The meeting "was ably and eloquently addressed by Judge Leecombe, Col. J. N. Burns, of Western Missouri, and others." Thus the head of the Judiciary in the Territory not only assisted at a public and bitterly partisan meeting, whose direct tendency was to produce violence and disorder, but, before any law is passed in the territory, he prejudices the character of the domestic institutions, which the people of the territory were, by their organic law, "left perfectly free to form and regulate in their own way."

On this committee were several of those who held certificates of election as members of the Legislature; some of the others were then and still are residents of Missouri, and many of the committee have since been appointed to the leading offices in the territory, one of which is the Sheriffalty of the county. Their first action was that of mobbing Phillips.

Subsequently, on the 25th of May, A. D. 1855, a public meeting was held, at which R. R. Rees, a member elect of the Council, presided, (246.) The following resolutions, offered by Judge Payne, a member elect of the House, were unanimously adopted:

"Resolved, That we heartily indorse the action of the committee of citizens that shaved, tarred and feathered, rode on a rail, and had sold by a negro, Wm. Phillips, the moral perjurer."

"Resolved, That we return our thanks to the committee for faithfully performing the trust enjoined upon them by the pro-slavery party."

"Resolved, That the committee be now discharged."

"Resolved, That we severely condemn those pro-slavery men who, from mercenary motives, are calling upon the pro-slavery party to submit without further action."

"Resolved, That in order to secure peace and harmony to the community, we now solemnly declare that the pro-slavery party will stand firmly by and carry out the resolutions reported by the committee appointed for that purpose on the memorable 30th."

The act of moral perjury here referred to, is swearing by Phillips to a truthful protest in regard to the election of March 30, in the Sixteenth District.

## New-York.

PRINCIPLES. NOT MEN.

THURSDAY MORNING, JULY 24, 1856.

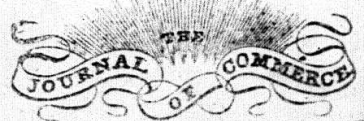
### AFFAIRS IN WASHINGTON.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)  
WASHINGTON, July 22.

The House to-day adopted August 18th as the day for final adjournment, in which the Senate will undoubtedly concur. The intervening three weeks and a half will hardly suffice for an examination of the contested election cases and the passage of the indispensable appropriation bills.

The Committee on Elections have prepared their report on the Kansas case. It concludes with two resolutions, declaring that WHITFIELD is not entitled to a seat in the House, and that Gov. REEDER be admitted to a seat. The Committee thus evades the question of the legality of the election under which Gov. REEDER was returned, placing their report in his favor upon the ground of necessity and expediency alone. Not having any reliable majority in the House, the result of this contest, the most momentous one of the session, is doubtful. We expect and hope to be able to eject WHITFIELD, but the admission of Gov. REEDER is, perhaps, hardly probable.

Among the debris of the session which will be consigned as a legacy to the next, will be, I hope, Toombs' bill for confirming slavery in Kansas. There appears to be a suspension of electioneering on behalf of this bill by the Administration and its Senatorial whippers-in. It is certain that the majority of the Senate would never consent to any of the amendments and substitutes proposed in the House, which all, with the exception of Mr. HAVEN's, propose the restoration of the Missouri Compromise; and even Mr. HAVEN proposes to declare null and void the territorial laws. It is but justice to Mr. DUNN to state that his position, if peculiarly his own, is radically opposed to the schemes of slavery extension, and the party which cherish them. Yesterday, he declared that he would not consent to vote a dollar of appropriations, except upon the condition of the restoration of the Compromise, and the abrogation of the unconstitutional and oppressive laws of the spurious Legislature. This a very extreme course, but I believe it to be necessary and constitutional. I award to Mr. DUNN the credit of taking the full responsibility which attaches to such avowals.



NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JULY 24, 1856.

THE Two Issues.—It is well-known to our readers that the Senate of the United States, by an overwhelming majority, have passed a bill for the prospective admission of Kansas into the Union as a State; and that the House of Representatives, by a majority of three votes, have passed a very different bill for the same object. As it is probable that each House will insist upon its own bill, and that thus nothing will be done for Kansas at the present sessions of Congress, except perhaps an ap-

proprietion to cover the necessary expenses of the territorial government, it may be well to look at the two bills side by side, that we may be better able to judge of their comparative merits or demerits. And first,

#### THE SENATE BILL.

What are its provisions? Substantially these:

1. It provides for an election on the 4th of November next [the day of the Presidential election] of fifty-two delegates to a Convention to be held at the Capital of the Territory on the 1st Monday in December next, for the purpose of framing a Constitution for the State of Kansas.

2. Said election is to be conducted under the personal direction and control of Five Commissioners, to be appointed by the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate. These Commissioners are to take a solemn oath that they will perform their duties faithfully, according to the intent and meaning of the Act.

3. Any white male citizen of the United States over the age of twenty-one years, who was a bona fide inhabitant of the Territory on the 4th day of the present month of August, and who shall have resided three months next before the day of the election, shall be eligible to vote.

4. The right of suffrage shall be restricted to those who shall refrain or prohibit any law or subject of legislation in the Territory, or the free expression of opinion on the part of the people of said Territory.

5. The business of the Convention when assembled on the 1st Monday in December, will be, to determine by a majority vote, whether it is expedient at that time to form a State Constitution and State Government; and if yes, they shall then proceed to form the same, with a view to the admission of the Territory into the Union on an equal footing with the original States in all respects, by the name of the State of Kansas. "To avoid all conflict in the complete execution of this Act, all other elections in said Territory are hereby postponed until such time as said Convention shall appoint."

Such is a brief outline of this admirable bill. We do not well see how it could be made better. It gives the free State men every immunity they could desire; and as they claim to be, and doubtless are, a large majority in the Territory, we cannot for the life of us understand why they, or rather their friends at the East, refuse to accept the overture, unless it be that they think an adjustment of the controversy, however favorable the terms of it, prior to the Presidential election, would prejudice their interests on that occasion. It however becomes candid men to admit that the Democrats have done all that could be reasonably asked of them, to place the Kansas question on a basis which if accepted would be almost certain to introduce Kansas into the Union as a Free State, within six or eight months from the present date.

#### THE HOUSE BILL.

It is entitled "A Bill for the Admission of the State of Kansas into the Union;" and begins as follows: "Whereas the people of Kansas have presented a Constitution and asked admission into the Union, which Constitution, on examination, is found to be republican in its form of government, *Be it enacted*," &c. The bill is very short, merely defining the boundaries of the new State, and admitting her at once into the Union, subject to the usual restrictions in regard to the public lands within her limits. It declares her entitled to two Senators and one Representative. Now the gentlemen who voted for this bill, can hardly have failed to perceive that its preamble involves a palpable untruth. It is not true that "the people of Kansas" have either presented or voted for this Constitution. It was voted for by only a part of the Free State interest; the rest, like sensible men, holding themselves aloof, because they were not prepared to treat the existing Territorial Government as a nullity. The Pro-Slavery men of course had nothing to do with the movement. They ignore the whole transaction. To adopt this pretended Constitution, under such circumstances, would be an outrage. It would be offering a premium for insubordination—not to say treason—everywhere. Nothing but a state of feeling bordering upon phrensy, could have induced even half the members of the House to vote for this bill. Quite a number of Anti-Nebraska members refused to vote for it, and some of them voted against it.

**Too Much Swaggering.**—A letter to one of the editors of the *Journal of Commerce* from a Northern clergyman traveling in Missouri, says, "I saw the Chicago Boys soon after their relief from their armor at Lexington. If they had boasted less, the Lexington people would have let them alone."

The *Journal of Commerce* does not believe that, although it prints it. How many emigrants going quietly have been plundered! And how many times have the ruffians exulted over the capture of arms that were not displayed!

# THE GAZETTE.

ALFRED SANDERS, Editor.  
July 21, 1856.  
CITY OF DAVENPORT.

### A Correct View of the Case.

The *St. Louis Democrat* in speaking of the recent outrages perpetrated on the Missouri river against the Chicago emigrants to Kansas, takes the following correct view of the subject:—

"Their conduct in the premises seems to have been characterized by no more violence than was necessary to stop the travel of a great public highway—a river that bears the commerce of half a continent—a noble stream that belongs to the American people, and not to the fillibusters of any county seat on its shores. In this we think their folly has even surpassed their zeal. Can they not see that the only effect of such proceedings is to divert a great trade, that would otherwise enrich our State, into channels far to the north of us, or far to the south of us, and thus isolate Missouri from commercial and business relations with the balance of the States of this Union? Do they not see, too, that they are thus doing much themselves to bring about the ultimate conflict of which they profess such an aversion! Will they not see that while acting thus they are putting themselves out of the pale of law, out of the fraternal circle of fellow citizens of a great commonwealth; and out of the regard and respect of those who love peace more than suicidal agitation of the slavery question? What right have they to constitute themselves guardians of Kansas! Who made them masters of a neighboring territory as sovereign in its rights as Missouri? By what high commission do they thus seek to barricade the tributary waters of half the continent! Shall the people of Missouri who know no king or emperor, submit to the miserable lording of a few such paltry politicians who find a profit in these outrages? Never! we believe the true heart of the conservative masses of this State will teach these gentry that our highways are not subject to their espionage, that our intercourse is not the fit object of their mock heroism. The people will not tolerate that the future wealth and standing, and social advance of Missouri shall be jeopardized, its credit destroyed, and its growth retarded, by such escapades as these, and none will discover this fact sooner than the citizens of Lexington."

It is asked by what commission these marauders have taken possession of the Missouri river, and assume the power of deciding who may and who shall not navigate that national highway. Certainly, by the commission sent them from Washington City. From the first, the power of the General Government has been prostituted to every demand of the slave-holding oligarchy and its border-ruffian satellites. The intent of the Kansas Nebraska bill was to establish slavery in Kansas. But odious as was that bill, if the President had been firm and honest, such is the natural superiority of free men and free institutions, that Kansas would have quietly become a free State, without bloodshed and without any disorder, if things had been left to their proper and constitutional progression. But such a course would have defeated the sole object of the framers of the bill. Hence, all the outrages of the ruffians. But if the outrages have been countenanced and encouraged by Pierce, or rather by those who use him for their own purposes, the people of Missouri are none the less accountable for permitting their enactment, and the *St. Louis Democrat* may well be apprehensive

of their injurious results. Such towns on to St. Louis, and especially to the towns on the Missouri river.

### A Contrast.

At the Fremont ratification meeting lately held at Albany, N. Y., Mr. Howard, one of the members of the Kansas Congressional Commission, made the following assertion:—

"I assert that if all the wrongs inflicted upon our forefathers by the kings of Great Britain, were collected together and multiplied by ten, I could bring facts to prove that the settlers in Kansas have suffered more than the whole of them."

While there is no doubt about the strict truth of this assertion, it is emphatically calculated to arrest most strongly the attention of the reflecting portion of the people. Let such remember the facts which preceded our revolutionary struggle, and they will find that the oppressions the colonists complained of and resisted, were trifling in comparison with the gross outrages which have been inflicted upon the settlers of Kansas. The list of wrongs and grievances enumerated in the Declaration of Independence, for the most part embraced those which occurred subsequent to the commencement of the contest. There had been no such illegal levying of ship money, no such tyrannical imprisonments like that of Hampden, no star chamber proceedings like those which have consigned the name of Laud to everlasting infamy, no despotic exactions like those which would have made the name of Wentworth similarly infamous, had not the artful and pathetic narrative of Hume inclined posterity to treat his character with unmerited indulgence,—no acts similar to those which caused the Great Rebellion in England, had been exemplified in this country before the battle of Lexington. Our revolutionary war, more than any other of which history makes mention, was waged in defence of an abstract principle, and was not caused by actual instances of oppression.

But the oppressions practiced by Charles the First and his ministers upon the people of England, assume a character of positive mildness when compared with the yoke of mob rule which has bowed down the unfortunate people of the Territory of Kansas.—Excepting the frenzied episode of the first French revolution, there never occurred in any civilized nation, a series of transactions so marked by brutality and almost every species of outrage, as those which have been perpetrated in Kansas by the permission if not by the connivance of the President. The history of the United States which we used to read at school was divided into periods, said to be "distinguished" for such and such prominent facts. When the history of Franklin Pierce's administration is properly written, it will be said of it that it was distinguished for the systematic perversity with which it violated the fundamental principles of a republican government, for the sufferings which it caused or permitted to be inflicted upon the feeble population of a new territory, and for the disgrace which it brought upon the name and cause of free institutions.



**THE "DEMOCRATIC" RESOLUTIONS.**—Some of the resolutions passed at the Pro-Slavery Convention on Wednesday are of a decidedly curious character, considering recent occurrences in the political world.—The second one declares that, in the belief of the convention, the principles of the Kansas-Nebraska bill are sound and solid, and that Congress has no power to interfere with the domestic institutions of the territories. Why, did not the author of the resolutions know that Messrs. Toombs and Douglas themselves have repudiated a main portion of the old bill by the new bill which they have lately forced through the Senate? As far as words go the new bill is a direct repeal of the main substance of the Kansas-Nebraska bill,—and by this new performance, as the *Louisville Journal* says, "the Democratic party is suddenly transformed into a huge crab, making back tracks as no mortal crab ever did before." As we have said in another place, we do not give Toombs and Douglas credit for any good intentions on account of the partial change of front which they have presented. But the fact remains the same. It does not become disciples to affect more wisdom or more zeal than their masters, and we are somewhat surprised that the astute and circumspect author of the resolutions should be so emphatic in endorsing in full a measure which has already frightened its framers, and which they have made a pretence of purifying of some of its most odious provisions.

The resolution about know-nothingism is equally antagonistic to the action of the leaders of the pro-slavery party in Congress. Thirteen Buchanan Senators, including Mr. Brodhead, Mr. Buchanan's right hand supporter from Pennsylvania, voted to disfranchise foreigners, but not allowing them to vote under the last Kansas bill of Mr. Douglas. Under that bill Indians could vote but not a foreigner. All the Buchanan and Know Nothing Senators voted for the bill with the amendment, declaring that no resident who was a foreigner, even if he had declared his intentions to become a citizen, should be allowed to vote whether or not Kansas should be free. Such actions speak louder than any resolutions drawn up for the occasion. But the worthy chairman of the committee doubtless thought it necessary for him to again attack the phantom with a great show of earnestness and resolution, though he must have been well aware that it was "love's labor lost." Those in this region for whom it was intended have become entirely too smart to be caught by such transparent tricks.

**ANOTHER OUTRAGE.**—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 had 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 Ft. 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 searches, 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 \$150,00 from Wm. McCandless, a member of the Maquoketa party and brother-in-law of Smith Hamill, 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 ¼ 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 appanage 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!

## CONNEAUT REPORTER

BY D. C. ALLEN.

THURSDAY MORNING, JULY 21, 1856.

### The Missouri Border Demons.

A correspondent writing from Kansas to the *Cincinnati Gazette*, gives the following particulars of a transaction which makes the blood boil and all the better impulses of human nature to cry for vengeance.—Such is Slavery,—such the spirit of Pierce, Stringfellow and Atchison, backed and encouraged by the party which supports BUCHANAN, and bolsters up the Slave interests of the country. Let the friends of freedom, in view of these continued atrocities, add more vigor to their efforts, and become more determined in their opposition to that system which would extend the area of Slavery, and violate our wives and daughters. We have confidence in a just God, who wills such demoniac acts to a speedy retribution.

# The Commercial.

WILMINGTON, N. C.

THURSDAY, JULY 24, 1856.

### "WANTED—A FEW KANSAS MURDERS."

A correspondent of the New York Tribune, writing from Kansas, says in reference to a Kansas company on the road: "I almost hope to hear that some of their lives have been sacrificed, for it seems as if nothing but that would rouse the Eastern States to act." The *Christian gentleman* must be what the Taunton (Mass.) Gazette calls a "Kansas outrage manufacturer, discouraged for want of material."

## The Daily Picayune.

THURSDAY MORNING, JULY 24, 1856

### THE KANSAS BILL—THE PROSPECTS.

The aspect of things at Washington is, we fear, unfavorable for the passage of the Senate bill for the pacification of Kansas, the only measure yet suggested which affords any prospect of quieting the disturbances in the Territory, and removing the chief ailment of political discord in the Union.

When the bill passed the Senate the House had just passed the Topeka bill by a single vote; and under such circumstances as to lead to the hope that on a fair proposition, made by so commanding a majority in the Senate, and promising such beneficial results, this small majority might be reversed, and the question peacefully adjusted. There was additional hope that the House majority might contain two or three men sufficiently magnanimous to prefer country to party, and break away from the anti-slavery agitators and dictators to the side of law, order and constitutional right.

The scenes of the last few days have weakened the grounds of confidence in both these respects. The Southern side—the side of order and law—in this Kansas issue, has lost three votes since the Topeka bill passed. The enforced resignation of Messrs. Brooks and Keitt, of South Carolina, loses two, and the party majority in the House has unseated Mr. Allen, of Illinois, one of the few Northern men whose vote was sure at all times in opposition to abolition schemes of every type and degree. His seat was contested by a Free-Soiler, a Mr. Archer, and there is some grace to be found in the fact that the House, after turning out Mr. Allen, did not at once give the place to the contestant, unless the worse inference be made legitimate, that the majority finds they have strength enough to do as they please without bringing in a new vote arbitrarily.

These deductions from the positive strength of the constitutional side of the House reduce sensibly the chances of carrying the Senate measure; and the temper which the anti-slavery majority has continued to manifest, and the consolidated front which they continue to show on every vote which involves adhesion to their peculiar tenets, give reason to apprehend that they are unshaken in the determination to refuse all concessions, and determined to keep open the distractions in Kansas, until after the Presidential election. They want it for the party purposes of a canvass before the Northern people; a means to inflame the Northern feeling against the South, and keep up the phrenzy of hatred against Southern men and Southern institutions, which is relied upon as the means of giving success to the party which is seeking to get control of the Government, on sectional grounds, and for the benefit and aggrandizement of a section. Such are, we regret to say, the present appearances of things at Washington City. The Senate Kansas bill will not pass the House, except amended in a form to make the consent of the Senate impossible, by the restoration of the Missouri compromise, or some other plan, which demands the present surrender of the rights of the Southern States, and the absolute submission, for all time to come, to inferiority of rights, and the total loss of any share in the

are the common property of all the States. The language of the leading men and the leading journals of the Northern coalition against the South, is resolute in its opposition to peace, on any other terms short of absolute submission, on our part, and fiercely denunciatory of every man amongst themselves who gives signs of wavering. It is to be feared that this reign of terror may have the effect, which its chiefs design, of keeping their ranks unbroken, and driving their schemes through the lower House, without concession, modification, scruple or remorse.

This done, and an irreconcilable difference established with the Senate, the Black Republicans will be impatient to adjourn Congress and go home, each to his sphere, to commence the trade of agitation, and play the anti-slavery demagogue till November.

We learn by telegraph that the House has agreed to adjourn on the 18th of August—three weeks from next Monday. Their promptitude in agreeing to that day, is a very conclusive proof, to our minds, that the defeat of all pacification for Kansas is ascertained and predetermined, and that Black Republicanism is ready to go before the Northern people on the single question of Kansas, which they will present as the distinct issue against slavery, to be decided on the election of next fall. We are afraid that the chances of adjusting the controversy by any action of Congress, at this session, are faint and fading.

# Daily Democrat

July 25, 1856.

**The Canvass in the North-east.**  
**SKIES BRIGHT IN CLARKE COUNTY—ALLEN RICH-  
 ANDSON'S SPEECH—BENTON STOCK IN THE AS-  
 CENDANT.**

WATERLOO, Clarke Co., Mo.,  
 July 21, 1856.

Here Mr. R. took the State policy, and the ruinous tendencies of the snipes with telling effect—after which Mr. R. read from the Squatter Sovereign, a paper edited by Mr. Springfield, w. Mr. Atchison's right tower, showing that the Kansas troubles were instigated on their side as much for mischief to the Union, as for any love they bore to Missouri. The article, after abusing Mr. Piro and his cabinet for appointing abolitionists and free-soilers to office, as rulers over them, setting defiance not only to them, to the administration, said: "We confidently hope that the next National Congress may meet in Washington on the last Monday of December next, and we prophesy with firm conviction, that time will verify our words." Thus, fellow citizens, is the prediction of one of the leading papers, in Mr. Atchison's political torture, and only echoes the wisdom of the leaders of the Acalson party in this State, and I call upon the masses known as the anti-Benton party, to pause and reflect before following longer the blind creed of so reckless a set of political office seekers. This party was once the loudest in their praise of Col. Benton, and united and abused him as an abolitionist, for admitting the power of Congress over slavery in the territories, for this they induced you to believe that he was too far north, now, transcending all the great lights of the political parties of former days, admitted the power, but like Col. Benton, thought it inexpedient to exercise it. What is their position now, they have nominated Truman B. Kirk, of St. Louis, for Governor, and Charles Sims, of Cass, for Lieutenant Governor, both of whom admit the power. Mr. Folk, on the 10th of July, 1849, in Franklin county, delivered a speech, in which he labored to show that Congress had this power.

[From the Frontier News.]

## Yankee Mob Law.

We were informed to-day by a gentleman direct from Topeka, of a gross outrage upon the rights of an adopted citizen. A German citizen of Kansas Territory, by the name of Gerard Hooft, who had settled in Kansas Territory, adjoining the town of Topeka last April a year, who is a man of education, had opened after the most improved fashion of his country and the cities of New York and Philadelphia, a restaurant. Mr. H. had never sold liquor to an Indian or encouraged drunkenness in any manner, but after the manner of his country had opened his beautiful claim upon one of the richest and most beautiful bottoms in the Territory, for the amusement and innocent recreation of the inhabitants around. A few days after the Fourth of July, when Mr. Hooft was entirely alone, a large force of the members of the Topeka Association entered into his house and told him that they had come with the intention of destroying all the liquor on the premises and throwing him into the Shunga Munga if he made the least resistance. Mr. Hooft, with the expectation of this mob and a disposition to avoid bloodshed, had removed his liquor, which the mob discovered, and with great shouts of laughter destroyed. They then adjourned in a body. They had informed Mr. Hooft that the principles under which they were educated were such as regarded any such establishment as his a crime against society, and they intended to put it down. We subjoin that Mr. Hooft is a pro-slavery man and has voted the pro-slavery ticket.

Yours. S. R.

# THE INTELLIGENCER.

SAINT LOUIS.

FRIDAY MORNING, JULY 25, 1856

## IMPORTANT FROM KANSAS. RESCUE OF THE CHEYENNE INDIANS FROM FORT KEARNEY—GEN. LANE MARCHING INTO THE TERRITORY.

The Martha Jewett arrived from the Missouri river, yesterday, bringing intelligence of interest. The officers of the Jewett report also, that there was considerable excitement in Kansas, on account of the marching of Gen. Lane into the Territory. His men were crossing the Missouri at Nebraska City, when the Jewett passed there, Monday.—They were in squads, and 500 of them had crossed when the steamer left.

The Leavenworth Journal of the 23d, contains

news of this movement, and calls on the people of the Territory to fly to arms and repulse the invaders. Lane's avowed object is the restoration of Robinson's Government.

# THE DAILY SENTINEL.

RUFUS KING & WM. H. WATSON,  
 PROPRIETORS.

Under the Name and Firm of Rufus King & Co.

MILWAUKEE:

## Friday Morning, July 25. Late and Interesting from Kansas.

Enforced Quiet in the Territory—Gen. Smith and Col. Sumner—The State Prisoners—Revival of the Herald of Freedom—Gov. Shannon returned to the Territory—Robberies and Plunder of the Mail—Re-building of the Lawrence Hotel—Northern Emigrants Pouring in.

LAWRENCE, K. T., July 14, 1856.

To the Editors of the Alton Courier:

Tranquility is measurably restored throughout Kansas, and yet we hear constant mutterings which seem to foretell a storm. The Fourth of July passed without a collision, contrary to the expectations of all. The members of the State Legislature thought it not prudent to maintain their God-given rights in defiance of the Federal Government, so they again yielded; or, in the expressive language of your Douglas, they permitted themselves to be "subdued," relying for the triumph of the right upon the patriotic voters of the free North, on the fourth of November next.

Gen. Smith has arrived and taken command of the military force in the Territory. Col. Sumner retains command of his division, receiving his orders from Gen. Smith, instead of General Clark, who was stationed at Jefferson Barracks, near St. Louis, and has previously had command of this department of the military service.

Military companies are scattered all over the Territory, and I trust will succeed in restoring quiet, though I have strong doubts of their ability to do so, because of their numerical weakness.

The State prisoners are under the charge of Capt. Sacket, of the U. S. Cavalry, a free State man, as are all his company, about 3 miles from Leecompton. They are encamped on a rolling prairie, with deep ravines, skirted with timber on each side, with an abundance of excellent spring water near by, and seem to be enjoying themselves as well as could be expected. They spend their time mostly in reading and writing.

Mr. Brown receives his exchange papers regularly from the Lawrence Post Office, and these afford a rich fund of thought during the week. Their present jailors have become more lenient; and permit visitors to call upon them at all hours, and allow them to receive and answer communications from their friends, without undergoing the surveillance of a previous reading. I had a conversation with Mr. Brown a few days ago, in regard to the Herald of Freedom. He said he had ordered the press, type, &c., and expected to receive a note from you soon, informing him of their arrival in Alton. He is confident that the mechanical part of the paper had better be executed in your city than in Lawrence, claiming that he can do infinitely more for the cause by thus doing, than otherwise. He says he has been in the receipt of orders from all the principal newsdealers in the cities to supply them regularly with his paper, but has been unable to do so heretofore for the want of express conveyances from Kansas to these points. He thinks thousands of extra copies can be disposed of weekly, by newsboys in the cities, and the influence would be a good one for Kansas. Besides, the idea of getting an office and material up the river at the present time is preposterous. If it should pass Lexington it could not be carried over the road from Leavenworth to Lawrence without destruction. All who know the condition of things here admit the fact, and hence, are the more willing to have it established temporarily at Alton, with the understanding that it will be brought to Lawrence as soon as it is considered prudent to do so.

Governor Shannon returned to the Territory last week from St. Louis, accompanied by his wife. The latter was interrogated as to her views of "Border Ruffians," on her arrival at Leecompton. Her response was, "She thought them infinitely preferable to Massachusetts paupers."

The land office is not yet open, but is expected to be in a few days. The Register claims that

he is waiting for the return of the Surveyor General.

120  
Robberies continue the order of the day. Mr. Golliday was robbed of his horse, money, &c., a few days ago, south of the Waukarusa, where he had gone from Lawrence on business. These depredations are common all over the Territory, and travelers are unsafe unless accompanied by a stronger escort. The mails are plundered of most of their letters and business is dull.

The Emigrant Aid Company commenced removing the ruins of their hotel last week, preparatory to rebuilding it. Twenty workmen joined in three hearty cheers as they began the work. This will infuse new life into Lawrence, and, in fact throughout the Territory. It says the people are not to be abandoned by capitalists in their extremity.

Emigration continues to pour in constantly overland, through Iowa and Nebraska. A large party settled recently on the Grasshopper, and has formed the nucleus for heavy settlements in that direction.

The season has been a lovely one thus far, and the little vegetation that the borderers allowed to be planted, promises an abundant crop. To pass over the Territory and see the fields overrun with weeds, which last year were covered with waving corn, and to know the cause of this desolation, is enough to sicken an American who looks out upon the scene. Yours truly,  
KANSAS.

## The Republican.

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

### PEORIA:

FRIDAY MORNING, JULY 25, 1856.

#### THE TROUBLES IN KANSAS.

[Correspondence of the Peoria Republican.]

IN CAMP, NEAR LAWRENCE,  
K. T., July 5, 1856.

MESSEES. PICKETT AND WAITE: You have no doubt been informed, ere this comes to hand, of the result of the meeting of the Legislature of the 4th inst., as per adjournment last March.

Time and ability will prevent me at this time from entering into a detailed account of the proceedings had, or rather the outrages committed, on the 4th inst., at Topeka. Messrs. Redpath, Phillips and other distinguished reporters were on the ground, who will, I trust, give a reliable account of the whole proceedings. I was an eye-witness, and can vouch for or disclaim against anything that may be reported by them of the transactions at Topeka on yesterday and day before, (3d and 4th insts.)

There was a large convention of the settlers of Kansas, composing something like from twelve to fifteen hundred men, assembled at Topeka, on the 3d inst. After organizing, and the object of the meeting made known, a committee was appointed to draft resolutions and memorials, and report to the convention at 8 A.M., on the 4th inst. The meeting was called to order at the appointed time by the chairman and the several committees (appointed the day before) announced that they were ready to present their resolutions for the consideration and action of the convention; which were read by Dr. Root. After the reading of the resolutions it was decided by the convention that they should act on each one separately. There were eleven resolutions presented, I believe, and all that were not wholly laid aside were amended more or less. I herewith inclose a copy of them as amended. As they were about half through with the above resolutions, the meeting was interrupted by Marshal Donaldson and Judge Elmore entering the crowd and announcing that they had a Proclamation to read to that assembly, which the Marshal proceeded to read. There was so much noise and confusion that he could not be heard. Messrs. Donaldson and

Elmore were then invited to the stand, and Judge Elmore was requested by Donaldson to read the Proclamation, which he did with great evidence of fear. He trembled, and the paper shook so that he was scarcely able to read.—Some one in the crowd anticipating the fear the Judge and Marshal were laboring under, interrupted the Judge and assured him that he need not apprehend any personal injury from any one in this assembly, as it was not composed of assassins as he (the Judge) was perhaps, imagining in his own mind. The remark met with a general response. The Judge's fears became quieted, and he was enabled to read much better.

After finishing the President's Proclamation, dated March 4th, '56, he proceeded to read Woodson's Proclamation, Governor pro tem of Kansas Territory, with Col. Sumner's attached. A motion, on a call by some one in the crowd, was made for three groans for *President Pierce and the apostate of his Administration*, which were given in good earnest. Judge Elmore then remarked that Pierce was a good President, and his Administration good also, which was responded to by three more unearthly groans. During the interval Donaldson and Elmore left the stage and disappeared amid the crowd.

The convention then proceeded by beginning where they left off, without further noticing or making any reply to the great dignitaries of the Administration.

Messrs. Donaldson and Elmore remained in the crowd for sometime, and finally addressed the chairman and announced "that they were now ready to leave, as they had been waiting impatiently for some time, and that they wished to know what answer or word this meeting had to send to Col. Sumner."

The Chairman consulted the Convention a moment, and it quickly decided: that they might tell Col. Sumner "that they had no answer to make, as there was nothing in either of the proclamations applying to this assembly at all."

The two worthies immediately left for Col. Sumner's camp, evidently a good deal dissatisfied, followed by a distinguished Free State man who was determined to hear the report they had to make to Col. Sumner. After arriving at Col. Sumner's camp, they informed him "that they received as answer to his proclamation that the Legislature was determined to meet at twelve o'clock in spite of all hazards." A more base and cowardly misrepresentation never was fabricated. Col. Sumner jumped from his chair in an instant and swore, "by God I will be there in half an hour, and if there is a single gun fired I will drive every man of them out of the territory," and ordered his whole cavalry to mount immediately, he suited the action to the word, and came rushing down the road, some two hundred strong, under a full gallop. The soldiers were evidently all much excited, as they clearly manifested fears of an engagement. They surrounded the State-House in an instant, and rushed on to a large party of ladies who were then in the act of presenting a flag to the Topeka Company F, which was drawn up in line to receive it from their hands. I saw a battalion of soldiers rush on this party, at no little peril to many of them, and formation line in the place whence they had driven them. When Col. Sumner had been surrounded by the soldiers of this garrison, he said

that he was then uninformed of their intention and doings; plainly intimating that he understood he was to be resisted. This was half-past eleven o'clock A. M. Col. Sumner then dismounted, and went into the State-House and found to his surprise no Legislature assembled or armed body engaged to protect it. He remained until twelve o'clock at noon, the hour appointed when the roll was informally called by the Clerk. Seventeen of the members of the Lower House were present and answered to their names, while almost all of the members of the Senate were on hand. Many of the members of the Lower House were in town, but had not yet got in the hall, as the roll was called at precisely 12 o'clock. After the roll was called and the members came forward, Col. Sumner addressed each House and told them they must disperse, acknowledging that it was the most painful duty ever was involved upon him. He told them they must and should disperse, even if he had to force them at the point of the bayonet. So you see the people of Kansas, advocating the Free State principles, such as freedom of speech, press, &c., are not only deprived of the privilege (by all the apostates of the present administration, with the aid of Missourians and other Southern organized forces, who have their places of rendezvous in Missouri) of making laws and regulating their own institutions, but the military force of the United States is also called into requisition to bear against them and force them to submit. Such is a true statement of the situation of the people of Kansas, and of the scenes that have been enacted.

Governor Shannon and Marshal Donaldson have received and enrolled into their service hundreds of organized citizens from Missouri, Georgia and other Southern States, whose avowed purpose in coming to the Territory was to make it a Slave State and sustain Southern rights, &c., by driving every Free State man from the territory. Although these companies have been formally disbanded, they still retain the arms furnished them by the United States and are now as much organized as ever, and are supported in Missouri by the apostate of the Administration and the Missourians, and kept ready to make a descent upon the Free State men at a moment's warning. Gov. Shannon has headed posess of such men to arrest peaceable citizens, and when failing to find the object of his search, he has threatened to "cut the d—d black hearts out of" the wives and daughters if they would not tell him where their fathers or husbands were secreted. He has requested persons here to point out and name "what d—d Free State men to shoot." This may seem incredible, but will be corroborated by the Investigating Committee, as many respectable persons made affidavits of said facts.

HENRY W. McFADEN.

## The Daily Journal.

FRIDAY MORNING, JULY 25, 1856.

### Gen. Pierce and Governor Reeder.

We hope no reader of the TRIBUNE will fail to read the testimony of Gov. A. H. REEDER of Kansas, in relation to his removal from office by President Pierce; it was given under oath before the Kansas Investigating Committee, and it is doubtless a plain and truthful relation of the facts as they occurred; it will be found on the first page of this day's paper.

For the good name of this Republic, and for the respect which should always attach to the

office, if not to the person, of the President, we confess our regret that this testimony has been permitted to see the light. It is a sickening record of craven fear, of disgusting servility to a mob, of plighted faith, of broken promises, of shameless lying, and of unparadonable treachery—all on the part of the officer—not the man—whom the American people would be happy to respect, and all for the conciliation of the basest and most infamous despotism that was ever saddled upon a people nominally free! If Pierce's administration had borne no other fruit than this letter—if the long list of outrages upon the most sacred rights, of highway robberies, of sackings and murders, perpetrated by Executive sanction and approval, could be forever blotted out and lost to the memory of the world—this testimony alone would send Pierce down to posterity as the smallest and meanest of men. But add to it the history of the time subsequent to the removal, and we have a catalogue of offences, the enormity of which will forever blacken the memory of him by whom they were permitted. But, read the testimony and see how a President, and he a Northern man, can belittle himself, before the Slave Power.

## DAILY ADVERTISER.

July 25 DETROIT. 1856  
A falsehood refuted

The *Free Press* states that the "Black Republicans" voted in the United States Senate, to sustain and enforce all the vile laws of Kansas, because they voted against a bill authorizing Franklin Pierce to appoint Border Ruffian Commissioners, to go through the force of holding another election, in that down-trodden Territory. Can it be that Story thinks *anybody* will believe such a lie!

The facts are, as appears in the official account of the proceedings of the Senate, in the *Globe*, that on the second of July, Mr. Wilson, a "Black Republican Senator," offered the following as an amendment to the bill called the "Pacification" bill:

"That all acts passed by the Legislature of Kansas, or by any assembly, acting as such, be, and the same are hereby abrogated and declared void, and of no effect."

On this proposal of Mr. Wilson, the yeas and nays were ordered, on motion of Mr. Reid, of North Carolina, and every Border-Ruffian Senator present voted against this section, and every Republican for it.—During the same session another "Black Republican," Mr. Turnbull, of Illinois, offered a new section, the following:

"And be it further enacted, That all acts and proceedings of all and every body of men heretofore assembled in said Territory of Kansas, and claiming to be a Legislative assembly thereof, with authority to pass laws for the Government of said Territory, are hereby declared to be utterly null and void. And no person shall hold any office or exercise any authority or jurisdiction in said Territory, under or by virtue of any power or authority derived from such Legislative assembly. Nor shall the members thereof, exercise any power or authority as such."

On this motion the yeas and nays were ordered—and every Border Ruffian Senator present voted against the proposed section, and every Republican for it.

Further, on the same day, Mr. Foster, another "Black Republican," proposed to add a section repealing Sec. 12, of a law of the Kansas code, which reads as follows:

"If any free person by speaking or by writing, assert or maintain that persons have not the right to hold Slaves in the Territory, or shall introduce into this Territory, any book, paper, magazine, pamphlet, or circular, containing any denial of the right of persons to hold slaves in this Territory, such persons shall be deemed guilty of felony, and punished by imprisonment at hard labor for a term of not less than two years."

Also to repeal Sec. 13 of same act, which reads as follows:

"No person who is conscientiously opposed to holding Slaves, or who does not admit the right to hold Slaves in this Territory, shall sit as a juror on the trial of any prosecution for the violation of any of the sections of this act."

On the question of repealing these sections, the yeas

and nays were ordered, which we append:  
Yeas—Messrs. Allen, Bell, of New Hampshire, Clayton, Collamer, Dunkeag, Fessenden, Foot, Foster, Hall, Seward, Trumbull, Wade and Wilson—13.

Nays—Messrs. Bayard, Benjamin, Biggs, Bigler, Bright, Brodhead, Brown, Cass, Clay, Dodge, Douglas, Evans, Fitzpatrick, Geyer, Hunter, Iveson, Johnson, Jones, of Iowa, Mallory, Mason, Pratt, Pugh, Reid Sebastian, Slidell, Stuart, Thompson, of Kentucky, Toombs, Toucey, Weller, Wright and Yulee—32.

Thus it will be seen that to this obnoxious bill the Republicans tried all ways to get sections introduced repealing these laws, and still Story has the impudence to say that they voted for all these laws.

### The Answer of Freemen.

The Slavery sycophants played an adroit game when they embodied into their Senate bill a specious proposition to repeal a few of the most palpably outrageous of the false enactments of the so-called Legislature of Kansas. Their object was to place Northern Senators and members in a false position, in which they might be charged with voting to sustain the spurious code. But the people were too sharp for them, as well as the Northern members of Congress. Not a Republican paper but saw that the negation of a few of those laws, was the affirmation of the remainder. On Friday the House administered a noble rebuke to these freebooting facticians, by the passage in Committee of the whole of the State of the Union of the following, as an amendment to the Army appropriation bill, then under immediate discussion:

"But Congress, hereby disapproving of the code of alleged laws officially communicated to them by the President, and which are represented to them to have been enacted by a body claiming to be the Territorial Legislature of Kansas, and also disapproving of the manner in which said laws have been enforced by the authorities of said Territory, expressly declare that, until these alleged laws shall have been affirmed by the Senate and House of Representatives as having been enacted by a legal Legislature, chosen in conformity with the organic law by the people of Kansas, no person shall be permitted to act as a constable, or as a sheriff, or as a marshal, or as a sheriff in said Territory. Said laws, and every part and parcel thereof, being hereby declared null and void."

A significant circumstance took place during the debate, in which, in answer to Mr. Cumbach, Mr. McMullen, of Virginia, made the following denial. Mr. Cumbach said:

"We too, in the North, will have our rights, and notwithstanding the blockade of the Missouri River, and the high-handed attempt to keep men from the North from settling in that Territory, they will go; who dare claim the right to hinder them? Free State men have a right to go there and settle where they please, and in such numbers as they please, and it has not yet come to pass that they must consult the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. McMullen] or his political party, or the President in the exercise of that right. Mr. McMullen—I deny the right."

Here is the whole question in a nut-shell. The south deny the right of non-slave-holders to settle in Kansas, upon any terms. This, Northern Locofocos, is your Squatter Sovereignty.

"Then go wise saints, behold your light, your star, Ye would be dupes and victims, and ye are."

The entire party, so far as regards the popular branch of Congress, acquiesce in the construction of Mr. McMullen, of Virginia. The North has no right there. Emigration from Germany, France and Great Britain is shut out from territory which our fathers dedicated to freedom only thirty years ago, and against which Mr. Buchanan "resolved" and "protested" as a concession too large and liberal to the South.

This is the very consummation of imprudence, beyond which it is impracticable for human ingenuity to go. Shall we submit to this construction of the bill, or shall we give it our own?

## Buffalo Commercial Advertiser.

Thursday Evening, July 25, 1856.

MESSRS. EDITORS:—I notice, on the first page of your last evening's issue, an article entitled "Ballots or Bayonets," which is evidently extracted from some other print, and which, (though, as I doubt not, unconsciously to yourselves) does an injustice to the principal charac-

ter, Gerrit Smith, therein referred to. In the quotation from a speech delivered by him at the Kansas Convention, he is made to say:

"If it had remained with me to use the power of the government, we should not have waited thus long, but our oppressors would have been converted into heaps of dead men on the fields of Missouri. But I am willing to wait till to-morrow, or till two to-morrows, when I am on the trail of an enemy to whom I have a deadly hate. I would follow him with cat-like tread, till I could surely strike him dead."

Now, I assure you, on the authority of my own hearing, that Gov. Reeder, and not Gerrit Smith, was the one who gave utterance to the sentiments above quoted; and if you will make the correction, which you can without ridding the Republican party of any portion of the intended opprobrium, you will, by doing so, much oblige

A GERRIT SMITH MAN.

## Troy Daily Edwig.

TROY:

FRIDAY MORNING, JULY 25.

The Kansas Outrages—Northern and Southern Accounts.

Our Republican friends hereabouts should by no means indulge the conceit that the N. Y. Tribune, Times, Herald and Evening Journal enjoy a monopoly of the horrible blood and murder accounts of affairs in Kansas. The Southern papers in the interest of the ultra pro-slavery party, contain as exaggerated accounts of outrages committed in Kansas by the "Abolitionists," as is attributed in any of the Republican papers to the border ruffians, and probably with as much ground of truth. Both parties believe that they subserve their interests best by misrepresenting and exaggerating the facts, and by making inflammatory appeals to the respective opposing sections who sympathize with them; and upon these exaggerations and appeals, are based the political action of many honest and unsuspecting electors, both North and South. Our readers have frequently read in the Tribune and kindred prints, of the outrages committed by the "border ruffians," upon "peaceable and unoffending citizens," many of them doubtless believing that such accounts contain the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, and not dreaming that there can be another side to the story; and that the Southern papers are equally filled with as plausible accounts of outrages upon Southern men. These two classes of journals, representing the extreme opinions of the North and South upon the Slavery question, have for many weeks vied with each other in a strife, which shall do the most to fan the embers of sectional discord and strife. Their columns have been filled with misrepresentations and appeals to prejudice and passion. The following account, among many similar ones contained in southern pro-slavery papers, is designed for precisely a similar purpose that accounts of similar outrages are published in the Republican newspapers at the North. The article appears in the Charleston (S. C.) Courier, with an imposing caption, very much as we are accustomed to see similar statements headed in the New York papers:—

From the Charleston, (S. C.) Courier.

HORRIBLE NEWS. ABOLITIONISTS CUTTING OFF THE EARS OF PRO-SLAVERY MEN. WIFE AND CHILDREN BEGGING FOR MERCY. NOSE-SLITTING AND THROAT CUTTING.

We have been politely favored with the subjoined extract from a letter dated—

ARCHISON. (K. T.) June 14  
Since my last I have been in the saddle very nearly up to the present time, being either sent on an express to different towns, or on scouting parties, though our own town being threatened by the Rev. Pardee Butler. This will account for the non reception of letters from me by the two last mails, and I hope it will be satisfactory.

You will see by the newspapers of the several murders and outrages committed by the Abolitionists, who commit their deeds under cover of

height, and as cowardly and cruel as was even the most primitive savage. Just think of one man being dragged from his house and bed by fifty of these scoundrels, with his wife and children begging for mercy, Beecher-men cutting off his ears, splitting his nose and otherwise mutilating his body; his wife was not respected, but in his presence abused, after which his throat was cut, and his body left where it was to rot; and this is but one instance of what they are doing, as I could give you many more if necessary.

Our men are eager and anxious to avenge these outrages, but the older and wiser heads of the Pro slavery party keep us back, telling us that we are the true and only law and order men, and that we must do nothing hastily or rashly. We are all under arms, having to guard the town and our mules and horses. Such is the state of affairs in this beautiful Territory, and such will be the case until either Southern Rights or Yankee fanaticism conquers. For myself, I have only to say that I will stand by the cause in which I was born, in which I was bred, and which I hope to see successful, though my life be the sacrifice.

Doubtless after reading the above, many a chivalrous Southron has grasped his bowie knife with a firmer clench, and with curses loud and long, swore vengeance upon the wicked and murderous abolitionists, whilst the women and children listen to the tale of suffering humanity, with sighs and tears, befitting the occasion. Just such outpourings of sympathy, are witnessed, here at the north, almost every week, as the Tribune and Times bear to the homes of their sympathizing readers, reports of the deeds of horror committed by the murderous border ruffians, upon harmless free state men; and such will continue to be the case both north and south, until the result of the next presidential question shall have deprived the agitators of all motive for further misrepresentation, and then the truth will be revealed, that whatever outrages have taken place, have been instigated by political demagogues, and wicked men, to accomplish a base political end.

## The Evening Press.

HARTFORD:  
FRIDAY, JULY 25.

### The Difference.

"The people of Kansas alone have a right to decide whether Slavery shall or shall not exist in their own midst."

"Practically, however, the question is in the hands of the people of Kansas, but it is not in the hands of the people of Connecticut. These were our views in 1854; they are our views now."

"They can settle the Slavery question to suit themselves. The Times sustains this principle."

The Times has been dodging and equivocating so much on this question of late, that it is well to pin its editors when they make a positive assertion. Their "views in 1854" were entirely different from those the editors now profess. Then they ridiculed and denounced the doctrine of squatter sovereignty, and maintained the old Jeffersonian policy in regard to the territories. Now they say "the people of Kansas alone have a right to decide whether Slavery shall or shall not exist in their own midst."

Mr. BUCHANAN, whom the Times is supporting, occupies no such ground, but totally denies it. He says to T. SANFORD of Alabama, under date of August 21st, 1848:

"The inhabitants of a territory, as such, have no political rights, (although they possess all the private rights of American citizens,) they have no power whatever over the subject of Slavery, and they can neither interdict nor establish it, except when assembled in convention to form a State constitution."

These are the opinions of JAMES BUCHANAN, and they are in direct conflict with those which the Times now advocates. In 1854, the Times occupied the same ground with Mr. BUCHANAN, but it has since "run about, and turned about, and jumped Jim Crow," until it finally comes up in opposition to its own candidate in 1856.

Mr. BUCHANAN occupies one platform, and the Times occupies another. The two can not be reconciled. Mr. BUCHANAN says the people of a Ter-

ritory have "no power whatever over the subject of slavery." The Times says "they alone have a right to decide whether Slavery shall or shall not exist in their own midst." A palpable contradiction.

When men become dunkeys, they make themselves ridiculous, and fall into strange absurdities. Our neighbors have turned around so rapidly that they have lost their balance, are incapable of discerning their true position, and abandon all principle. So long as they concurred in BUCHANAN'S views, they steadily opposed his nomination; but when he is nominated, the Times abandons the principles that both had professed, and supports him.

## The Republican.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.  
FRIDAY MORNING, JULY 25, 1856.

### Freedom's Summons.

Over Kansas' lovely plains  
Widely desolation reigns;  
Dark her soil with many stains,  
Stains from freemen's blood!  
He who scorns to own a slave  
Finds, full soon, a bloody grave;  
Death and ruin meet the brave,  
Scorn and hate, the good.

Summer's wounds and Summer's name,  
Brooks's outrage, Shannon's shame,  
Kansas' wrongs and Lawrence's flame  
Bid us all unite!  
Friends of freedom's sacred cause,  
Friends of Liberty and laws,  
Now arise! No longer pause!  
God be with the right!

Ye, who boast that we are free,  
Spread the reign of Liberty!  
Far and wide, from sea to sea,  
Be her flag unfurled!  
Till the music of her songs  
Swell from all our nation's tongues,  
And Slavery, with all its wrongs,  
Be banished from the world!

EX.

A CRUMB OF COMFORT.—We find in the ruffian papers hereabouts a letter purporting to come from M. W. King of Racine, Wis., giving an account of his experiences in Kansas. Mr King states that himself and wife were treated very kindly by Missourians during the illness of his child, at which he was so much astonished that he made up his mind that border ruffianism was a myth. So far Mr King's account is credible, but when he states that he "saw many poor families landed in the territory by the emigrant aid societies, who had no funds to purchase a meal of food, or to bury their dead, and that the border ruffians took them into their homes, fed the living and buried the dead, and gave them clothes and kind words," then Mr King's account becomes highly incredible. As the editors that publish Mr King's letter well know, the emigrants who have gone out under the aid societies, have been well provided with means of their own, and have been under no necessity to receive alms from Missourians or anybody else, until since they have recently been robbed of everything by these same compassionate border ruffians. But this letter is not dated anywhere; the writer does not say when he went to Kansas and saw these novel exhibitions of Christian charity by the border ruffians, and the whole thing looks very like a roorback, and a poor one at the best. But it seems to afford some consolation to the sore-headed Buchaneers, and perhaps it is not generous to take from them so small a crumb of comfort in their present hour of despondency.

### For the Spy.

### LINE S.

Suggested on seeing a company of Emigrants leave the Norwich & Worcester Depot, for Kansas, June, 1856.

The last farewell is said, the last echo hushed,  
Of each fond mother's lingering step,  
Who, having laid at Freedom's shrine, perhaps,  
The dearest idol of her heart, and hope  
Of her declining years, now homeward wends  
Her solitary way.

Sad mothers, dry those tears;  
Not he, who for the love of God and truth,  
And souls immortal; having pledged to heaven,  
His life, and, heedless of all minor loves,  
Goes forth to toil, 'mid the forsaken Druse,  
Or seeks, on India's sultry shores, to lead  
Her sibilant sons, from Ganges' unavailing wave,  
To the pure rill that flows at Jesus' feet,  
A holier mission bears, than these your sons.  
Trusting in him, who holds in his right hand  
The destiny of men, of nations,  
And of worlds: nor yet o'erlooks or fails to bless

The humbled soul, that's fair to do him wrong  
They go, undaunted go, 'mid threatening storms  
And perils rife, by sea and land, to bless,  
With institutions free, and equal rights,  
And righteous laws, the land, else blackened, cursed  
Beyond what man with least excuse to feel  
Or claim himself a man, may see, nor feel  
Indignant shame.

They go, to plant, where hearts  
Of baser mould, are fair all poisonous weeds  
Should grow. "The Tree of Liberty!" Fair tree,  
Beneath whose sheltering boughs, the ransomed  
Captive sings—scarcely sings, his perils o'er,  
His wrongs redress'd! Fair, lovely tree, whose leaves  
Are for the nations' healing given—desire  
Of every land!

With hands injured to toil,  
To rigorous, self-reliant toil,  
And hearts, whose every pulse responsive beats,  
To all that's lofty, love'y, pure; with minds  
Enlarged, enriched, refined, with nature's gifts  
And learning's lore, they go, impelled by hope—  
Oh! soul inspiring hope, to mold and form,  
In like proportions fair, the destiny  
Of generations yet unborn.

And generations yet unborn, as, pensively,  
At evening's hour, they count their perils o'er,  
Or proudly point the travelers wondering eye  
To stately towers and halls, whose Science sheds  
Her lucid rays, of all healing and religion  
Vig, to elevate and purify,  
Or sweetly sing, by fountains clear, or meath  
The hallowed shade, domestic songs, of freedom,  
Happiness, and love, shall speak their names,  
With many a grateful tear, and call them blessed.

Brave band of young Apostles,  
In virtue's armor bright,  
Go, wrestle with the Powers that be,  
Go, raise the beacon light.  
And, when before the mercy seat,  
We seek in humble prayer,  
Rich blessings on our much loved land,  
We'll not forget you there.

Worcester.

LAVINA H. HARMOR.

## THE LIBERATOR.

No Union with Slaveholders.

BOSTON, JULY 25, 1856.

### SPIRIT OF THE SOUTH.

Sentiments offered in brutal and dishonored South Carolina on the last 4th of July:—

By T. C. Trott. South Carolina: She Brooks no insult, and when one is offered, she resents it in a Summary manner.

By Col. J. B. Earnest. 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!

By Charles Pinckney, Esq. Our Representatives in Congress: They have sustained the dignity of their own position, and, by their public virtue, insolence stands chastised and fanaticism rebuked.

By James Salvo. Kansas: It has risen, like the ghost of Banquo, to see the eyeballs of rampant fanaticism; but, ere they clutch it, they must cross many Brooks, whose caney growth will resist them.

By T. B. Hertz, M. D. Kansas: Clouds and darkness attend her dawn. May they not prefigure a brilliant meridian, when, as a bright particular star, she enters the Southern constellation!

By the Chair. Hon. David R. Atchison: Faithful to the South, and fearless in defence of her institutions, he has earned our admiration by his courage and patriotism, and our gratitude by his kindness to Carolinians.

JUDGE DOUGLAS: The able and faithful defender of the rights of the South under the Constitution.

PRESIDENT PIERCE: The first choice of South Carolina for re-election to the Presidency. "Well done, thou good and faithful servant."

## Boston Journal.

FRIDAY EVENING, JULY 25, 1856.

POLITICAL. Wm. J. Patterson, Esq., of the Parkville Luminary, who is now lecturing in Massachusetts on Kansas affairs, in behalf of the fund for the aid of the people of Kansas, has been invited to address the Fremont Club in Marlborough on the issues in the campaign and the candidates for the Presidency. He was a hunker Democrat up to the commencement of the Border Ruffianism; now he is for Fremont, and giving them "Jessie's." A few such campaign speakers as he would make great havoc in the already thinned ranks of the bogus Democracy.

AN AMUSING INCIDENT IN KANSAS. The Kansas correspondent of the St. Louis *Republican* relates the following incident:

"Quite an amusing incident occurred the other night. When Gen. Richardson heard that Lane was coming through this country with an armed force, he determined to intercept him, and gave notice to the militia of this district to hold themselves in readiness to respond in a moment to his call; and he stationed a line of videttes at convenient points, so that Lane could not pass by night or day without his being apprised of it. One of the points at which it was supposed Lane's forces would bivouac, was Cottonwood Springs, near which a vidette was posted. About twilight he discovered at the spring a camp fire, and, upon closer scrutiny, discovered a tent or two, and persons moving about. Supposing it to be Lane's army, he dashed away at full speed to Gen. Richardson's residence and made report. The Gen. started dispatches and expresses to every town and prominent place in the county, and men were riding at a furious rate all night, and the whole people up in arms; and just before the dawn of day the general marched to Cottonwood Springs, and surrounded it with several hundred men, and made ready for a *coup de main*, when the coming light revealed to them two Indian wigwams, containing about a dozen friendly Indians. The forces went to their several homes rather worried and provoked, but yesterday it was heartily laughed over at the *bar-rooms*."

## Daily Citizen and News.

Lowell, Friday, July 25, 1856.

**KANSAS AID.** The sum of \$120 was subscribed in aid of Kansas, at a meeting in Marlboro' on Tuesday evening. The sum of \$171.50 has been sent to the New York Tribune office, by subscribers to that paper to be devoted to Kansas. It is called the Tribune Kansas Fund, and the proprietors of the paper nobly add \$1000 to it.

## KENNEBEC JOURNAL.

AUGUSTA, FRIDAY, JULY 25, 1856.

The violence committed in Kansas, or at Washington, is not an issue in this State—they have been *universally, earnestly, and heartily condemned* by all.

[Bangor Journal.]

Since these outrages in Washington and in Kansas have been so "*universally, earnestly, and heartily condemned*" by all, it is quite likely that the Bangor Journal will point out the resolution of condemnation passed by the Convention which nominated James Buchanan. We have not been able to find such a resolve in the platform, though there is one that attempts to brand the "Free-State men" of Kansas as rebels. The Bangor Journal will please remember, by the way, that the murderer *Herbert*, the author of one of the gross Washington outrages, was a delegate to this Convention, and helped to nominate James Buchanan.

Will the Journal further inform the public what action was taken by the "Border Ruffian" State Convention of Maine, recently assembled in its own city, to mark their condemnation of the outrages in Washington and Kansas? We remember that GEORGE SHEP-LELEY blackguarded and vilified NOAH BARKER, a worthy citizen of Maine, who has been in Kansas, attached to the Free-State party; and SHEPARD CAREY thought SENATOR SUMNER got no more than he might have expected and deserved from Bully Brooks; but we heard nothing in condemnation of the outrages, and the resolves adopted by the Convention do not allude to them.

But further—the Editor of the Journal himself was chiefly instrumental in getting up a meeting in Norumbega Hall, on the evening after the Border Ruffian Democracy had got through with their proceedings. The first

speaker at this meeting was a Mr. Jewett, who had been out to Kansas, according to his own statement, and who testified that "all the outrages were grossly exaggerated, and were mere black Republican lies. That there was nothing out there demanding special interference or condemnation." Now if Mr. Jewett testified truly, the Journal would seem to be wasting its sympathy in declaring that the outrages were such as were "*universally, earnestly, and heartily condemned*" by all." The Journal must teach Mr. Jewett and its other allies to tell the same tale it does itself. Falsehoods to gain anything like decent currency must be consistent in all their parts.

### 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 like 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 plundered enough to make it pay. These guerillas 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 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 charity of a few sympathizing friends got off down the river."

### Gross Outrages upon the Quaker Citizens of Kansas.

A letter from a reliable gentleman, dated Big Spring, Kansas, July 6th, contains the following item:

"Yesterday a Free State man named Hudson, a QUAKER, who lived a few miles from Leecompton, while returning from Topeka, was met near home 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."

Another letter from the same source says:

"A Quaker who came to this Territory from Pennsylvania, and bought a good claim which, he is industriously improving, was met last week by a party of Missouri marauders, and treated in a shameful manner. Upon acknowledging, after being questioned, that he wished to see Kansas made a Free State, they took him from his horse and gave him a dreadful beating—leaving him almost helpless.

Such outrages as these have become so common that they excite but little attention here, though it is not until lately that the Ruffians commenced maltreating the Quakers. They swear now that they will drive them all from the Territory."

There is quite a colony of Quakers in Kansas, who went from Ohio and Pennsylvania. Their sympathy with the Free State cause, has placed them under the ban, and the Missouri Ruffians vow they shall be exterminated. One paper in the pro-slavery interest on the Missouri border, says:

"These Quaker scoundrels are all abolitionists at heart, and we advise our friends the "Regulators" to take them in hand, and send the shad bellied villains out of the Territory. If they persist in remaining, let a fancy dress of tar and feathers be administered, and if that don't suffice, let the master be shown them, with an assurance that their necks shall fill it. We have no occasion for such cattle in Kansas, which is bound to be made a Slave State just so sure as James Buchanan is elected President, which he will be."

Such outrageous conduct towards a class of people so peaceful and honest as the Quakers proverbially are, will excite fresh indignation against the spirit of propagandism which seems resolved to force slavery on Kansas at the point of the bayonet and with the blood of Free State settlers.

We have understood that friend SAMUEL TAYLOR of Fairfield, who, to the surprise of many has thus far refused to co-operate with the Free Kansas party of Maine, has frequently cited the case of the Quakers in Kansas as proof that "Free State" men could get along well enough if they would but mind their own business. We think the above details of outrages committed, and still farther outrages threatened, against the peaceful men of his own denomination, will convince friend Taylor that the pro-slavery outrages in Kansas "spare neither age, sex, nor condition," but ruthlessly strike down any man of any faith, who stands opposed to inflicting on the Territory of Kansas the curse of human slavery. The peaceful and inoffensive life of a Quaker, even, will not protect him so long as he stands prepared to vote against introducing slavery into the Territory.

Such facts as the above we hope and believe will cause friend Taylor yet to review his position and to throw the weight of his influence with the Republican party, which, by the use of that peaceful and potent weapon—the ballot-box—is resolved to undo and repair the great wrongs entailed upon the country by the pro-slavery democracy.

### A Coincidence of Dates and Events.

BANGOR, ME., July 1, 1856.

A Convention of the *self-styled* Democracy met and endorsed the nomination of James Buchanan. He was pronounced to be entirely sound on all the great questions. The principal speakers were GEO. F. SHEPLEY, SHEPARD CAREY, JAMES W. BRADBURY, MOSES McDONALD, and WYMAN B. S. MOOR. All the speakers except Mr. Bradbury were excessive in their abuse of the CLERGY, without regard to sect or denomination. Shepard Carey even intimated that ministers of a certain kind would not be allowed to come into his region. These remarks were loudly applauded by the whole Convention.

WESTPORT, MISSOURI, July 1, 1856.

A Convention of the pure and unadulterated "Border Ruffians" met to ratify the nomination of James Buchanan. They resolved with great unanimity that he was sound on all the great questions, especially the "goose ques-

The principal speakers were DAVID R. ATCHISON, B. F. SERINGFELLOW, "SHERIFF JONES" MARSHAL DONELSON, and "BULLY BUFORD." Every one of these speakers, (there was no Mr. Bradbury to except us above,) denounced and abused the Clergy; and Atchison and Jones swore that "if these d—l lousy Methodist preachers did not leave off their talk, they would all be tarred and feathered—and then hanged."

From the above it will be seen that the "Democracy of Maine" and the "Democracy of Missouri" stand shoulder to shoulder in support of Buchanan and a denunciation of the Clergy. It is the special pride of the Missouri Democracy to be called "Border Ruffians." Surely then no more appropriate title could be given to their brethren in Maine, than to style them the "BORDER RUFFIAN DEMOCRACY." That is the name, therefore, by which we shall uniformly designate them.

## Bath Daily Tribune.

FRIDAY, MORN., JULY 25, 1856.

**HOW TO RAISE AN ELECTIONEERING FUND.**—If you are the editor of a paper, tell your readers funds are wanted for "bleeding Kansas." If the readers bleed well, Fremont stock, under the influence of a plethoric money market, will go up. The best way to stop Kansas bleeding, is to pass the Pacification Bill, which can be done without levying taxes, prouiscuously, to buy up votes for Fremont.

## Whig and Courier.

Wheeler & Lynde, Proprietors.

FRIDAY, JULY 25, 1856.

### Testimony of an Eye Witness.

Some of the speakers at the recent hunker Conventions in this city undertook to make a wholesale denial of the truth of the reported outrages in Kansas. The people of the free States cannot be made to disbelieve the facts, however, in view of the abundant testimony every day received from that Territory. The following is only one of hundreds of similar private letters written to friends in New England. It was written by Mr. J. H. Gould, now with the New Haven Company at Waubonsa, K. T., and is addressed to his brother, in New York, who sends it to the *Dover (Piscataquis) Observer* for publication:

ROME, (N. Y.) July 7, 1856.

Mr. Eds.—Dear Sir: You are at liberty to insert the following letter, if you think it worthy a place in your columns. It was written and sent to me by my brother, J. H. Gould, now with the New Haven Company, located at Waubonsa, Kansas Territory. His letter does not seem to corroborate the statements so prevalent in many political papers, viz: that all or nearly all the reports from Kansas are exaggerated. Let the reader judge for himself

LAWRENCE, (K. T.) June, 1856.

Dear Brother: I will not attempt to give you an account of the way the people here are treated. But to all you hear and read (and the worst too I might justifiably say) add one half, and you may have some idea of the state of affairs here, and what we have to encounter. Is this not strong, you will say? But when men are shot for no crime whatever, and left to moulder to dust, lying upon the earth as we would not let an ox lie, is it not beyond anything you read East? There are now at least nine men in the Territory who have been shot down, and left to lie and rot like dogs, or to furnish food for vultures, and besides, two more are hanging by the neck; too horrible to tell; and all in this boasted land of Liberty, in the year 1856. It may be my lot next. Let

it come, and you hear that I am hung, you may know the deed was a costly one to the perpetrators—for I, and we all, do the same, have our pocket furnished as it never was in New England. One of our company has had a rope round his neck, and another was threatened, but he told them to pitch in if they thought they could do it (about forty of them)—and they backed out.

It is entirely unsafe for men to pass to and from the Territory. But notwithstanding all these things, there is nothing that would drive me from the Territory, save my friends in the East. I have a love for this country that I have for no other—there is nothing superior to it in our country. We travelled last summer in several of the Western States and I admire them much, especially Illinois and Southern Wisconsin, but so far as I can judge, they do not compare with this in any one thing.

Yours truly, J. H. GOULD.  
R. B. GOULD, (Waubonsa, K. T.  
No. 8 Spruce St. New York. Both of Atkinson, Piscataquis County, Maine.

## Vermont Patriot.

"We go where Democratic principles lead the way;—when they disappear, we cease to follow."

### MONTPELIER:

FRIDAY MORNING, JULY 25, 1856.

**THE "KANSAS GAME"**—POLITICAL CONFIDENCEMEN.—Almost everybody is familiar with the "drop games" practised by the sharpers on their verdant victims, but these are all thrown into the shade by the "Kansas game." Thousands of dollars have been collected during the past year in every part of the country by "generals," "colonels," "captains," &c., from Kansas, and resident republican leaders, under the pretence that they were to be given to the widows and orphans of free-State men who it was falsely represented had been "murdered in cold blood" in that Territory. Not one dollar of this money has ever reached Kansas.—Such is the testimony of well-informed men in the Territory whose respectability even the *New York Evening Post* vouches for.—*Rochester Union.*

### The Democracy the true friends of Kansas.

The utmost scrutiny of the black republicans is challenged to find, in any number of the Patriot, a single word or sentiment in support of the odious disqualifying laws of the Kansas legislature. We have repeatedly, over and over again, expressed our emphatic condemnation of those laws. They were passed for no worthy end, solely and simply to harrass abolition agitators in the territory, without the remotest intention of ever enforcing them; and the attempt to enforce them has never been made. Our position, and the position of the democratic party, in relation to the Kansas legislature, has been, and daily is, misrepresented.—No man in the democratic party, south or north, approves of those laws—we mean, of course, the laws requiring oath to be made to support the fugitive slave law, and abstinence from expressing ones free opinion of slavery, as qualifications of franchise. And if anybody at the south does sustain them, such persons will be found to be those who, now their repeal is proposed by the democratic Senate, are arrayed with the black republicans in opposition to their repeal!

The people may well ask, why is this?—And the answer is ready: Simply to continue an agitation, wicked in its conception, destructive in its effects, and hellish in its ultimate designs. By this mode and no other they hope to elect their presidential candidate—without the Kansas agitation

Fremont could not get the vote of a single State in the Union. So, then, parties stand thus: The Democracy feel keenly the injustice of some of the enactments of the Kansas legislature, and have passed a bill through the Senate providing for their repeal; they, knowing outrages upon the citizens and violence upon the ballot-boxes have been perpetrated, heretofore, in this identical bill provide for a pure ballot-box, and require the employment of the entire military force of the government to guard the people and the polls against a recurrence of outrage and violence; in the same bill, too, fearing that frauds might be committed by the ordinary clerks of elections, provision is made for the appointment of Judges of Elections, the board to consist of five men to be selected from the various parties of the country, abolition as well as Democratic. This, fellow citizens, is what the democrats propose to do. And how are we met by that blatant black republican, disunion, Fremont party, which has, for months past, pretended to desire just such arrangements made?

Let us see. First, they oppose all our honest efforts to restore peace to Kansas; they urge the Topeka constitution upon congress, an instrument made by rebels they threaten to withhold appropriations for the support of the legitimate authorities of Kansas, appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, and thus stop the wheels of government. They will have their way, which is revolutionary and treasonable, in ridding Kansas of any embarrassments, or that territory may sink in a sea of fraternal blood! Now, why is this? The reason is obvious. By these means they agitate the people and by agitation they hope to elect Fremont.

The public eye is beginning to open, we know; and there are cheering signs that the black republican scheme will utterly fail. There is some hope, even, that the Senate bill will pass the House, and in that manner the disturbing elements be hushed.—Every good citizen—each man who does not desire to produce a dissolution of this Union of States, when he comes to understand how the matters in issue between the Democratic and the "republican" party are narrowed down to UNION or DISUNION, will pray for the settlement of this bitter controversy in the manner proposed by the democratic party.

**A BAND OF "SHRIEKERS."**—The editor of the *Maquoketa (Iowa) Sentinel* thus describes Lane's company of emigrants for Kansas, whom he saw encamped at Iowa City:

On either side of the road on which they were encamped, could be seen strewed over the ground, the very scum and off-scouring of creation—men who know no law—men who have not the common decency of the brute—the counterpart of desperadoes, robbers and villains of whom we read in history, and who infested the Upper Mississippi valley and were known as the banditti of the prairie. Here on all sides could be seen the "pious" teachings of Henry Ward Beecher—men with countenances bloated, eyes bleared; cards, those "passports to hell," were seen in the hands of groupes, accompanied with the vilest blasphemy; and as they turned their *trump* with a horrible oath, mingled with the dismal yells of their debauched companions, the poisonous exhal-

ations rising from their fetid breaths but too plainly told that these lovers of "Kansas freedom" were but the licentious *pot house loafers* raised in the worst perils and sinks of infamy. They talk of *freeing Kansas!* A more degraded, "ruffian" looking band of beings who would claim themselves to be human, our eyes never before gazed upon—all armed to the teeth with a Sharpe's rifle, bowie knife, six shooter, 'flask,' &c.

## Granite State Whig.

Lebanon, Friday, July 25, 1856.

FROM KANSAS.—Dates from Leavenworth are to the 11th inst. Gen. Persifer F. Smith had arrived, and a deputation had waited on him asking protection for their lives and property against the armed marauders from the south of the various river towns. Smith's reply was, that he had no authority to grant such protection; that the armed bands alluded to were duly enrolled militia, acting under color of law, and that the people had no redress excepting from the civil law. Was there ever any thing so contemptibly outrageous as the course of the government in this matter?—*Providence Jour.*

And how long is this horrible state of things to be endured! How long are those poor free State settlers who have gone into that national territory on the invitation and under the express protection of the general government, to be thus outlawed by that government and subjected to the unchecked, ferocious persecutions of foreign bandits, who are determined to drive them out of the Territory or into their graves! What is heaven's name have these poor men done, that they should be given over, protectionless, to their fiendish persecutors, by the government whose laws they have never violated? Why is Smith there with government troops, except to protect the "lives and property" of American citizens? Is he there only to strengthen and protect the foreign ruffians who have turned that peaceful Territory into a hell of civil strife and outrage, and made it forbidden ground to our Northern freemen? Are our Northern freemen to stand idly by and see their brethren who have gone to Kansas—a national territory—thus outlawed, persecuted, stripped of their property and rights and driven from their honest homes by lawless violence, without raising a finger for their protection? Smith, the tool of Executive tyranny tells these poor settlers when they beg for protection, that they can have no protection from him—from government—but only "from the civil law," which law is construed and executed by such men as Shannon, Lecompte, Donaldson and Jones, the very creatures who have long, in defiance of all law, been hunting them to ruin and death. What horrible mockery of all mercy and justice! What unparalleled despotism for a free Republic! And shall it be endured? Shall this accursed plot of tyrants and tyranny triumph, in the mardering or driving out of the Territory all of the free settlers who have gone there to establish homes for themselves and their children? Shall liberty and law and all the dearest Constitutional rights of American citizens be thus nullified and trampled out by bloody tyranny? We say no! Rather than this, give us revolution, give us the armed intervention of freemen sworn to protect the constitutional rights of innocent, persecuted freemen, or die in the attempt. Better death than a triumph of tyranny over our constitution and liberties.

## PROVIDENCE JOURNAL.

FRIDAY MORNING, JULY 25, 1856.

### Mr. Durfee's Speech on the attack upon Mr. Sumner.

Mr. Durfee. I do not propose, Mr. Speaker, to address the House with any view to influence the vote of another; but representing, as I do, a constituency of which any man on this floor might well be proud, I wish merely to give a reason for my own vote—to them and to this House—and this can be fully done in a few words.

The Senate have sent down to this House a complaint, that the member from South Carolina [Mr. Brooks] has, for words spoken in debate in that body, stalked into the Senate Chamber, shortly after the Senate had adjourned for the day, and assaulted and beaten a Senator whilst sitting in his seat there.

Every one will agree that the body thus complaining to us, whether considered in itself or in its relations to this House, or whether we look at the scrupulous mode in which it has, in this matter, respected the privileges of this House, is entitled to have its complaint fairly heard, and promptly and effectually dealt with. Truly considered in comparison with the dignity of the Senate of the United States, wantonly violated in comparison with its high privileges arrogantly set at naught, the member from South Carolina, either in his personal or representative character, fades into utter insignificance, his very existence, political or natural, when thus viewed, being but of slight importance.

The accusation, then, is made by a body to whom we are bound to attend, in a matter deemed by that body of the gravest import, and in a manner calculated to win our utmost observance of its privileges, by the scrupulous attention shown by them to the privileges of this House.

But, sir, it is said that we have no power to deal with the accused, because his offence was not committed in the presence of this House, whose power is said to be limited by the fifth section of the first article of the Constitution "to the punishment of its members for disorderly behavior, in the sense of a violation of its own rules of proceedings."

Now, sir, every one would regret that such a rule of interpretation should be adopted, even if forced upon us by the language of the Constitution itself, since by it the Houses would be deprived of their power of self-defence, invaluable not only to their members, but to the country. The argument proves too much, since it would deprive, if construed as contended, the Houses from punishing any but members, and confine the meaning of the words, "disorderly behavior," to a disobedience, on the part of a member, to some precise rule of order.

The evil of this construction is, that it treats a constitutional provision as though it were a clause of a petty municipal code, and construes it in the same way that a country-court lawyer would construe the words of a dog law. No doubt each House may determine the rules of its proceedings—may punish its members for disorderly behavior, and with the concurrence of two thirds may expel a member; but what is "disorderly behavior," and for what causes a two-thirds majority may expel, is left by the Constitution to be defined by the general law, and to the discretion necessarily reposed in such bodies over their members, for the preservation of the peace.

The privileges of each House, and the power of the Houses to protect those privileges by their jurisdiction over their own members, inhere in them from necessity to enable them to perform their duties and protect their very existence. They are as accurately defined as any rights whatsoever by the general law, and may as easily be ascertained from it, and need no more be expressly conferred by the Constitution, by act of Congress, or declared by the rules of either House, than the dignity of the Federal court, and the inherent power of such court to assert that dignity by punishing for contempt.

From the earliest days of the Government the power for which I contend has been recognized and acted upon by both Houses as an existing power, and the question is no longer an open one. Indeed, the Senate, by their action, so treat it; and we have the opinion of that body, as well as the precedents they refer to in their report, to show us that we have the power which we claim to have over our members to punish them for violations of the privileges of the other House. We have, then, the power to punish. The next question is, has the offence charged been proved? I think, sir, I need not occupy the time of the House in the consideration of this question—a question, I understand, that is answered by the admission of the member from South Carolina himself.

What ought, then—the complaint being made by a body to whom we are bound respectfully to listen, in a manner the most respectful of our privileges, we having the power to punish, and the offence being made out, proved, confessed—what ought to be the measure of the punishment? In arguing this question, we should consider—

The person by whom committed: a member of the House, bound to know and respect the privileges of the Senate.

The person upon whom committed: a Senator representing the interests of one of the States of this Union.

The cause of the assault: by the statement of the member himself, for words spoken in debate, uttered on the floor of the Senate.

The place where committed: the Senate Chamber itself; during the temporary adjournment in the session of the Senate, and of Congress.

The manner of the assault: in violation of what is generally understood as fair play, not to say chivalry, everywhere regarded, even by the most humble orders of men.

The violence of the battery, and its continuance by repeated blows.

The natural, actual, and, therefore, presumed intended effect of such battery upon the Senator, disabling him from the performance of his duties for a long period, thus depriving his State of his senatorial services, and endangering his life, or, far worse, his reason.

Mr. Speaker, the hand upon the dial warns me that I have to expect but a few minutes more the attention of the House, and that I must bring my brief and disconnected remarks to a close. Time will not allow me to follow gentlemen in any description of that lamentable scene on the floor of the Senate, where the youthful Senator from Massachusetts, for words wrung from him by the insults of years, was ruthlessly stricken down by the hand of violence.

Sir, not among the dubious compromises of the Constitution, but among its clearest provisions, we find those which secure freedom of speech and immunity to our Senators and Representatives from personal violence for words spoken in debate, or for being even questioned. If the guarantees of our Constitution and laws are thus to be trampled down, what security is there? This thing, gentlemen of the South, must be purged from the Houses of Congress, or civilized and Christian men cannot be sent here to represent the North.

Mr. Speaker, I am but a young member of this House. For almost the first time I have now trespassed upon your attention. I trust I have not marked my debut upon this floor with vituperation. I consider it unworthy the dignity of this body to do so. As to the member from South Carolina, personally, we were friendly until this occurrence of the sad affair we have under consideration. He was one of the last men I should have expected to be called upon to censure in this way. I would not apply an unnecessary word to injure the feeling of one who I hope and trust must deeply regret this occurrence. But, sir, I should be an unfaithful representative of myself, my constituency, and of my home, if I had said less, or if I should fail to brand it by my vote in favor of the resolutions reported by the committee.

### House of Representatives.

The House went into Committee of the Whole on the appropriation bills.

Mr. Barbour moved to amend the clause appropriating \$3,275,000 for the pay of the army, by adding a disapproval of the code of alleged laws of Kansas, and the manner they are enforced; expressly declaring, that until they shall be confirmed by Congress, no part of the Federal military forces shall be employed for their enforcement; nor shall any citizen of Kansas be compelled to act as a posse comitatus of any officer acting as marshal or sheriff in the territory.

Mr. Phelps raised a question that such an amendment could not, by the rules, be embraced in the bill.

The Chairman, Mr. Lister, decided otherwise, and on appeal, was sustained by the committee by 74 against 54.

Mr. Barbour said his amendment was to stop revolution by preventing the reinforcement of laws passed by usurpation, and disgraceful and shameful in their character. Never before had the army been employed to arrest or disperse citizens presumed to be guilty of violating sham laws.

Mr. Phelps replied that the amendment proposed that there shall be no laws for the government of 20,000 or 30,000 people, and would close the courts against injuries in civil cases. The army had been sent to Kansas in obedience to the application of the free State men, for their protection.

Mr. Stephens did not think Congress had the power to control the President in the manner proposed. The President being commander-in-chief of the army, they could not impose conditions.—The legislature, nothing having been disclosed to the contrary, was legal, and its laws must be enforced until abolished or changed by the proper authority. If he had his way he should withdraw the army from Kansas, believing the people capable of self-government. He did not want troops to enforce laws.

Mr. Giddings declared that Missourians, and not the people of Kansas, framed those laws. It was a



not to be permitted in a republican government; a despotism never before known. He was saying that the army should be withdrawn and not employed to disperse persons peaceably assembling or arrest them on the mere allegation of offence.

Mr. Whitfield for once in his life agreed with Mr. Giddings that the army should be withdrawn. He for a long time had been anxious for this, and would not give a farthing for the law which could not be sustained by the people. He denied the right of Congress to repeal the laws of Kansas. The Supreme Court of the United States was the proper tribunal to pronounce upon their legality. But for inflammatory speeches made here by Northern men, Kansas would now be as quiet as any part of the country. The Missourians, as charged, were not responsible for the disturbances.

Mr. Savage said it was the duty of the President to enforce the law and suppress all insurrection, hence the propriety of keeping military forces in Kansas for the preservation of peace. He characterized the object of the amendment to seize a power which Congress has no right to exercise, and as part of a game to obstruct the operation of the laws.

Mr. Sherman said when he was in Westport he saw a large force of armed Missourians taking up the line of march for Kansas to enforce the pretended laws. These things are now done. Massachusetts men and others from free States are prevented from travelling over the highways by Missourians and excluded from the territories. Mr. Whitfield started with the company from Westport. He saw him go. In answer to a question by Mr. Whitfield he said that Whitfield informed him at that time that he was going over for peaceful purposes to prevent a fight.

Mr. Whitfield explained at length to the effect that he did not go with the Missouri force but went with a small party to prevent difficulty, nothing more.

Mr. McMullen thought the pending proposition was a direct attack on the executive department, with which the House had no right to interfere.

Mr. Cumbuck said the amendment is to prevent the enforcement of laws never passed by the people of Kansas. He was glad too that the opposite side of the House intended to place themselves on the ground of carrying out the original plot of repealing the Missouri compromise to make Kansas a Slave State. Free men have a right to go there in such numbers as they choose.

Mr. Florence indignantly denied that he had voted to repeal the Missouri restriction for the purpose of making Kansas a Slave State. The gentleman from Indiana should not so accuse members of improper motives.

Mr. Cox did not approve of all the laws but wanted them enforced until repealed or modified, hence he would keep an army there until the people return to a sense of justice and propriety.

Mr. Kennet attributed the troubles to a deliberate determination found among certain members of Congress pending the Nebraska Kansas bill to make Kansas a free State. The adoption of the amendment would leave the territories in a condition of discord and civil war.

Mr. Stephens, replying to Mr. Cumbuck, said as a Southern and National man, it was not his object in voting for a repeal of the Missouri restriction to make Kansas a slave State. He wished to leave the people to settle their own institutions.

Mr. Crane made a similar avowal. Mr. Quitman, in condemning the amendment, did not believe those who spoke in favor of it would dare to usurp a power not granted by the constitution, by assuming the functions of the judiciary and depriving the President of the duty imposed on him by that institution.

Mr. Wakeman contended that Congress can repeal, not only part, but all the laws of Kansas. The constitution gave ample power. The Senate has so declared in its Kansas bill.

Mr. Seward said Mr. Wakeman stood forth as an open violator of the constitution. He was opposed to the withdrawal of the forces, because, if this was done, civil war would forthwith ensue.

Mr. Millson deprecated the introduction of the amendment.

Mr. Simmons advocated it on constitutional grounds.

Mr. Stanton moved an amendment declaring the laws of Kansas null and void. He would stand by this even at the hazard of the loss of the bill. (Cries of agreed.)

Messrs. Letcher and Bowie earnestly opposed these proceedings.

Mr. Stanton's amendment was agreed to by 67 against 56.

Mr. Barbour's proposition thus amended, was adopted by 72 against 57. The House has yet to vote on the bill.

The Committee then rose.

Mr. Washburne, of Maine, from the Committee on Elections, reported a resolution declaring Mr. Whitfield not elected to a seat, and that Mr. Reeder be admitted to the seat as Delegate from Kansas.

Mr. Washburne gave notice that he will call up

the resolution on Wednesday next. Recess till 7 o'clock.

**Evening Session.**—Mr. Clark condemned the repeal of the Missouri compromise as the source of the strife and heart burning prevalent throughout the country and the bloodshed in Kansas.

Mr. Campbell, of Kentucky, gave notice of his intention to speak of the corruptness of the government from the period of Mr. Buchanan's connection with it, holding himself responsible in or out of the capitol for what he may utter.

Mr. Brenton argued against slavery extension, and exposed the inconsistencies of the Democratic platform on that subject.

Mr. Branch, while defending Mr. Buchanan, said that the continuance of Mr. Fillmore in the presidential contest must very greatly increase Mr. Fremont's chances of election. In support of this opinion he quoted the N. Y. Courier & Enquirer, and Tribune. He reviewed in condemnation Know Nothingism in the North and South, charging that in the former section it is allied with abolitionism.

Mr. Evans opposed fillibusterism, replying to the speech of Mr. Quitman, and condemning the doctrines of Mr. Buchanan, as avowed in the Ostend Conference.

Adjourned.



NEW YORK, FRIDAY, JULY 25, 1856.

For the Journal of Commerce.

I have frequently heard it stated as the doctrine of the Fremont party, "non-interference with slavery where it now exists, and opposition to its extension to territories now free." Does not the statement belie itself? Are the territories regarded as free, when viewed in their relation to the whole United States? Are they not the property of the South, equally with the North? If so, may they not with equal propriety be called slave territories, in which the whole family, North and South, are equally interested, and neither section has a right to say they shall or shall not be free?

There can be out one just and fair view in the premises. Let the territories be settled by all who choose to go there, and let the actual settlers, when they shall have had time to know that they are such, decide the question for themselves. For Northern men to say that they will not submit to Southern dictation, is simply ridiculous. How long is it since all the then States were Southern, in the sense in which the now Southern States are regarded as such? And when ministers of the Gospel express such sentiments as did one in my hearing, a few days since, that he would rather wade through blood of civil war knee deep, than to see Kansas a slave State, is it time the Northern extremists began to inquire into the right and justice of the question, and if possible, look at all its facts, lest they sell themselves to a worse power than that which they now so vehemently oppose.

UP-TOWN SUBSCRIBER.

### The Semi-Weekly Times.

KANSAS AFFAIRS.

Letter from Gov. Robinson to Col. Sumner upon the State of Affairs in Kansas.

CAMP OF U. S. CAVALRY, NEAR LEICOMPTON, KANSAS, Monday, July 7, 1856.

COL. E. V. SUMNER: Dear Sir—In my conversation with you on the 5th inst., relative to the outrage at Topeka on the 4th, and the general partisan character of the General Government, I intended to cast no reflection or censure upon yourself as an officer under orders. On the contrary, I have reason to believe, that in this last act of the tragedy, as in all others, you have strictly obeyed the orders of your superior, the Commander-in-Chief, and could not have done otherwise, unless you had acted either against orders or without them, or have resigned your commission.

Whatever judgment the people of Kansas or the country may pass upon the conduct of the administrators of Government, or I should rather say, administrators of outrage, in Kansas, all parties must concede to you, personally, the character of an honorable, impartial, highminded and efficient officer; notwithstanding, in the discharge of your official duty, your superiors incur the censure of persons of all shades of political faith.

The causes of complaint the people of Kansas have against the President of the United States are many and various.

He has appointed officers, Executive and Judicial, for the Territory, who, with very few exceptions, have countenanced and aided the foreign invasion of the ballot-box, and the foreign mobs, robberies, murders, fire and sword, preying upon the bona fide settlers of Kansas. The President himself refused to interpose for our protection, saying he had no power to act in our behalf. When, however, his Governor refused, for cause, to recognize the body elected by citizens of Missouri, as the Legislature of Kansas, and would have made

their enactments a dead letter, the President could find power to act, and removed him on a false charge.

His successor, on his way to the Territory, told the people of Missouri that he would enforce the laws of their Legislature upon the people of Kansas, and from the first has acted either the part of a tool of men in Missouri or a violent partisan.

He avoided the settlers of the Territory, refusing the hospitalities of the citizens, and declining their invitation to address them as he had done the people of Missouri.

Last Fall, when the people of another State wished to destroy Lawrence, the Governor, on a pretence that a difficulty had occurred ten miles south of the devoted city, issued his proclamation for his militia to turn out and encamp over against the town, which had taken no part in any difficulty, and in which no legal process of any kind had been attempted to be served by the Sheriff, and in which no crime had been committed.

But Lawrence was the successful rival of Leocompton, and contained some Free-State men within it, and it must be destroyed, and President PIERCE'S Government must be the instrument of destruction. Finding, however, the public determined to protect themselves from mobs, official or otherwise, and having no legal action against the town or its citizens, he concluded to wait for a more convenient season. Where a two-fold object is to be accomplished, namely, the destruction of a rival town and the crushing out of political opponents, the occasion is not long delayed. The President comes to their aid, (having suddenly learned that he has power to act,) by a special message and proclamation informing the settlers of Kansas, and the rest of mankind, that he indorses the Draconian code of the Legislature, elected by the people of Missouri and its officers, and, whether legal or not, the Army and Navy of the United States and the militia of the several States shall be employed, if necessary, to sustain these officers and laws. Moreover, he more than intimates that it would not be out of character to have some indictments found for treason.

This is sufficient authority for all that follows. A regiment of suitable characters is enrolled in the extreme South, armed, it is said, with Bibles and Sharpe's rifles, revolvers, bowie-knives, &c., and arrives just in time to be enrolled as the militia of the Territory, and to be used as the posse of the Marshal and Sheriff.

In the meantime the President's Judge instructs his partisan Jury, selected by the President's Marshal or his Deputy, to indict certain characters for treason and the like.

The Jury, themselves instruments of the party, find true bills against certain persons for treason, because they resolved to defend themselves and their families from a mob; and against the hotel at Lawrence as a nuisance, because its walls, not then complete, had sheltered some people while preparing to defend themselves from mob violence and because Leocompton had no hotel as good; and against the newspapers of Lawrence, also as nuisances, because they justified the people in their preparations for self-defence, and because they exposed the villainy of the President's laws and officials, and also they were an evidence of prosperity which Leocompton could not brook in a rival town. This much accomplished, now for the execution.

The arrest of those indicted for treason is an easy matter, as no one proposes to resist any process in the hands of the Marshal, except in the case of Gov. REEDER, who pleads his privilege from serving as a witness before the Jury on account of his being a contestant for a seat in Congress.

His declining to recognize the right of the Marshal to take him from the Committee of Congress on such an errand, was seized upon as a sufficient excuse for calling on all the people of the Territory to assemble one more against Lawrence.

The Southern regiment are on hand, and the people of Missouri once more cross the line, wait upon the Marshal and the Governor, receive the Government arms, are enrolled as militia or posse comitatus, and commence operations. All horses and other property of Free-State men are pressed into service (which means stolen or plundered in their language,) and the motley army proceed to Lawrence, against the remonstrance and protests of all good citizens, who volunteered to secure the service of any legal process in their town. If this body of armed depredators could be kept away. But this would not answer: there were certain things to be done that even the Governor and Marshal did not dare say were legal, and to this end the mob must be taken into town.

All is quiet in town before the Marshal enters. He appears with a few men, arrests his prisoners, as he had been doing for several days before, without opposition, and then suddenly leaves. His posse, under the direction of the Sheriff, who is indorsed in the message and proclamation of the President, then enter, disarm the people, bombard the envied hotel and burn it to the ground, destroy two printing presses, type and office-furniture, burn a private dwelling, and pillage the town.

This done, the chief posse is dismissed into guerrilla bands that infect the Territory like the plagues of Egypt, committing all manner of thefts, robberies, murders and other outrages upon the Free-State settlers, and it is not till the people, driven to desperation, take vengeance into their own hands, and commence a like warfare upon this Government armed *ex posse* that the President or his appointees find any occasion for restraining the villainy of their friends and partisans.

All this time, every Free-State man suspected, or even charged with an offence without suspicion,

is arrested, confined, and sometimes... and shamefully abused and tortured, while murderers, thieves, robbers, and every kind of criminals, are suffered to go at large, provided always, they belong to the Pro-Slavery or Administration Party; and not only suffered to go at large, but are promoted to or are retained in office under the Government...

Property has been taken by the officer and his posse, and when application was made for it to the Executive, the applicant was tauntingly asked "Why he gave it up?" and told that the officer had no right to take it, &c., yet if any man attempts to protect his person or property from these officials and their partisans, he is at once charged with treason; and, as Gov. SHANNON is reported to have said, "If charged, must be tried, and if tried, convicted, and if convicted, hung."

Such, in brief, is the Government forced upon the people of Kansas at this time, and indorsed by the President, and upheld by all the power of this mighty nation. The wrongs of 1775 and 6 imposed upon our forefathers by the British Crown were rights—yes, unmerited favors and privileges—compared with the tyranny practiced upon the people of Kansas. But the above is not all; deprived of a Government of their own—a foreign Government forced upon them that they could not recognize without forfeiting their manhood—expressed beyond endurance by Federal tyranny—the people of Kansas, in imitation of several other new States, by their delegates in Convention assembled, without reference to party distinctions, drafted a State Constitution, which was approved by the people at the ballot-box. An attempt was made to organize a State Government. A Legislature and State officers were chosen, and on the

4th of March the Legislature met, chose two United States Senators, memorialized Congress, appointed Committees to prepare laws for the completion of the State organization, and adjourned till the 4th day of July. In the meantime, their application for admission into the Union as one of the States of the Confederacy was made, and a memorial presented to Congress. In the Senate of the United States their memorial was rejected, and their Senator grossly insulted, and the people of Kansas taunted, jeered and abused as if they were a set of pirates or banditti unworthy of respect or protection.

The organ of the Administration also omitted no opportunity to libel and denounce the real settlers of Kansas, and to apologize for or justify the barbarities practiced upon them by the people of Missouri.

The 4th of July came, and the Representatives met for the purpose of exculpating their Senator from the gross charges made against him on the floor of the Senate, and also of memorializing Congress relative to the inhuman barbarities practiced upon this people by the President of the United States and his accomplices, as well as to complete the State organization preparatory to our admission into the Union, as Michigan, California, Arkansas, and other States had done before. For this proceeding there is a Constitutional sanction; for that instrument (not yet, however, extended over Kansas) declares that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or abridging the freedom of speech or the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances."

While attempting to assemble in strict accordance with this provision, a large military force, with artillery, and all the paraphernalia of war, rushes upon them, with cannon loaded and torch in hand, and disperses them. The apology for this unheard-of outrage upon the Constitutional rights of the people is found in a proclamation of the acting Territorial Governor, in which he says "that such assemblage was in violation of the Act of Congress organizing the Territory, and of the laws adopted in pursuance thereof."

If there is anything in the organic act, either directly or indirectly, forbidding such an assemblage, I am unable, after careful perusal, to find it; and, if it can be found, it is in direct violation of the Constitution of the United States, which ought to be extended over Kansas. As for "the laws adopted in pursuance thereof," none have been adopted by a Legislature chosen by the people of the Territory in accordance with the provisions of the laws of Congress. As for the acts of a body elected by people of Missouri, calling themselves a Territorial Legislature of Kansas, which authorize "abridging the freedom of speech or the press," or the right of the people "peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances," which authorize the destruction of printing presses, hotels and private dwellings; the plundering of the people of their horses, cattle and other property; the sacking and robbing of towns and their citizens; the murder of political opponents with impunity; the "quartering of soldiers in time of peace in houses without the consent of the owners"; the infringement of the "right of the people to keep and bear arms"; the "violation of the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures"; the issuing of warrants without "probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation"; the requiring of "excessive bail"; the indictment of persons for high crimes, for the sole purpose of persecution, or of depriving them of their liberty and lives; these, and such as these, who can dignify by the name "of laws adopted in pursuance thereof?" While such things are done in Kansas and her citizens are obliged to flee to escape death from the Government's tools and partisans, the Missouri River

and the public highways leading to the Territory are blockaded by pirates and robbers, who plunder Free-State men and drive them back from whence they came. They steal and rob in the name of the Governor of the Territory of Kansas, and hold the plunder subject to his order. The President of the United States looks on unmoved, and witnesses outrages which, were they perpetrated by a foreign power, would involve the nation in a war of revenge at once. Even the Governors of other States permit their citizens to be robbed of all their constitutional rights and neglect their protection. A few hundred desperadoes in the State of Missouri have defied and overthrown, with the countenance of the President, the power of 25,000,000 of people, including the National and State Governments.

They have made the Constitution a dead letter, and the name of Republicanism a reproach; yet the people are unmoved, except to pass occasionally a resolution of indignation, and the President looks complacently on. All this, and more, has been brought about or permitted, directly or indirectly, by the President of the United States and his appointees; and a once large and respectable party has, by resolution and otherwise, at a late Convention in Cincinnati, indorsed it, and the nominee of that Convention, once an honorable man, has offered himself with alacrity as the representative and embodiment of this system of outrage, rapine and murder. Under such circumstances can I, or any American citizen who loves his country and hates tyranny, be expected to hold my peace?

No! All the threats of all the officials of the Administration, that unless I keep silence I shall be "hung," on the false charge of treason, cannot prevent me from uttering my views and belief respecting their conduct. I may lose my life upon the gallows, as perjury in Kansas is cheap, packed juries common, and Constitutional rights unknown; but persecution will be very apt to stop at the gallows; and there may be a place beyond "where the wicked cease from troubling," and where there may be leisure to settle accounts with this Administration and its abettors.

Such, dear Sir, are my views touching the state of affairs in Kansas; and that you might more fully understand me, I have thought proper to state them to you; and, as I see no impropriety in permitting my friends in the State to know them, I shall forward a copy of this for perusal. With high esteem for you personally,

I am, very respectfully, yours, G. ROBINSON. We, the undersigned, concur in the foregoing statement fully, and indorse the same. GEO. W. SMITH, GAINS JENKINS, JOHN BROWN, JR., HENRY H. WILLIAMS, GEO. W. DEITZLER.

Letter from Robert C. Winthrop in Reply to W. C. Rives of Virginia.

From the Boston Courier. We copied some weeks since from the National Intelligencer, in which it originally appeared, an able and excellent letter from Hon. W. C. RIVES of Virginia, on the subject of Kansas and the condition of public affairs growing out of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. Appended to the letter was an opinion of President MADISON'S, adverse to the constitutionality of this Compromise, and of the general power of Congress to prohibit the introduction of Slavery in the Territories. We took occasion at the time to express our dissent from these views, and we hardly imagined that any one would suppose that Mr. WINTHROP, to whom the letter of Mr. RIVES was addressed, could concur in views so widely variant from those which he had uniformly expressed and acted upon during a long course of Congressional service. Finding, however, that some misapprehension existed upon this point, and observing that suggestions had been made in sundry quarters, and with no friendly purpose, that Mr. WINTHROP had abandoned his old ground upon this question, we have obtained permission to publish the subjoined letter, in reply to Mr. RIVES, which, though not, perhaps, originally designed for the press, contains an ample refutation of such an idea, and leaves no further room for the misrepresentation of Mr. WINTHROP'S opinion by those who are disposed to understand them.

We publish this letter with great satisfaction, so creditable as it is to Mr. WINTHROP, as a statesman and patriot, and are glad that he has not thought fit to withhold any longer from the public eye a communication which was due to his own character for consistency and frankness, and the spirit of which is so true to all we should desire in this hour of sectional jealousy and controversy:

Boston, Tuesday, June 24, 1856. MY DEAR SIR: I have received and read with deep interest the letter of June 10, which you have done me the honor to address me in the columns of the National Intelligencer, together with the extracts of Mr. MADISON'S letter to Mr. RIVES on the constitutional questions involved in the Missouri Compromise. I thank you for the whole tone and spirit of your communication, and for the welcome response which it contains to the hope which I had ventured to express, both publicly and privately, that in the further progress of the painful controversies which now agitate the country, there may be exhibited more of that spirit of meekness and forbearance which can alone lead to a happy solution, or, indeed, to any solution, of questions so full of difficulty and of danger. You do me no more than justice, in the suggestion that the deliberate judgment of Mr. MADISON would always receive from me the most deferential attention and respect. It was my great fortune to pass a day or two with that eminent man, under his own roof at Montpelier, in the year 1832—when the re-

gard which I had previously borne to him, for his calm, consummate prudence and patriotism, was warmed and ripened into something of affection, and tione personal veneration. I was then as young as age and illness, he was yet full of the kindest and most cordial hospitality, and his conversation was a continued flow of entertainment and instruction.

I shall not soon forget one remark of his, of which I made a memorandum at the time: "The recent revolution of opinion in Virginia on the subject of Slavery (said he) is the most important that has taken place since the Revolution of 1776," adding that then, almost for the first time, he had begun to conceive a confident hope that Slavery was not to be a perpetual institution, and that he thought there would be no difficulty in a system of gradual emancipation. In this connection he alluded particularly, and with strong approbation, to a speech which had recently been delivered (in the Legislature of Virginia, I believe,) by the late Governor McDOWELL.

I had the pleasure of meeting Governor McDOWELL many years afterwards as a member of Congress, and of forming a friendship with him, of which I always cherish the most agreeable remembrance, and which was terminated only by his lamented death. On relating to him this remark of Mr. MADISON, and complimenting him on it, he replied to me, (which I had not failed to read,) "I would not dare to make such a speech again. It would be burned by the common hangman at the corners of the streets, if this one has not been so already. I have not changed an opinion expressed in it; but your Northern Abolitionists will now make it a forbidden topic with us. We cannot speak of it as we might have been glad to do among ourselves, while so much of hostile and dangerous agitation is going on in the Free States."

I need hardly assure you, my dear Sir, that such remarks, from such sources, have left a deep impression on my mind, and have concurred with other considerations in leading me to deplore and to irritate and violent reproaches and imputations in which Northern men have too frequently indulged on a subject of so much perplexity and peril. If, indeed, it be in any degree true that our agitators have deterred the statesmen of the South from considering and discussing among themselves the subject of domestic Slavery, and have even compelled them to desist from plans for ameliorating the condition of the colored race which were already projected, we have a heavy load of responsibility upon our shoulders, and one which I trust will not be augmented by anything in our future course.

The letter to Mr. WALSH, from which the extracts are taken which accompany your favor, is entirely new to me, and it certainly contains views which are entitled to great weight. Yet it cannot be forgotten that Mr. MADISON, who could hardly fail to have had the advantage of Mr. MADISON'S best advice at the time, and who made so solemn an appeal on the subject to a cabinet embracing Mr. CALHOUN and Mr. CHASE, as well as Mr. WIRT, gave his official sanction and signature to the Missouri Compromise Act.

Nor have I been able to get over the force of a still earlier authority upon the same subject, for which Mr. MADISON himself would seem to be in some measure responsible. I refer to the adoption and indorsement of the Northwestern Ordinance of 1787, prohibiting Slavery in the Territories, by the first Congress, under the existing Constitution of the

United States. Mr. MADISON had alluded in the *Federalist*, as he has done in this letter to Mr. WALSH, to the fact that this ordinance had been passed by the old Congress of Confederation without authority; and this allusion has always seemed to me as being introduced with a view of enforcing upon the people the importance of adopting a system of government under which such cases might be rightfully provided for thereafter. But whether this be or be not a fair construction, the remark in the *Federalist*, it is a historical fact, that no sooner was the present Constitutional adopted than the same Ordinance of 1787, containing the stringent Anti-Slavery clause, received a formal ratification by Congress.

I had occasion to bring this fact freshly to attention as long ago as the Winter of 1847, in a speech delivered in the House of Representatives on the part of the United States, and to remark that Mr. MADISON himself, who had questioned the authority of the Congress of the Confederation to pass the Anti-Slavery Ordinance originally, appeared to have made no objection to it in the Congress of the Constitution. He was, as you know, a member of that Congress, and the bill to which I refer, — the eighth act of the first session of the first Congress, — passed both Houses without a division, except upon some immaterial amendments, and received the signature of President WASHINGTON.

It is, however, altogether too late in the day for us to hope that questions of so exciting a character, and which have become so deplorably complicated with sectional disputes, can be settled by appeals to authorities and precedents. Nor will I venture to deny that I have often stood upon grounds which I consider a question proposed upon grounds which I consider difficult to gain any. But you will agree with me, I am sure, that in the very existence of such conflicting opinions and authorities, we ought all to find an ample reason for entertaining something more of the mutual toleration for the honest differences of the present hour, than has recently been manifested at either end of the Union.

At the same time, my dear Sir, I cannot too deeply lament that any fresh occasion for the revival of such differences should have been created by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. That Compromise, I need not say, was no favorite of New England, and met with a most strenuous opposition from the Representatives in Congress at the time of its passage. Nor has there been, it is true, any disposition on her part, at a later day, to extend its stipulations over territory not embraced nor contemplated in the original terms of the arrangement. But she had long been accustomed to regard that arrangement as an unalterable compact, and it was the Northern States who were now privileged to enjoy the advantages undisturbed. All their share of the original territory which had been set aside for the peculiar labor of the Southern States having been occupied and organized, it was the free labor of the North which was now entitled to the enjoyment of what remained. I owe it to frankness to say that I have uniformly concurred

the wisdom or justice of the recent repeal of the Missouri Compromise.

There is no denying altogether, however, the force of your intimation, that it was a measure brought forward and largely sustained from the North, and I can only regret that more of our Southern friends, who, I am assured, would never have originated the measure themselves, could not have been induced to make a seasonable and effective stand against its passage. It is hardly too much to say, that a defeat of the Kansas-Nebraska bill by Southern votes, after it had been introduced and agitated, would have rendered the now crumbling cement of our Union once more an forever proof against all the waves and storms of sectional fanaticism. It would have disarmed the whole phalanx of agitators of the weapons which they are now wielding with so much mischievous energy, and would have secured to us all a welcome and permanent repose from the strifes and controversies which have so long and so sadly embittered us.

I agree with you entirely that the condition of Kansas, under present circumstances, is not to be decided by rifles, muskets, or bowie-knives. The peace and security of the actual settlers ought to be provided for without delay by the National Government, and I am glad to see an intimation that, if our friend Mr. Cameron's proposal to send out the veteran and gallant "Boys" for that purpose is not to be adopted, a similar duty is to be committed to General PERRIN SMITH, in whose discretion, impartiality and energy, I have the highest confidence. The arbitrary and abhorrent laws of the Territorial Legislature, to which Mr. GLAYTON has freshly called the attention of the Senate, ought certainly to be abrogated at the earliest day, and some mode adopted for giving the people of Kansas an opportunity of declaring, if they have not sufficiently done so, their own deliberate will as to the future condition and character of their infant Commonwealth. And if the South, while refusing to yield, (as you say she will), to any renewed application of the territorial restriction contained in the Missouri Compromise, could yet be induced to consent, without a struggle in the operation of those physical and moral causes which seem so likely to make Kansas a State for free labor only,—the day would not be far distant when we might look for a complete restoration of kindness and concord throughout the Union. By such a course, the South would have abandoned no principle,—nor, in my judgment, would she have sacrificed any substantial interest; while all color would have been removed for the idea, that a promise of more than thirty years' standing had been swept out of existence by a strong hand, in order to subserve a purpose of sectional preponderance or political supremacy.

At all events, I heartily hope and pray that Kansas may soon see the scene of a fraternal bloodshed, and that violent men of all parties and sections may be disappointed and defeated in the blaze of civil war. To this end, I am persuaded, that few things will conduce more than such calm, conciliatory and patriotic appeals as those which your letter contains. I thank you, once more for giving expression to them, and for connecting my name with your own in an effort to revive a "spirit of peace, of ancient brotherhood, and of hereditary deference and conciliation derived from the example and conduct of our fathers."

Retired, like yourself, though after a much briefer and humbler career of service, from all public employment, and without a wish to return to it,—having neither personal nor private ends to gratify—I cannot yet be indifferent to the perilous issues of the present moment, and no regard to a mere temporary popularity will prevent me from uniting with you in a common condemnation of every form of violence by which our Union and our domestic peace are endangered—whether of the rifle or the revolver, the bowie knife or the bludgeon, or of that "little member" which the Apostle tells us, sometimes "setteth on fire the course of nature." Believe me, dear Sir, with great respect and regard, most truly and faithfully, yours,

ROBT. C. WINTHROP.  
HON. WILLIAM C. RIVES, Castle Hill, Va.

he had produced evidence that Frank Pierce was really responsible for all his rascality.

Once in the Senate-chamber, Postscriptum *ditto* make the demand for pledges, which he now has the effrontery to say he received. As I have already written, I was an eye-witness to the transaction. After Sumner had dispersed them, this Marshal stepped forward, and in a whining, half-frightened, half would-frighten voice, said:

"Now, I want all o' ye to promise you won't meet here again. If you don't promise, I'll arrest every one of ye."

Magnificent! A conditional arrest! Since Postscriptum is getting up statements of the affair, I would like him to state whether he had written which it was his duty to serve, and that he neglected such duty in consideration that a Legislature he politically hated would not meet? or whether he had no process to serve, and merely, while there upon the strength of being a United States officer, insulted gentlemen, and endeavored to intimidate them from the exercise of a constitutional right, by a threat at once extra-judicial and a falsehood? We hope the U. S. M. D. P. D. will throw a little light on this rather dark subject. I am happy to be able to state that the Senators never answered him. None paid the least attention to him.

Two gentlemen have just been up to the Governor (Shannon, I mean) to see about the recovery of some property stolen by the Missourians from a party of emigrants entering the Territory. The Governor entertained his auditors with a most disagreeable and non-committal silence. He, however, did say: "I wonder that people will keep coming to me for redress!" A wonder, truly! I am gratified in being able to state that the Executive was perfectly sober, which was doubtless the occasion of the above profound remark.

I have just seen a gentleman who belonged to a party of emigrants from Ottawa, Ill., who were robbed a short time ago by the Law-and-Order men at Leavenworth, and sent down the river. He made his escape on the way down, got on to another boat, and is here. He tells me that after they were forced on board, the officers of the boat (all of these rascals ought to be in the Penitentiary)—demanded their passage fare for the trip down. As the gentlemen were not traveling on the voluntary principle, they declined, leaving the expense of the expedition to those who had undertaken it. "There are more ways of killing a dog than hanging him," however. The gentlemen who had come on board with them, and who intended to give them an honorable escort from the Bailiwick of Border-Ruffianism, in this critical aspect of affairs, in company with the captain and clerk, resolved themselves into a "Committee of the Whole on finance." The result of this exercise of collective wisdom was another demand for the passage money, which was also ignored. Another conference resulted in the extradition of the unfortunate emigrants from the cabin, to a close, dirty, hot, bed-buggy region, somewhere in that awful, unexplored district aft of the boiler-deck. Here, "in the progress of human events," the unfortunate men who, while not "sound on the goose," dared emigrate to Kansas after it was actually bartered away to Slavery by Douglas & Co., got thirtened. In reply to their demand for water, a wooden bucket with a rope attached was thrown out, and thereby some two gallons of the muddy Missouri was transferred from the dirty "deeps" to the dirty deck. It was about as thick as pea soup, and rather warmer. The bucket being placed before them, as it was a Free country, they were left to help themselves.

As the signification of all this was clear enough, all of the unfortunates but one went up and paid the fare demanded. That one, finding it unendurable to be confined in his situation below, and being still determined not to pay, boldly went up to the cabin again. While there, the captain demanded if he had paid, and when he said he had not, the captain and both clerks seized him violently and swung him down stairs, hurting him, although not very severely, on the banisters. Being in this situation, he then went and handed over the \$12 to the highwaymen who were party to his arrest, and thus "demanded his money." Shortly after, he saw a chance to escape, and went to the clerk and asked his fare back, as he was about to leave. This was refused. He then leaped on board another boat going up, which they had met at a landing just as the boat pushed off. By keeping quiet, he arrived safe in Kansas.

Lawrence is threatened with another blow by the Russian authorities. A movement is on foot to take the Post-Office from Mr. Babcock, and from town. The design is to give the Lawrence Post-Office to a Pro-Slavery man who lives five miles up the California road. Monstrous though this outrage may look, it is deliberately contemplated, and it is possible that the Department at Washington may pander to such villainy. Having destroyed the Press here, it is felt that even Post-Office privileges are a nuisance. What security can any Free-State man have for his mail matter if this villainy is consummated? And ninety-nine

out of every hundred men in and around Lawrence are Free-State men. Lawrence is the most important place in the Territory, only second in size to Leavenworth, and much larger than any other point. It has a very large mail business. Only imagine, all of the citizens having to go four miles into the country to a Pro-Slavery man's shanty every time they had mail matter to get or send, to say nothing about the risk of letters in such an establishment. A petition of many hundred signatures, in fact signed by everybody here, is about to be sent to the Department protesting against it.

Some arrests of Members of the Legislature have been made. The troops keep the Free-State people "in order."

## Newark Daily Mercury.

FRIDAY MORNING, JULY 25, 1856.

**CHAINS FOR FREEMEN.**—One of the chains used in confining free State prisoners in Kansas has been taken to Washington for exhibition. It is seven feet long, made like a cane chain and quite heavy. The two ends were fastened around the ankles with two heavy padlocks. The strap part of the chain was then brought up by the slack, fastened in the centre and attached to the body. Eight free State men were bound by the United States Marshal, Donaldson, in this style, were kept thus confined for near a month, and then driven with their chains on, like a southern slave gang, thirty miles beneath a burning sun, under escort of a company of United States dragoons; and it was then found that against six of them there was not even a complaint entered, and the other two were retained on charge of high treason—that crime consisting of resistance to a band of robbers and murderers employed to enforce what is called "law and order" in Kansas.

## NEWARK DAILY ADVERTISER

FRIDAY EVENING, JULY 25, 1856.

### Gov. Reeder's Testimony.

Gov. REEDER'S testimony before the Kansas Investigating Committee is a curious and instructive document, letting in a bright current of light upon the character and conduct of the President, and also on the interior of government and some of the springs of action among its managers. It exhibits a President wielding the power of a great nation in conference with an official of his own appointment of considerable rank, namely, a Governor of a Territory. In the present case the jurisdiction of the Governor was of great significance, extending, as was then thought, and has since been proved by experience, to the actual establishment of slavery or liberty therein, according to his will and pleasure.

One may witness in the interview between the President and his subordinate a scene of intrigue, familiar enough to men who are making their way in life as politicians, while a common man, for want of personal experience, or of access to the boudoirs of statesmen, is obliged to get his idea of the nature of intrigue from the plays of Shakspeare, whose eyes penetrated into the council chamber of the great, the retreats of conspirators, as well as the hovels and cottages of the poor. In the perusal of the narrative of Gov. Reeder, one will be reminded of some of the dramatist's pictures of political manoeuvres, and the conversations of Richard III and Buckingham, among others, will rise to the memory of some. We do not compare Pierce with Richard, any more than Gov. Reeder with Buckingham; yet how apparent is the effort of the President to bend the latter to his purpose by plausible pretences, flattering approvals of his land speculations and general government; and all to obtain from Reeder, by such artifices, a memorial submitting the whole matter to the President, and carrying the idea that the perils that would surround him on a return to Kansas, and the other difficulties of his office, would make an exchange of it for some other, a mission to China, for example, very desirable. It was Mr. Pierce's cunning plan to make Reeder consent to his own decapitation, and if the President failed to persuade him to commit political suicide by voluntary resignation, he appeared to be very sanguine of accomplishing the same thing to effect by bargaining with the Governor. So, direct bribery was attempted by which Reeder should not only receive a quid pro quo, but the President promised—he has been always full of promises—that it should be all managed in a way that should be very much for the interest of Gov. Reeder, and yet entirely honorable to him as a man,

## Intime KANSAS. July 25, 1856

From Our Special Correspondent.

LAWRENCE, K. T., July 15, 1856.

Several companies have gone up from the neighborhood of Atchison, Kickapoo and Leavenworth, for the purpose of intercepting the Northern immigration.

Marshal Donaldson falsely states that the members of the Legislature, when dispersed at Topeka, promised him on their word of honor that they would not meet again. This is utterly and unmitigatedly false. Postscript Donaldson, while in the House, never ventured to open his mouth, publicly or otherwise, for I stood three feet from him, and would have known it had he done so. In the Senate, he did say something. As no one was admitted to the Senate but the members and attachés, the man of proclamations and economic postscripts felt more resolute. At the door of the Senate, Col. Sumner met no obstruction, as the President of that body had directed that he be admitted if he came. Donaldson, however, was stopped by the doorkeeper as *contraband*, that functionary telling Postscript that he had instructions to "keep the crowd out." Donaldson assured the doorkeeper that he was a United States officer. The cautious St. Peter demanded his credentials, nor did the noted leader of the carpet-bag brigade—the Georgia horse thief, the Alabama pickpockets, the South Carolina ear-ring thieves and incendiaries—get admission into the Senate-chamber until

as well as a Governor, with whom was the country as a Governor of a territory, where vast questions were on trial.

The President appears to have wriggled with no little skill, but his schemes were unexpectedly baffled by the Governor's determination not to resign; but to return forthwith to his duties in Kansas. Neither party had succeeded in the negotiation. Pierce had failed to shake the courage of Beeder, and alter his resolution to return or win him by valuable considerations. Beeder on his part, though evidently wheedled at first by the President's hypocrisy, had yet striven, but striven in vain, to bring him over to a fair and just treatment of the settlers in Kansas. The President would not consent to a single act of fairness toward the territory, or to adopt one measure of relief from its robbers and oppressors. He even renounced his approbation of the conduct of Gov. Reeder in his government—which he had frequently expressed, while he was endeavoring to entice him to his plans. But when this failed, he turned short round, and threatened to dismiss him on account of his land speculations, which he had frequently approved.

Thus the intrigue was brought to a close. Gov. Reeder departed for Kansas; but his dismissal from office reached the territory almost as soon as he did. This statement of the Governor to the Committee was sent to the President for his cross-examination; but strange to say, no voice has been heard from the White House. But Mr. Pierce is a dead-lion, we were about to say, out of politeness, but shall not, and what is the use in censuring the dead; so we will say no more.

# Daily Pennsylvanian.

FRIDAY MORNING, JULY 25.

## The Kansas Troubles.—No. II.

Most of the settlers having been unable to complete their cabins and out-houses, before the winter set in, had joined their families in Missouri, with the view of returning to their claims at the opening of the spring, finishing their "improvements," and taking their families with them—Many of the Free-State men had also gone to Missouri to winter, and had lived there for months on the hospitality of Missourians. There were not sufficient winter accommodations in Kansas for the people; those only who have been on the plains during a storm, or in cold weather, can fully appreciate their severity.

When the news reached those settlers that the legislative election had at last been ordered, and that the probability was that thousands of Abolitionists were on their way to control the election, and usurp absolute dominion over Kansas, they instantly returned to their claims, and without waiting to take their families. Hence the wild stories circulated through Abolition journals, that thousands of Missourians were rushing into Kansas to take possession of the polls and out-vote the inhabitants. Those returning settlers were inhabitants of Kansas. They were among the first to move there, and begin permanent improvements. They had never designed abandoning their new homes. Their absence was known to be merely temporary. In common with many Free-State men, they had elsewhere sought shelter and food in winter, which could not be found in the Territory. But the great curse of that region from the beginning had been, a most unscrupulous set of correspondents for Abolition papers, whose abusive and incendiary fabrication created great excitement in Kansas and Missouri, and much more in the East. They had evidently been sent there in the pay of the political conspirators to manufacture capital for Abolitionism. They caused incessant mischief by inflaming the passions of both parties in Kansas, Missouri, and throughout the Union.

The arrival of large numbers of Eastern emigrants, sent forward by the Aid Societies, just in time to vote at the election, created a positive conviction that a trick had been contrived, and was ready to be perpetrated, whereby Kansas was to have imposed on it, by "pipe-laying," foreign masters and foreign laws. The departure of those Aid Colonists had been heralded by the most inflammatory articles. No words of reproach were too severe—no terms too insulting to be applied to the Western settlers. The Abolition papers and correspondents in the Territory were equally vin-

dictive and denunciatory. The latter were appealing in the most earnest and fanatical terms to their Eastern co-laborers and fanatics, in order to create an Abolition foray for election purposes; and to that end they manufactured the wildest and most extravagant stories of outrages threatened and perpetrated, hardly any of which had existence, save on the paper on which they were written, or in the fertile imaginations of the writers. That many irregularities were committed under the excitement thus caused, no one has denied; but that those irregularities were committed solely by Missourians, is not true. Hundreds of Aid Colonists passed into the Territory but a few days before the election, who left within a few days after, and the people on the borders seeing that movement, sought to thwart it. The boats in the Missouri river just after the election were crowded with returning "pipe-layers" from the East.—Neither they, nor the excited Missourians were justified in their interference.

The subsequent acts are more familiar to the country. Gov. REEDER after taking means to ascertain the validity of the election in each district, set aside some, and issued official certificates to a large majority of those thus chosen. After Legislature met events took a new turn. The Act was passed, removing the place of holding the Legislature, by the required vote, over the Governor's veto, and became a law.

The Legislature, having a complete body of laws to adopt, selected the Missouri Code, with which most of the legislators were familiar—a code which, in all of its main features, differs but little from that of other Western States. The Criminal Code, except that which relates to slavery, was mainly copied from Pennsylvania. The Civil Code of procedure is copied from New York. True, there were stringent laws passed concerning what was termed Sedition, &c. Some two or three Acts in a volume of about a thousand pages, which have caused much complaint and severe denunciation. As to those Acts, however harsh, unjust and severe, as they undoubtedly are, they were unquestionably provoked by the inflammatory and incendiary conduct of Abolition journals—and only verify the experience of all ages, that one extreme begets another. It is not a little remarkable, however, that out of so many laws enacted by that Legislature, only two or three have been found exceptional, even by the most bitter Abolitionists; and those few have never been enforced, or attempted to be.

Instantly, the Abolitionists declared their determination to resist the laws. They bade defiance to the constituted authorities, preached open rebellion, and commenced a series of hostile demonstrations, not against the obnoxious Acts alone, but against all law. Their presses were filled with the most bitter proclamations of armed resistance. A Convention was called at Big Springs, where "a bloody issue" was resolved upon, unless the laws were overturned. The Abolitionists subsequently held another Convention at Topeka, where they framed a Constitution for a State Government—under which they held a Legislature, chose U. S. Senators, elected a Governor, &c., inaugurated their principal officers, and assumed all the functions of a revolutionary Government.

# Daily Enquirer.

OFFICIAL PAPER OF THE CITY.

FRIDAY MORNING, JULY 25

From the Providence (R. I.) Post.  
The Kansas Lion.

There are two citizens of this county, well known in their terms, men of unimpeachable credit, and who have no ends to serve by fabrication or suppression of truth, who have returned from Kansas after a several months' sojourn, and purpose going thither again as permanent settlers.

The one is John Henry Dewitt, of Rochester, a farmer, and he has resided in Lawrence, where the scene of all the most flagrant outrages" are laid. Mr. Dewitt says that Lawrence was the point to which the Emigrant Aid Society's armed companies from the Eastern States directed their steps. The original inhabitants were decent, respectable, honest settlers. They were at first astounded at the character of the abolition propagandists poured into Kansas to

get up a revolution—consisting of the very scum and off-scourings of the New England States principally. The public-house which was destroyed was a den of drunkenness, gambling and debauchery in every shape, and the headquarters of this dissolute gang. It was eventually sought to be suppressed by civil process, and the better inhabitants rose on the instant and tore down the nuisance, the printing office, which was in an upper story, of course, sharing the fate of the grocery and gambling saloons. The one man shot at or near Lawrence was a horse-thief. Kansas generally, and Lawrence too, is as quiet as any new country and backwoods town, faring the most and excesses of the wretches, tramped up in this quarter of the Union and sent thither to fight Falstaff bottles and tall Maccabean's lies. Miles J. Fletcher, formerly a merchant, paper-maker and Postmaster at Marlborough, in this county, has also just returned thither to arrange his business for a permanent removal thither. Mr. Fletcher says the "Border Ruffians," which is the flattering epithet bestowed upon those who do not belong to these gangs by the Abolition scum, are generally frank, brave and respectable men—generally Missourians and bona fide settlers. He was asked whether he proposed settling there, where he came from, and what were his opinions. Mr. F. stated he was a New Yorker, and came to locate with a view to settle and would vote to make Kansas a free State. They told him they liked his frankness and honored his independence, and that he would not be annoyed by the opinions he rigidly held, though they differed on an exciting point. Mr. F. received nothing but kindness at their hands. He, too, speaks in terms of decided condemnation of the general character of the *doings* of the *Sham* churches. And as to the letters, he says they are mainly the most fabrications—Kansas being quiet and peaceable in a remarkable degree, especially when they take the special efforts of fanaticism to bring about bloodshed into consideration.

Here are two men from the very field—neither of them at all interested in making a mistake—both men of credulity, and both decided Anti-slavery men.

# RICHMOND WHIG.

FRIDAY MORNING, JULY 25, 1856.

## KANSAS MEETING.

Capt. Pate, of Kansas, being here under the auspices of the Kansas Executive Committee of Virginia, will address the people of Richmond to-night, at Metropolitan Hall.—Capt. Pate is the gentleman who has been so gallantly fighting the battles of the South in Kansas, and we trust he may be complimented by a large turn-out of our citizens this evening. He is a regular "Border Ruffian," and his address will no doubt be replete with interest.

# FRANKFORT.

WILLIAM L. CALLENDER, Editor.

FRIDAY, JULY 25, 1856.

Martin Van Buren's Reason for supporting Buchanan and acquiescing in the Kansas-Nebraska Act.

When the telegraph announced that Martin Van Buren, the Wilmot Proviso candidate for the Presidency in 1848, had come out in support of James Buchanan, we at once suspected that it was the "Squatter Sovereignty" doctrine of Buchanan's letter of acceptance which had reconciled the old Free-soiler to his support. And such is the fact. The "Squatter Sovereignty" interpretation which Mr. Buchanan has put upon the Kansas-Nebraska Act has reconciled Mr. Van Buren not only to Buchanan but to that act itself; and in his letter giving in his adhesion to both, he says that he has come of late to regard that act with more favor than he did at first; and then proceeds to say:

"I believe also that the people of the free States, when the resentment justly excited by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise has subsided, and more especially when they shall have witnessed a fair and peaceable execution of the provisions of that act, will generally regard it as a mode for the settlement of slavery questions, by which they will stand a better chance to have their feelings and opinions upon the subject respected, and one less exposed to extraneous and improper influences, than has been the case with specific Congressional legislation.

"Not having a copy of the Nebraska-Kansas act, I take its provisions in regard to the authority it professes to confer from Mr. Buchanan's

admirable letter of acceptance, where the sub-  
ject is, I doubt not, fairly presented. He thus  
describes it:

"This legislation is founded upon principles as  
ancient as the government itself, and in accor-  
dance with them has simply declared that the  
people of a territory, like those of a State, shall  
decide for themselves whether slavery shall or  
shall not exist within their limits; \* \* \* \*  
declaring it to be the true intent and meaning of  
this act not to legislate slavery into any territory,  
nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the peo-  
ple thereof perfectly free to form and regulate  
their domestic institutions in their own way, sub-  
ject only to the constitution of the United States.

"From these terms it is too clear to admit of  
dispute or cavil, that it was the intention of Con-  
gress to clothe the people of the territories with ample  
power to exclude slavery from within their respec-  
tive limits as well while they continued territories as  
in making provisions for its exclusion from the state  
when that transition shall take place. The only  
question that can be raised upon the act in this  
regard must relate to the effect of the grant—that  
is, whether the constitution authorize Congress to  
clothe the people of the territories with a power  
to exclude slavery therefrom while they remain  
territories. I have not the slightest doubt of the  
power of Congress to give this authority to the  
people of the territories."

Here then we see that while the Kansas-Ne-  
braska act is commended to the South as the  
only safe-guard for the interests of slavery against  
the free-soilism of the North, this veteran and  
cunning Free-soiler commends it to his own fol-  
lowers upon the ground that it will give "the peo-  
ple of the free States" "a better chance to have  
their feelings and opinions upon the subject [of slave-  
ry] respected"—that is, a better chance to exclude  
slavery from the territories—than they had under  
the Missouri Compromise. And Van Buren is  
right, if Buchanan's doctrine of "Squatter Sove-  
reignty" is to be put into practical operation; for  
according to that doctrine not only may a few  
squatters who first locate in a territory exclude  
slavery, but without this, slavery cannot come in  
until after they have actually made laws to es-  
tablish it! Well may Van Buren say that the  
law with this construction gives the people of  
the free States the "better chance;" for under  
the compromise the South was sure of getting a  
part of the territories,—under this rule she would  
be pretty sure to get none.

ROCK ISLAND, July 20th.

Gen. Stringfellow and other citizens of Preston,  
issued a hand bill July 8th, calling on all Missour-  
ians to go over to Kansas, before August, to vote  
at the November election under Toomb's bill.

We learn by mail that Lane's party, of 300 per-  
sons, including women and children, crossed the  
Missouri to Nebraska City, on Monday.

Levi Smith says, if Lane enters Kansas, he will  
arrest him, if it costs him \$500.

Lane will remain in Iowa, unless the Missour-  
ians attempt to intercept his party.

Six hundred Missourians are said to be ordered  
at St. Joseph's to intercept Lane's party. There  
will be a battle if they attempt it.

Ninety Chicagoians and thirty Massachusetts  
men are expected to join Lane at Nebraska City.

Gen. Harney left Council Bluffs on Monday, for  
Kansas.

# THE REPUBLICAN

FROM THE MISSOURI RIVER.

The steamer Martha Jewett arrived yesterday from  
the Missouri river. Among the passengers to Fort  
Leavenworth were Gen. HARNEY and Capt. PLEASAN-  
TON.

As the Jewett reached Weston, a report was cir-  
culated that a party of thirty Cheyennes had attacked  
the guard house at Fort Kearney, and rescued certain  
Indian prisoners confined there, making good their re-  
treat with the loss of three of their number killed.

The Martha Jewett reports that numbers of LANE's  
men were landing in squads at Nebraska City, and go-  
ing into Kansas. They are represented as well armed  
with Sharp's rifles, bowie knives and Colt's revolvers.  
LANE, it is said, made himself scarce—"he would not  
go a y further just then, but would return and force  
his way up the Missouri river with his other regi-  
ment." Where the other regiment of bobtails and  
vagrants is to come from, is not stated; but it is very  
clear that JIM LANE did not want to get in the clutches  
of the law in Kansas. An indictment is pending  
against him, and if he had put his foot on that terri-  
tory, he would have been made to keep company with  
ROBINSON and the other traitors now in confinement.

We think it likely that the force entering the Ter-  
ritory under JIM LANE is over estimated—some six  
hundred and fifty men—no women or children accom-  
panying them, and their baggage consisting of a small  
carpet sack to each man. At our last advices from  
Iowa, only about 250 men were to be precipitated in-  
to the country, and since that time Gen. LANE was  
whipped by one of his wagoners, who then deserted  
him.

We think a more reasonable supposition is, that  
these loafing vagabonds are to be kept in Iowa until  
the close of the State and Congressional elections—that  
they will claim to be voters—that they will vote  
against the Democratic nominees, and for the Black  
Republican ticket, and thus aim to give the State to  
FRAMONT. It is a system of pipe-laying for  
which Iowa is said to be somewhat famous.

## COL. LANE.

Information has been received in this city that the  
"ragged regiment," under the head of this notorious  
individual, have succeeded in making a crossing, and  
smuggled themselves into Nebraska. LANE did not  
cross over; he is afraid to risk his precious person,  
but went back again to hawl for more Kansas funds,  
to put in his own pocket. The miserable blear-eyed  
rabble who have been transferred, like so many cattle,  
to that new country, are more to be pitied than blam-  
ed. Deserted by their leader, who knows no interest  
but that of self, they will find their crusade a misera-  
ble and unprofitable one. The next thing we shall  
hear of LANE, he will be waiting for Kansas funds.  
An agitating Oliver Twist, neither soup nor broth  
will satisfy him, and his avarice is constantly suggest-  
ing "more money."

LANE's regiment are in Nebraska, but they have  
not invaded Kansas yet, and we doubt very much  
whether they can accomplish it.

# Daily Democrat

LATEST FROM KANSAS.

The report that one of General Lane's regi-  
ments had crossed the Missouri into Nebraska,  
is untrue.

The officers of the steamer Genoa which was  
at Bennett's landing, a few miles below Nebras-  
ka city on the night of the 21st, state that four  
hundred is the number of the men who had  
marched with him through Iowa, and that they  
had not left that State, but were still encamped  
in the woods, skirting the river, on a spot a few  
miles from Bennett's ferry. The farmers in the  
neighborhood supply them with food, and des-  
ertions from the party are of frequent occur-  
rence.

# THE DAILY SENTINEL.

MILWAUKEE:

Saturday Morning, July 26.

"NATIONAL" SENTIMENTS.—The Sham Demo-  
cracy are fond of insisting that they are the only  
National party, and that the supporters of FAX-  
MONT are "sectionalists." Here are some senti-  
ments, drank with great applause at the Fourth  
of July Celebration at Healing Springs, South  
Carolina, which have the true odor of Democratic  
"Nationality" about them:

6. KANSAS:  
Strike while the iron is hot,—  
Strike with men and means;  
And let the Yankees see we've got  
The right to hold the reins.

The following were among the volunteer  
toasts:

By Cornelius Hartzo—  
MASSACHUSETTS.—We have always beaten her in the de-  
bates of the Union. We have whipped her in Kansas, and  
we have cased her in the senate Hall.

By Rutherford Oakman  
THE HON. P. S. BROOKS: May the cause of Southern  
Brooks ever flourish over the growth of Northern Free  
Soil.

By Wm. P. Walker—  
GEN. ATCHISON: Hoping that he may live to see Kansas  
a Slave State in the Union or out of the Union.

Of course, there is nothing "sectional" in  
these sentiments. It is only when a Northern  
man, or a Northern Press dares to speak out for  
Free Soil, Free Speech, or Free Press, that Sham  
Democracy cries out "sectionalism."

## The Story of a Free State Woman.

We invite the attention of our readers to the  
following letter, written by the wife a Free State  
settler in Kansas to her father, a resident of West  
Granville, Milwaukee County, (ANDREW SMITH,  
Esq.) It tells its own story and in language that  
must make the blood of every Freeman boil with  
indignation at the infernal wrongs and outrages  
heaped upon the Free State settlers in Kansas.—  
We trust, most sincerely, that the appeal of Mrs.  
PARTRIDGE for aid from our Kansas Association  
will meet with a prompt and liberal response.—  
Her situation is indeed, a trying one, and may  
well excite the most lively sympathy:

POTTAWATOMIE, KANSAS, June 23, '56.

DEAR FATHER:—I just sent a letter to you, giv-  
ing you an account of William's being taken pris-  
oner, and the history of our troubles for the last  
few months, but I will write again, lest you should  
not receive it.

William was taken prisoner about two months  
ago, and has been kept chained like a common  
felon ever since. There was several of our neigh-  
bors arrested at the same time. They were prom-  
ised an examination last week, and sent for some  
witnesses and money to pay lawyer's fees. I  
have not heard from them since their witnesses  
left. When I heard from William last, he said  
it was not best for any one but myself to attempt  
to go there, and thought perhaps I had better not,  
as they were kept under guard, and no one was  
allowed to converse with them out of hearing of  
the guard, except their wives. I feel a great  
deal of anxiety, but alas! can do nothing for  
them. I visited William every few days when  
he was first taken, but he has been removed  
from place to place, our horses have been stolen,  
and I have now no means of travelling. Such is  
the manner in which men professing to be U. S.  
officers proceed with the Free State settlers in our  
Territory. The men have been imprisoned, their  
families unprotected, no crop in their grounds,  
and no more provisions or money than will be  
consumed in a few months at farthest. At the  
same time, not the least shadow of cause has been  
assigned, why they (the Free State men) have  
been arrested. Although the charge they have  
against William evidently is treason, still they  
have never deigned to show any cause of action  
against him or them.

I would like to make an appeal to the Aid Society in Milwaukee, while opening their hearts and purses, to relieve the sufferers of Kansas as they have so nobly done, not to forget the settlers on Pottawatomie, and especially the females who are left alone and unarmed, while surrounded by Pro-Slavery men of the vilest stamp. Myself and sister-in-law are alone, my husband in chains, my brother-in-law, who managed to elude the men that took my husband, is chased like a fugitive with the blood-hounds on his track, and we are thus left to the mercy of these who show no mercy.

Some of the gang have twice attempted to break into our house when we were alone in the night. Ask them to send us some arms, such as we can use, and we will try to defend ourselves and our homes. There are a number as destitute as ourselves; in fact, most of the people are to a great extent. If husband should be released, he has not even an old shot gun, though at the time Lawrence was besieged last winter, he expended in ammunition and provisions enough to have provided himself and family with arms, not including his time and numberless other expenses, yet he has received nothing, though ever ready to sacrifice life and property for the cause of Freedom. What we are going to do I know not; most of our leading men are prisoners or absent, and what few are left who would fight, are chased about by the U. S. troops like a band of outlaws and assassins. Such is the state of affairs here, what will be the result is known only to Him who rules the destiny of nations. Ye who are enjoying your peaceful homes and quiet firesides, with nothing to molest or make you afraid, think of those on the distant plains of Kansas, who are suffering imprisonment, death, hunger and insult, and the deprivation of every right belonging to humanity. But why are they subject to these numberless evils? Only because they are endeavoring to establish on this beautiful soil that freedom which our fathers died to purchase, and which you are now so peacefully enjoying.

I would like to have some member of the Society read this statement of the case as it is, for no other reason than to keep their minds refreshed by the recital of our wrongs. Help must come from some source, and that speedily, or Kansas is forever lost to Freedom.

ELIZA J. PARIBIDGE.

Correspondence of the Sentinel.  
**Mr. Wells' Vote on the Kansas Bill.**  
 HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
 WASHINGTON, July 18.

MESSENGERS:—Allow me to correct a statement that has been made in your, or some other Milwaukee paper, relating to Hon. DANIEL WELLS, Jr., on the passage of the Kansas Bill through the House. I saw it stated that he "dodged" the vote. It is due to truth that Mr. Wells should not be misrepresented. It is true that he was absent, but he was "paired off" with the Hon. EDWIN G. READER, of N. C. Mr. Wells would have voted for the bill, and Mr. Reader against it, had both been present.

Respectfully yours,

C. BILLINGHURST.

## DAILY TRIBUNE.

CITY OF CHICAGO.

Thursday Morning, July 26, 1856.

### Gov. Reeder's Testimony.

If the testimony of Gov. REEDER, which we published in yesterday's TRIBUNE, does not produce an effect upon the country, we mistake its intelligence and its integrity. It strips naked the extraordinary action of the administration, and leaves it without color of excuse or apology for its criminal neglect, and outrageous indifference, to the just and legal claims of Kansas.

Look at the acts.

Gov. REEDER was appointed Governor of Kansas mainly through Pennsylvania influence. FORNEY, the right hand man of Buchanan, was active in his behalf. Doubtless he was thus active for interested motives, unless the Eastern prints belie him sorely—for speculations in lands in the new territory, and all that; but be this as it may, REEDER was selected, and immediately repaired to Kansas to assume the duties of his office.

Once there, and made familiar alike with the wants and dangers of the territory, Gov. REEDER saw that a plan was afoot to enslave Kansas without regard to the will of the people thereof or the interests of the Territory. Of this plan, from beginning to end, of its purposes, black and bloody all through, he carefully and minutely informed the President. So in regard to every stage of the Border Ruffian raid. But though thus informed the President took no steps, not one, to nip in the bud the atrocious designs of lawless men, and further, made no provision after the savage and bloody invasion was begun either to arrest it or punish the ruthless assailants.

The New York Herald referring to this fact, and eager to make Kansas a Slave State, says:

But he took no step to prevent the fearful, bloody, savage and scandalous acts with which those ruffians have since afflicted the Territory. He kept his information to himself, while people were wondering at his ignorance of Kansas affairs. But he was not ignorant. He was thoroughly and officially posted up in advance of the newspapers—knew all that was going on, all that was projected, yet he persisted in seeing nothing, hearing nothing, and doing nothing, for fear that it would cost him a Southern vote or two at the Convention at Cincinnati. Will not the blood of the murdered people of Kansas, on all sides, and the shrieks of these poor women driven to insanity there, from the desolation of their hearts and homes, rises in judgment against this vacillating, imbecile and skulking little politician, and his criminal neglect concerning these things. Not a man need have been murdered or widow driven to lunacy nor a house reduced to ashes, nor need a single emigrant have been put in chains, had Mr. Pierce acted as he should have acted upon the early information of Governor Reeder. The President could have maintained law and order had he been faithful to his oath. All the lives forfeited, all the homes and hopes of men, women and children destroyed, all the bitter sectional feelings stirred up by these acts, were but the human sacrifices and burnt offerings of Mr. Pierce to the Moloch of the Cincinnati Convention. Yet the monster rejected the suppliant with his bloody gifts, and cast him out. Pity that they did not submit him to the judgment of the people.

But the reason of the coolness and infernal neglect of the Administration is made clear enough. The man who ruled was Jefferson Davis—the man who acted for him was Davy Atchison. The President was awed into silence by them. He had complimented Gov. Reeder; he had approved of his policy and of his acts; but these men said, "no such Free-soil puppet shall remain in office—he must be dismissed;" and he was dismissed. Yet long did the President parley with him; he begged him to resign; he tried, indirectly, to bribe him; he offered the commission to China, anything, if he would only let Jefferson Davis and Davy Atchison have their way. Reeder stood firm. Nor threat, nor bribe, nor entreaty moved him. The President then removed him, apologizing to him for the act. Says the Herald:

Shame on the pitiful little trick. Why not at least "confess the corn," and say, "I must obey the command of Mr. Atchison? I am President, but I am under bonds for my good behavior to Mr. Atchison; and if not careful, the South will reject me at the Cincinnati Convention."

We trust Gov. Reeder's testimony will be read by every voter, and as he does so, that he will remember, that Buchanan is pledged to sustain the policy and uphold the principles of Gen. Pierce.

### The Free Emigrants to Kansas.

CHICAGO TRIBUNE OFFICE,  
 Saturday, July 26.

Col. Lane was at Tabor, Iowa, twelve miles from Nebraska City, on Sunday last.

The Northern emigrants who accompanied him moved from their camp near Sydney, on Saturday morning. They numbered, with the Wisconsin company of ninety persons, about three hundred—including women and children. They were all in good health and had enjoyed the overland trip exceedingly. There were not more than half of them armed. These had rifles or shot guns, which were their private property. The Milwaukee company—the new—was the only one that had Sharpe's rifles.

The Chicago boys were two days journey behind. A Massachusetts company of thirty men were expected at Nebraska City on Monday, to join the three hundred. The Wisconsin company crossed the Missouri river on Saturday. The other companies were to cross on Monday.

Some time ago, a messenger was sent to General Smith, to find out his intentions in regard to Col. Lane. He returned on Friday week. The General stated that if Lane entered the territory, the Governor would put a requisition in his hands for his arrest, which he would execute, he said, if five hundred lives should be sacrificed in the attempt.

On Friday, immediately after the messengers arrived, a meeting of the conductors of the various companies was held, and a resolution adopted in favor of dispatching a courier to Gen. Smith, to ask whether or no he would send a detachment of his forces to protect the emigrants.

The letter was drawn up, signed by the agent, (Col. Dickey) and the conductors, and a messenger was dispatched to Fort Leavenworth. The letter stated that the companies were proceeding to Kansas for the purpose of settling there, "not to incite or encourage insurrection, or interfere with the affairs of neighboring communities," and that the majority of them were unarmed; they invited him to examine their wagons, tents and luggage, to convince himself that their intentions were pacific; informed him that they had received repeated and reliable information that an attempt would be made by citizens of Missouri, to intercept, disarm and drive them back before they arrived at Topeka, "a measure which could not be effected without bloodshed;" a rumor, "which, from the recent action of certain citizens of Missouri, in stopping, plundering and driving back, several companies of Northern emigrants, traveling toward a National Territory, on a National highway, they were inclined to credit;" and informed him in conclusion, that if he did not give him protection they would arm themselves before proceeding further.

It is stated that six hundred men are armed and organized at St. Joseph for the purpose of intercepting Lane. He will not go into Nebraska for the present; but remain in Iowa, unless the emigrants should be attacked or threatened, when he will of course go to their aid. Col. Dickey will accompany the party as far as the Kansas and Nebraska boundary, where all will wait until the return of the express dispatched to Fort Leavenworth.

## DEMOCRATIC PRESS

CITY OF CHICAGO.

SATURDAY MORNING, JULY 26, 1856.

### A Good Sign in the House.

Our telegraphic account of the proceedings in the House of Representatives on Thursday is a good deal confused, but the gratifying fact stands without question, that the Ruffian Code of Kansas was declared null and void by a vote of 72 to 57, a majority of 15. We understand the vote to have been taken on an amendment to the Toombs-Douglas Kansas bill of the Senate, which only abolishes some of the more outrageous features of that bundle of legislative abominations. The amendment accomplishes what ought to have been done months ago, and what the majority report of the Kansas Commission had rendered it imperative upon Congress to do at once, unless a majority of both houses had been pre-determined to join the Ruffians to strike a deadly blow at that great palladium of liberty in a free government—the right of the people to choose their representatives. The House was thin when the vote was taken, and it is likely that the majority for the amendment would have been less had there been a full attendance, but we believe it would have passed even then by a majority of three or four.

Only fifteen working days of the session (including to-day) now remain, and we trust the House will continue faithful to the end. Better a hundred times that Kansas should have no government than that the fraudulent panacea of

Education," concocted by Toombs and brought forward by Douglas, should receive the indorsement of the House. Our latest advices from Kansas show beyond question that there is a perfect understanding between the ruffians in Missouri and the conspirators in Congress, and the former are already organizing in anticipation of the passage of the "Pacification" bill, armed to the teeth to carry into effect its main object—that is, to make Kansas a slave State. Let the House, then, stand on its present position. The Senate will not accept the amendment of the House, nor any essential modification of its bill. Very well. It will then have to bear the responsibility of having defeated all decent legislation upon the affairs of Kansas, and Kansas will be where it was before. The military occupation of the Territory will be continued, the marauding bands of ruffians will necessarily be kept out, and the people will soon be able to defend themselves from the assaults of individual robbers and vagabonds.

Meantime there will be opportunity to test the validity of the Ruffian Code of Kansas by an appeal to the Supreme Court. The trial of the prisoners charged with treason, and now confined near Leecompt, will come on, we believe, in September, before Judge Leecompt. He is a mere tool of Atchison and his gang, and of course a jury of like character will be packed for the occasion, for the trial will be a complete mockery of justice from beginning to end. The prisoners will be convicted. So much the better for the cause of Kansas in the end. An appeal will be taken to the Supreme Court, and another more effective appeal to the Grand Inquest of the Nation. The former tribunal will take its own time in arriving at a decision, but when made it cannot fail to be confirmatory of the action of the House in voting to sweep away the Ruffian Code *in toto*. The latter will decide promptly in the early part of November, and we are quite confident that their judgment will be just to Kansas and overwhelming to its oppressors. Let the House stand firm.

## CHICAGO DAILY JOURNAL

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

SATURDAY EVENING, JULY 26, 1856.

### WHAT SHALL BE DONE FOR KANSAS?

The pro-slavery sympathisers with the Border Ruffians of Missouri and Kansas in Congress, acting in unison with the pro-slavery Executive at Washington, having abandoned the freedom-desiring settlers of Kansas to the mercy of ruffianism by refusing to admit the Territory as a State with the Free Constitution framed by them, the only hope for them now lies in Emigration from the North and the election of Fremont. To accomplish the latter, all true freedom-loving men will labor earnestly. Will they do less to render aid to the unfortunate settlers of the Territory, by encouraging emigration thither?

If we expect Kansas to be a Free State, we must labor without ceasing in the matter of encouraging Emigration, and be willing, such of us as are able, to contribute of our means to promote that end. Settle Kansas with men who are determined to be free, and it never will or can be made a Slave State.

The National Kansas Committee appointed at Buffalo by the late Convention is now organized and in daily session, deliberating and taking action on the best means to be employed for the aiding of the free settlers of the Territory. They want the friends of this cause to go to work at once and organize auxiliary societies or committees in every State, county and town, for the purpose of raising funds, and forwarding money and men to the Territory. We trust no time will be lost in responding to these demands of the Committee. In their hands the cause is safe, but they must have the co-opera-

tion of the friends of Freedom of the East and the West.

A meeting of all the members of the National Committee is called to be held in this city on the 30th inst., by which time, it is expected, important and definite information will be received of the present state of affairs in Kansas, from the Committee's agents, now in the Territory.

All communications, calling for information or for other purposes, should be addressed to H. B. Hurd, Secretary of the Committee, in this city.

# DAILY TRIBUNE

DETROIT:

SATURDAY EVENING, JULY 26, 1856

## LAWS OF KANSAS BOGUS LEGISLATURE—LIEUT. GOVERNOR ROBERT'S LETTER—GOV. SEWARD'S SPEECH.

We present to our readers in another portion of to-day's *TRIBUNE* selections from the Laws of the Bogus Kansas Legislature, extracted from the volume of Kansas Laws, published under the supervision of Congress. The Laws it will be seen relate to slave property in Kansas and to elections, qualifications of voters, &c. We bespeak for them a careful perusal. These are the enactments of a body of usurpers to which a free people have been urged at the point of United States bayonets to submit. Gen. Cass has denounced them as "diagraeful to the age," but they are more than that! They have no parallel for diabolism since the code of Draco. These laws have caused the civil war in Kansas, and although a recent bill introduced into the Senate by Mr. Toombs, pretends to invalidate them, let it be remembered that for more than a year the United States army, at the command of Pierce, a Democratic President, aided the officers of the Bogus Legislature in enforcing its laws. Read the laws and think of this!

We also publish Lieut. Gov. Roberts' letter to the *New York Evening Post*, exposing the heartless deception of Toombs' Pacification Bill, and showing that if it shall become a law, Kansas will inevitably fall into the hands of the slave power. The author of this letter has resided in Kansas since its organization, possesses the confidence and affections of its people, knows their wants, has closely watched the movements of the Slave-propagandists, and is just the man to expose their treachery.

We also conclude, on the first page, Gov. Seward's masterly speech on the immediate admission of Kansas, under her free Constitution. Read them all!

### KANSAS.

BY MRS. MARY A. LIVERMORE.

Hunted like the prairie bison,  
Slaughtered like the prairie deer,  
With the crack of gun and rifle  
Ringing sharply in their ear;  
With their homes a blaze behind them,  
And their children on before,  
See the hosts of Freedom fleeing  
From a country theirs no more!

In the dust their banner traileth,  
Overborne by slavery's might;  
And against oppression's legions,  
They have faltered in the fight.  
Pulsing onward from the prairies,  
Comes a loud, imploring cry,  
Waking echoes mid the mountains,  
Piercing even to the sky!

Where arose a fair young city,  
As from out a flowery sea—  
Where the little prairie cabins  
Dotted o'er the beauteous lea—  
Now are charred and smouldering ruins,  
Whence all trace of life hath fled—  
Some before the foe are fleeing,  
Some are sleeping with the dead.

Shall the fields of virgin Kansas,  
Young and beautiful and free,  
By the fearful curse be blackened,  
That e'er clings to slavery?  
There, shall be upbuilt the slave-mart?  
There, the iron fetters wrought—  
Entering deep the darkened spirit  
Of the bondman, crushed, untaught?

Shall the blue vault arching Kansas,  
Hear the sad slave-mother's cry,  
Who, when far her child is sundered  
Asks of heaven but this—to die?  
To this land of bride-like beauty,

Will ye this dark dower bestow  
Slavery, with her lash and fetter,  
And her life-long hours of woe?

NEVER! God of heaven, forbid it!  
Who hast made Thy children free?  
And hast made all nations, brothers,  
And alike as dear to Thee!  
Sooner let the rending earthquake,  
Bury deep the smiling land,  
Than that slavery should defile it  
With the touch of her foul hand!

Freemen, on the hills of granite,  
By the ever-sounding sea,  
Where the "plover winds" are reeless,  
And the dancing waves are free—  
Freemen, of the glorious country,  
Which your fathers bought with blood,  
And a heritage bequeathed you,  
As a trust to hold for God—

Hear the cry from suffering Kansas—  
Freedom's new Thermopylae—  
And again uprear the banner  
Blazoned o'er with Liberty!  
Speak, in tones of gathering fulness,  
As resounds the angry sea—  
"Back, ye unleashed hounds of slaverydom!  
For we will have Kansas free!"  
AGBURN, July, 1856.

## THE EVENING POST.

SATURDAY EVENING, JULY 26.

Quite a triumph was gained by the Republicans in the House yesterday, by the adoption in Committee of the whole, of the amendments to the Army Appropriation bill, refusing the United States military force to uphold the Kansas territorial laws, and declaring such laws "null and void." It would not be surprising if the House should adhere to this amendment even to the loss of the bill, if we may judge from the recent disposition of Dunn and his impracticable associates, evinced in his avowal that he would allow no appropriation bills, or measure in reference to Kansas to pass, without some provision for the substantial restoration of the Missouri Compromise prohibition. A junction of Fremont and a few northern Fillmore men, like Dunn, can without doubt effect the desired object, or "revolution," as the *Union* calls it.

ANOTHER SYMPTOM OF HEALTH.—The cause of freedom yesterday achieved another substantial victory in Congress by the adoption of Mr. Barbour's amendment to the Army Appropriation bill. The amendment was as follows:

"But Congress, hereby disapproving of the code of alleged laws officially communicated to them by the President, and which are represented to have been enacted by a body claiming to be the territorial legislature of Kansas; and also disapproving of the manner in which said alleged laws shall have been affirmed by the Senate and House of Representatives as having been enacted by a legal legislature, chosen in conformity with the organic law by the people of Kansas, no part of the military force of the United States shall be employed in aid of their enforcement; nor shall any citizen of Kansas be required, under their provisions, to act as a part of the *posse comitatus* of any officer acting as marshal or sheriff in said territory."

On motion of Mr. Wakeman, of New York, the amendment was amended by adding the following words:—

"Said laws, and every part and parcel thereof, being declared null and void."

Mr. Barbour's amendment, as amended, was then adopted by a vote of 72 to 57, the largest majority yet cast by the opposition.

The significance of this vote is not confined merely to its bearing upon the administration policy in Kansas, but is much more comprehensive. It is the third great victory which has been achieved in the present Congress over the slave oligarchy, and each succeeding one with less difficulty than its predecessor. The first was achieved in the election of Speaker. That battle was fought desperately for two whole months, because the pro-slavery interest felt that a single check to their progress would be fatal. So it proved. That victory organized the Republican party and officered it with the ablest and most influential men in the Northern states. The Philadelphia Convention was one of its fruits; the perfect submergence of Buchanan in all the free states by the overwhelming enthusiasm for Fremont was another.

Then came the question upon the admission of Kansas with a free state constitution. This too was carried, though, had the bill been introduced at the commencement of the session, or before the backbone of the nullification interest had been broken by the election of Banks; it could easily have been defeated. But the forces of the enemy were dispirited, and it passed by one majority. Within a fortnight the victory is followed up by another, still more significant—the adoption of the amendment to the Army bill, to which we have already called attention, by a majority of fifteen.

ought not to attempt to do anything more for freedom in Kansas, because the Senate is against us and nothing unacceptable to the South can pass that body, to note these facts and symptoms; how the cause of freedom grows by what it feeds on, and how the resistance to the great principles of truth and justice, upon which republican rests, grows feebler and feebler. Let Fremont be elected this Fall, and we have no doubt that any measure in behalf of free territories which his friends might support, would pass the Senate by a handsome majority. That body abounds with such men as Cass and Bright, whose pro-slavery energies would will like a young cabbage-plant, under the rays of a free-soil administration, and who would desert the South as readily, and with as little shame, as they did the North, when they discover that the country is now in earnest about keeping slavery within its constitutional limits.—*N. Y. Eve. Post, 26th.*

## Buffalo Commercial Advertiser.

Saturday Evening, July 26, 1856.

### The Kansas Question—Remarks of Mr. Haven.

In the course of the debate on the adjournment, Mr. Haven took occasion to express some wholesome truths respecting the manner in which the Kansas difficulty has been managed in the House. We copy his remarks, and commend them to the attention of our readers:

Mr. Haven—I am in favor of the resolution as it came from the Senate, which provides that we shall adjourn on the 11th of August. I am not particular whether a few days before or a few days after that day is fixed upon, but I am opposed to spinning out and extending this session into the month of September. I concede the superior knowledge of my friend, the chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, as to the business of the House, although I have studied it very carefully, and endeavored faithfully to keep up with its history during the time we have been engaged in the business of the session.

It is true, as my friend from Ohio has said, that the appropriation bills necessary to be passed have been the special order of the House for some three or four months past: he said four months, but I think that is too long. Yet he appeals to us to give him more time to put those bills through, and for that purpose to continue them as special orders. This is the very objection I make. If four months will not suffice to pass them when they are special orders, four years would not do it. The difficulty is not in the want of time, but of inclination or ability to work and do the labor of the House at all. This Congress has been running along here for months in a very inefficient manner—slipshod, careless, and down at the heel—swinging back and forth with a small majority—vibrating, as I think, in a most unbusiness-like manner, one way or the other, during all that time, with very inconceivable results. And notwithstanding these bills have been made the special order during the time referred to by the gentleman from Ohio, thereby giving them every advantage, yet here they are staring us in the face, and not yet passed through this House alone. There is no end, to this, sir, until we make an end by a final adjournment.

Mr. Campbell—The gentleman is mistaken; we have passed several of them.

Mr. Haven—I did not mean to deny that. I spoke comparatively. Now, the quicker we can adjourn with safety the better. The gentleman has the detailed information on the subject which I have not. Extend the time to September, as he desires, and when the 25th of August comes, my word for it this House will be exactly, in respect to these bills, in the condition that it is now.

Mr. Campbell. In order to present this thing fairly to the House, it is due to me to state that the special order could not be taken up and considered for the reason that there were questions of privilege that took precedence. This is the cause of delay of action on the special order.

Mr. Haven. I desire the gentleman from Ohio, and other members of the Committee of Ways and Means, who have more to do in conducting the business of the House than other members, to understand that I do not impute any neglect or blame to them. I know the embarrassment the committee has to labor under, and I desire to do them no injustice. What I think and what I desire to say further is, that after the very hot days have set in, and our time has been lost, and whittled away as it has been, in useless and irrelevant discussion, bearing in no respect upon any practical business of the country, the remedy is not in putting off the day of adjournment, but in fixing an early day, and determining to work up to it punctually and promptly, and cease these irrelevant, and as I think, useless speeches.

There is something in the suggestion of the gentleman from Ohio about privileged questions like the contested election cases—cases which have been disposed of during the past two weeks. They have, during most of that period, occupied the greater part of the time of the House, I admit; but it is equally true, if we had been governed by a due sense of self-respect, and of the importance of the time of the House, that those privileged questions ought to have been, and would have been settled, and the question of privilege arising out of the assault on a Senator by a member of this House was debated for nearly two weeks, when the whole matter should have been settled in two days, and, I think with a better effect upon the public mind. These election cases are of the same class as it regards privilege; and I regret that my friend from Ohio [Mr. Watson] did not call for the previous question this morning when the contested case from Nebraska was up. Men can talk forever on these questions, if we will obligingly yield to them. I can talk myself on the matter under consideration almost an hour, if the House will listen to me. [Laughter.]

Why, sir, gentlemen will talk to anything, if you will give them your good-natured attention. Many men here seem to wish matters to drag along, and they say "Don't call for the previous question," "Don't take the vote." Continue this everlasting talk, refuse to settle the matter by vote when the facts have been ascertained, and the legitimate discussion has terminated, and in that way we may spin out this session until the next one begins, and even then the business of the country will be in as bad a plight, and no nearer finished, than it is now.

Mr. Speaker, I see, in the unmistakable evidences about me, and in various parliamentary maneuverings of late, that members are determined not to do the business—and I speak in no unkindly spirit—which in my judgment they ought to do—which the peace and quiet, if not the integrity, of the whole country require should be speedily done. I speak, of course, in regard to Kansas. Here are her difficulties, in regard to which we have gone to vast expense. We have raised a committee, and sent it out there to investigate the facts, which have heretofore been in perpetual dispute here. I have not read the report of that committee. I have not yet had time—it is now but three days from the press—it is voluminous—1,188 pages; but I presume, when it comes to be read, it will estop members—it will silence them as to what were and what are the actual facts in the Territory—what the true condition of things is there. Having ascertained the facts, if a proper business spirit could be engendered here—if gentlemen who profess so much sympathy and anxiety for Kansas desired it should have a practical result, or would even allow it, we could take up that question and dispose of it in a day, or in two days at most. We could dispose of it with a knowledge of the facts, and not act as the House did two weeks ago, when the revolutionary—the squatter sovereignty Topeka convention bill was forced through here without the evidence from the committee—without a word of ascertained facts, more than we had when we sent out the committee to Kansas. Sir, there was a purpose in that hot haste then, just as the other House was passing a different bill. There was a desire to make the other House an offer before they made one to us, and then shuffle off the subject, here for the session, give it a wide birth as to legislation, but take it on board and husband it in its political aspects for service in the campaign. I am satisfied of the fact—indeed, I think there is no mistaking the evidences—that the majority here intend there shall be no final disposition of the Kansas question during this session.

On the one hand, the House has forced through a bill by a lean majority that all know the Senate will not accept; and the Senate has acted a very similar part towards the House. Each side seems to think that, with a good-sounding offer, the country will justify it for having made the offer, and not justify, but condemn, the other for rejecting it; whilst the ultimate result—and I believe design—is to leave Kansas in her present terribly distracted condition and sufferings until after the fall elections. Each side intends to go to the people on the offer it has made, but which it knew would not be accepted by the other. That is what is very clear to my mind, and what the country will soon see, is the intention and the drift of the majority here.—I deeply regret it; but it being so the sooner we adjourn the better. I do not blame my friend from Indiana [Mr. Dunn] for attempting to incorporate in the resolution of adjournment an expression of the sense of the House that something should be done on poor Kansas' account before the adjournment. If I thought anything could or would be done here in that way the Senate would pass, I, too, would go for a restriction upon the resolution; but the truth of the matter is, the majority here have determined to do no such thing. The present decree here is that no relief is to be extended to suffering Kansas this season. We have talked about Kansas and her wrongs until the whole country has be-

come excited, and that before we have a word of the proofs which we have sent for bearing upon the subject. We have talked heatedly, without any knowledge of the facts; but the moment we get the facts—the moment our committee report, we let the subject rest—we drop it, and repose ourselves on the talking we have done before. We declare we have made the Senate an offer, (which, it is well known, it will not accept,) and we will stand upon that, and go to the country for the spoils, and the officers, and let Kansas bleed.

Mr. Speaker, seeing and feeling nothing effective is to be done for Kansas, although I would stay as long as he who would stay longest to extend relief to the actual settlers there, if the gentleman from Ohio, the Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, really thinks he will be unable to carry through in the time specified the business particularly confided to his care—I refer to the appropriation bills—then I am for a reasonable extension of the time. My experience, however, is, that the appropriation bills are always passed in the last fortnight of the session, whenever that last fortnight is. If we linger on until November, they will be passed in the last fortnight then, and not until after the day is fixed and known for the adjournment. If the 11th or 18th of the month of August is fixed for the adjournment, the appropriation bills will be passed in time. Such is my opinion. From the evidences around me, the haste of members to act without information and without proofs, and their disinclination to act with either, I am convinced that very little business besides the appropriation bills will be closed up at this session. Therefore, I shall vote for the resolution.

Mr. Greenwood obtained the floor, but yielded to—

Mr. Kennett.—Did I understand the gentleman from New York to say that he would be willing to accept the amendment of the gentleman from Indiana—to vote for the adjournment with a proviso for the restoration of the Missouri Compromise?

Mr. Haven.—I do not know how my friend understood me. I did not know there was anything about the Missouri compromise in the proviso; for I gave no particular attention to its reading, and did not then think of addressing the House; but I state this, and am ready to stand by it: If I believed there was any disposition on the part of the majority of this House to act on the subject of Kansas, with a view to bring it to a conclusion, and that the Senate would concur, I would go for fixing a limitation or qualification on the resolution of adjournment, if that would accomplish it, of the nature of the one proposed by the gentleman from Indiana. I do not speak particularly in reference to the Missouri Compromise; but I do know and speak this: I believe a majority of this House would pass a bill with that provision in it, but only with a knowledge that the Senate would reject it. At the same time, I am of the opinion that the Senate would in the same way send their bill here. I have myself prepared a bill which I have no doubt would pass the Senate, which it seems to me steers clear of prejudices in the North and in the South. It does justice, I believe, on all hands, and secures what moderate and reasonable men desire or will be satisfied with.

It provides, in substance and in brief, for commissioners to take charge of the whole subject of an election in Kansas; for an enumeration of the inhabitants; for a new apportionment for a Legislative Assembly; for a registration of the voters; for a return and registration and right to vote of those who have been driven out, or have left on account of the difficulties there; for a repeal of the obnoxious laws in regard to the right of speech and discussion there; for holding an election in November next for a new Territorial Legislature, and a delegate here. It disannuls the old or present Legislature, and provides that every act passed by it shall be of no force whatever after the new Legislature shall have been in session for ten days, unless the new Legislature approve or re-enact them; and I have added, since it was printed, a provision for discontinuing and annulling all indictments for treason or other political offences, and setting all prisoners for such offences against the alleged laws of the Territory free at once. This is but a very brief statement of its leading features. The territory can then go on like other Territories, until she has enough population to entitle her to a representative here, when I provide for her forming a constitution and coming into the Union as a State. This would be regular and in order; and no rational man here, or elsewhere, can doubt what her institutions would be under such a state of things.

But I have no idea this House will, or intend to, take up this or any similar measure which would stand a reasonable chance to pass both Houses, and receive the executive approval. It will only take up and pass some extreme measure which it is known will never become a law for want of consent from the other branch of Congress. I say this, imputing no personal disrespect to any gentleman here. I am speaking of their politics. I am looking at things as they present themselves in their political aspects here



13 And such are the evidences I see about me.—They are in hot haste to vote before they get the evidence; and they are ready to drop the subject the moment they get the necessary information to act upon it. Am I not justified in saying, that up to this day such is the evidence of the disposition of a majority of this House in regard to Kansas?

In a subsequent stage of the debate, in reply to a question put to him by Mr. Giddings, whether he acted in conformity with right, or in conformity with the Senate, Mr. Haven said:

I could answer the gentleman from Ohio in the same vein; but I rather think that he himself believes that I have always endeavored to do right. I act exactly as I believe to be right; and when I cannot get other men to go up to what I believe to be right—to do all that I think to be right—I will abate a little, rather than that my fellow-citizens in Kansas should bleed while I go to the country on an offer in which I am not sincere.

## The Daily Republic.

BUFFALO, N. Y.

SATURDAY EVENING, JULY 26.

The Early Abolitionists of the Country.

The *New York Times* expresses very little doubt that a large portion of the people of the southern states still adhere to the doctrines of the founders of the republic concerning slavery, and that, if the absolute control exercised over their action by political leaders could be relaxed—if the clamor of the ambitious and reckless among them could be silenced, and voices from the mighty past could be made for awhile to stir the popular heart at the south, the word "sectionalism" would soon be forgotten, and present bitterness be merged in universal recurrence to those bases of union around which the whole country was once contented to rally. THE FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY was a southerner and a slaveholder. If he were alive now, Senator TOOMBS, the Charleston *Mercury* clique and *id genus omne* would denounce him as an abolitionist traitor. In a letter to ROBERT MORRIS, GEORGE WASHINGTON wrote:

"I can only say there is not a man living who wishes more sincerely than I do to see a plan adopted for the abolition of it (Slavery.) But there is only one proper and effectual mode by which it can be accomplished, and that is by the legislative authority, and this, so far as my *sufrage will go, shall not be wanting.*"

The corner stone of the platform erected by the Old Continental Congress in 1787, around which the democracy of the country rallied for sixty years, was laid by THOMAS JEFFERSON in 1784. Immediately after the session, by Virginia, of her territory north of the Ohio river, to the confederation, a committee was appointed in the old congress, and JEFFERSON, CHASE, and HOWELL reported the following resolution:

"That after the year 1800 of the Christian era, there shall be neither slavery or involuntary servitude in any of the said states, otherwise than in punishment of crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted to have been personally guilty."

This was the origin of the famous ordinance, passed on the 13th July, 1787, for the government of that territory—an offshoot from a slaveholding state—the 6th article of which commences as follows: "*There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in said territory.*" On the passage of that ordinance, every state, at that time represented in the old congress, voted in the affirmative. All the southern states represented unanimously that there should be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the northwestern territory. Such were then the patriotic principles of Virginia; such the democracy of the Old Dominion! South Carolina, too, now in the van with her new and extraordinary doctrines, voted for the ordinance of 1787, and for the slavery limitation platform of THOMAS JEFFERSON.

PATRICK HENRY, a magnanimous southern slaveholder and statesman, said: "I believe a time will come when an opportunity will be

offered to abolish this lamentable evil. Everything we can do is to improve it, if it happens in our day; if not, let us transmit to our descendants, together with our slaves, pity for their unhappy lot, and our abhorrence of slavery."—MR. MADISON, another slaveholder, called slavery "a traffic which has long and loudly upbraided the barbarism of modern policy." MR. MONROE said: "We have found that this evil has preyed upon the very vitals of the Union, and has been prejudicial to all the states in which it has existed." GEORGE MASON, also of Virginia, did not hesitate to say in the Virginia Convention: "The slave trade was one of the great causes of our separation from Great Britain. Its exclusion has been a principal object of this state, and of most of the states of the Union. As much as I value the Union of the states, I would not admit the southern states into this Union, unless they agreed to the discontinuance of this disgraceful trade, because it it would bring weakness and not strength into the Union."

It was under the prevalence of such a feeling (for it would be easy to multiply, indefinitely, extracts from the speeches and writings of southern statesmen) that the Union of the federal states was consummated. And it must be by the restoration of such sentiments that it will be preserved. The effort of the public men of the south is now, and many years has been, to make the perpetuation and aggrandizement of slavery the great end and aim of federal and state legislation. Thus far they have met with marked success. If they continue to go on in the path they are now traveling, they may accomplish the object for which they seek—a dissolution and the formation of a new confederacy on the basis of slavery. If the people of the south shall break the bonds in which they are held, and return to the principles and policy of their early statesmen, they will perpetuate the Union which they established and secure for themselves and their posterity the objects for which it was designed.

### Address to the Radical Democracy of the State of New York.

The following address and resolutions were reported to the convention recently held at Syracuse by the Hon. DAVID DUDLEY FIELD, Chairman of the committee, and unanimously adopted:

#### ADDRESS.

*Fellow Democrats*.—The time has come for democrats to declare their independence of those packed conventions which have lately assumed to dictate the measures and the candidates of the democracy. That party of glorious memory, which once spoke and acted for freedom, has fallen into the hands of office holders and political adventurers, serving as the tools of a slaveholding oligarchy. For more than ten years the measures of the general government have been directed mainly to the increase of slave states. One measure has followed upon another, each bolder than the last, until we have violence ruling in the federal capitol, and civil war raging in the territories. For the consummation of each measure, the venal have been purchased, the timid frightened by threats of disunion, the peace loving soothed by promises of future quietness, and the reluctant and resisting silenced and overborne by the clamor and force of a party. Each success has led to a new aggression, until at last the weak man now at the head of the government, stimulated by a Senator from Illinois, in a rivalry for a Presidential nomination, and believing that the best means of reaching it was to secure the entire southern vote, and the best means of obtaining that, a new sacrifice to slavery, attempted to force through Congress the repeal of an existing law, by which a compromise had been effected by our fathers, more than a third of a century past. These rival demagogues succeeded in effecting the repeal, though they lost their reward. By this act of crime, unparalleled even in our day of political crimes, one of the fairest regions of our country, and indeed of the world, has been converted into a field of battle, where citizens of a common country are fighting with each other for the introduction or exclusion of human servitude.—Such another spectacle the world does not present. And the end of it is dependent upon the event of a Presidential election.

To excuse themselves, the authors of the measure put forth the plea that the people of the territories had the right to govern themselves. If this were true, it would not have justified the Kansas-Nebraska act, for that was a mere abandonment of Congressional interposition in favor of Presidential interposition, leaving the law-making power to the people, but reserving the Executive and Judicial to the President or his nominees. It was an abdication by Congress of its legislative functions in favor of the Executive. But the plea was as untrue in fact as it was unworthy in motive. They who put it forth have already abandoned it. The Senate has passed a bill proposing to annul some of the most obnoxious acts of these law-makers, and the authors of the mischief, shrinking from the consequences of their own acts, and forgetting that others will remember their tergiversation, attempt to escape some of the condemnation by undoing a part of the evil.

If the people of the territories have the right to govern themselves, they will make their governors and judges, as well as their legislators. If they have not the right, Congress has it; and if Congress has it, it must be exercised according to the judgment and conscience of the country. The true question, therefore, is, what legislation on the subject of slavery in the territories do the judgment and conscience of the country require?

The present question is, indeed, narrower than that, for it relates merely to the territories of Kansas and Nebraska. These, the legislation of Congress perfected in 1820 by the votes of the north and south—chiefly south—solemnly and forever set apart as free soil. That dedication of the soil to liberty, the degeneracy of the present day has annulled. And the legislation which is now required is that which is necessary, whatever it may be, to make Kansas free.

This is demanded alike and by every consideration, past, present and future. If Kansas, which the past made free, is now to be changed to slave, there must be an end of compromises, and of conciliatory legislation; the faith which prompts one legislature or one generation to respect the engagements of another must disappear; and how long a government can be carried on, without that faith and confidence, without something more than written constitutions, worked by mere majorities, regardless of everything but their own strength and will, they who have read history can answer. If the present struggle is to end, as the Illinois Senator has boasted, in the subjugation of those who opposed his mischievous bill, then, indeed, is the spirit of evil let loose, intimidation and violence are in the ascendant, the real opinion of the country is a thing to be despised, conscience may be laughed at, and it is of no importance to the President or Congress, what the people of the north may think, if the south can be secured with the northern office-holders and purchasable members of Congress, any measure may be safely carried and maintained. How such a state of things commends itself to the spirit or self-respect of northern electors, we ask them to answer.

But what shall we say of the future? Kansas lost to freedom and as a home for the oppressed of all nations. Free labor driven across her borders, and that noble domain of the New World, broader and fairer than any realm of the old, made, not prosperous and rich, like Wisconsin and Iowa, but half barbarous, like Western Missouri.

That, however, is not the worst consequence. The same spirit which contrived the Kansas conspiracy, already hints that the prohibition of the slave trade is an unjust discrimination against the south. And why not? If slavery be no evil, or if a federal legislator may not legislate on the idea that it is an evil, why should he make it piracy to bring a slave into the country? Why not let each man buy, according to his own conscience, what he finds to be property, or, which is the same thing, what he finds anywhere to be saleable? The same principle which justifies the Kansas act must justify the slave trade, and condemn, as an infringement upon the equal right of the south, the exclusion of the foreign traffic. That step being taken, and it is the next if the present succeeds, then slavery is virtually established in all our states; for, according to the high federal, or as the phrase is, the national doctrines of some of our courts, whatever congress authorizes to be imported may be sold, any law of any state to the contrary notwithstanding.

No, fellow democrats, our only safety is to stop where we are—to make Kansas a free state—to punish the authors of the present agitation, and in that way, for that is the only way in which it can be done, put an end to the slavery agitation.

How is this to be accomplished? By rejecting the Cincinnati convention and its nominees,

for they are inseparable. That convention met while the country, or, at least, all but the southern part of it, stood grieved and shocked by the violence and lawlessness in Washington and in Kansas. But not a word of disapprobation did the convention utter. They resolved upon certain truisms which nobody has ever disputed, passed a resolution against a brank of the United States, as if any body had dreamed of such a thing for years—a subject as pertinent to our present circumstances as the Virginia or Kentucky resolutions; and then gravely resolved that every new state must form its own institutions, by imputation denying both to Congress and to the territorial legislature, the right to exclude slavery. It must also be borne in mind, that the author of the Kansas act and the nominees of the Cincinnati convention, have, to this day, declined to say that the people of the territories have the right to exclude slavery.

Who does not know that no free state has ever yet been admitted into the Union, into which, as a territory, slavery was admitted? Who does not know that slavery will go wherever a slaveholder goes, if he is permitted to take it with him; that slavery exists in Kentucky, in a higher latitude than some counties of Ohio and Indiana, and in Missouri, several hundred miles farther north than the southern limits of the free state of Illinois; that it is an institution easily planted in the infancy of settlements and most difficult to be eradicated in their maturity?

But why not let the people of the country decide the question for themselves? say these new professors of "squatter sovereignty," or at least said so before they introduced fire and sword into Kansas, to disarm the squatters in violation of "the right of the people to bear arms"—to break up their meetings in violation of their right peaceably to assemble and petition for a redress of grievances"—to disperse their assemblies gathered to make their own laws—to burn their houses, built with many toils and sacrifices in the midst of the prairies—to hunt their wives and children into the wilderness, their only refuge from the fury of those guardians of squatter's rights. Why not let them decide the question for themselves! If they who decide were only deciding for themselves, there might be some plausibility in the question. But they decide for themselves and for all future inhabitants of the territory. They who come into a territory after slavery is introduced, have not a free choice in the matter. At the very least, wait until there is a sufficient population to make a state before you let slavery come in.—Was it ever heard that when a ship's company is making up for a voyage, the first ten passengers who put their feet on board may make rules for the ninety who follow—rules that shall be unalterable until the ship shall have been a hundred miles at sea? And was it any better to enact a law that the few squatters who entered Kansas before October, 1855, should make laws which could not be altered for two years, even though the population should, in the next year, increase an hundred fold?

Then it is asked what interest is it to us whether the people of Kansas have slavery or not? Is it of no interest to the people of this generation that Virginia is a slave state? If she had been free, what would now have been her population, her wealth, her resources? Her rivers, white with sails, her ships all over the globe, her land cultivated like a garden. If it had fallen to the lot of any statesman of the past generation to decide whether that commonwealth should be free or slave, and he had, for any motive, allowed it to become slave, how would his memory have been cursed by every true Virginian of our day? Who that looks now at Missouri does not see the bitter fruits of that weakness or facility of temper which led a few northern men to unite with the south in yielding it up to slavery? And hereafter, when we who are now in life are passing into the grave, will it not be a stain upon our names and a shadow upon our consciences, if, having the power to prevent it, we should permit Kansas to be slave; another marauding Missouri, instead of a peaceful Iowa, or even a Virginia, instead of a New York or Pennsylvania?

Mr. Buchanan, the candidate of the Cincinnati convention, stands pledged to make the resolutions of that convention his rule of faith and practice. If we are to take his own declaration, he is to be rather an automaton than a free agent. The convention which nominated him—that motley and noisy crowd which nobody would have allowed to decide a matter of business of the smallest importance for himself, has done the thinking of the President for the next four years. If Mr. Buchanan should happen to be that President. Such a candidate, under such circumstances, we cannot support.

Shall we, then, throw away our votes? That we cannot do for two reasons: one, that we

shall thus indirectly contribute to Mr. Buchanan's election; the other, that there is a choice. Mr. Fremont, who has been nominated by the republicans, is an acceptable candidate. His professions and his antecedents are all democratic, and strongly in his favor. He is known to be a man of great capacity, energy, probity and honor. In his hands the Presidential office will be vigorously and justly administered. We have, therefore, nominated him for the Presidency, and his associate, Mr. Dayton, for the Vice Presidency; and we ask you, democrats of New York, to ratify this nomination.

We make no attack upon the south. We remember that the southern people are our brethren, and brothers we mean them to continue.—But they shall not interfere with our rights, nor introduce their institutions into our states, nor fasten them upon the territories before these territories are mature enough to be states, and, as such, to determine their own institutions. We know well how many noble men and women there are in all the south; and we believe that many of them agree with us in respect to the extension of slavery. It is the southern politician and the northern traitor who have done the mischief, and whom we wish to restrain.

We mean no attack and we make none upon state rights. We do not believe in the right of the people of one state to interfere with slavery in another. We no more believe in the right of New York to unmake a slave in Georgia than the right of Georgia to make a slave in New York. The laws of New York and of Georgia must equally determine the personal relations of all within their respective limits. But believing that the territories are under the jurisdiction and subject to the legislation of the Union—confident that there can be no peace in any territory bordering on a slave state but by an act of congress declaring the personal relations of its inhabitants, without which civil war is inevitable, and believing, moreover, that as is the territory, so will the state be, were firmly and unalterably opposed to the introduction of slavery into any territory of the United States.

Such is the disordered state of affairs, under the control of the general government, as to demand of every citizen the most vigilant scrutiny and the gravest deliberation. Each elector throughout the United States has an important office to perform at the coming election; and any neglect to exercise that invaluable right, or any indifference as to the manner in which it shall be exercised at a crisis like this, is guilty not only of an ordinary omission of a known duty, but of gross negligence, approaching criminality.

How has it happened that the sham legislature of Kansas, elected by the combined influence of fraud and force, has dared to do any act bearing even the name of law? How dared such a body so to abuse the civilization of this age as to expel some of its members for no cause whatever, and pass a code of enactments which would disgrace a council of savages? Why has the property of the peaceable citizens of that territory been destroyed, their liberty invaded, and their lives wanionly sacrificed? Why the gangs of marauders from the adjoining state pervading this territory? Why the interruption of and abuse to settlers on their way thither, and the tone of arrogant defiance and abuse of Atchison, Stringfellow and their associates, to the free state men of Kansas? All this has been done under the pledge, express or implied, of the national administration, that every measure tending to the establishment of slavery there, and the exclusion of freedom, should have the hearty co-operation of that administration. Many other pledges of this administration have been broken, but that pledge has been kept to the letter.

Why has judge Kane held that slavery so far exists in the free states as to allow parties of pleasure and others, to invade the free states with their retinue of slaves, and there hold them in the yoke of servitude? Surely, it must be to tutor the free north into acquiescence or subserviency to the institution of slavery. Why has the slave trade sprung up in such alarming strength, and being carried on by traders residing in the city of New York, during the past year? Why have Mr. Buchanan and his associates, at the Ostend Conference, unblushingly claimed the right in our government to take Cuba by force, if it could not be gained by purchase?—Why has the Cincinnati convention followed up the Ostend manifesto with the more startling announcement of the duty of this government to exercise a PROTECTORATE over the whole country bordering on the Gulf of Mexico? Why have Douglas, Pierce and Buchanan—in succession—become converts to the new doctrine that the general government has no power to control the territories? Why have the arms of the nation been turned to oppress our own citizens? Why the subject of slavery agitated by the President, contrary to his express

out in profusion upon the supporters of that institution? These are questions which electors will not fail to inquire into, and answer at the ballot-box.

The abusive and indecent epithets made use of by the chief supporters of Mr. Buchanan against the friends of Mr. Fremont; their disparagement of freedom and encouragement of slavery; their abandonment of every democratic principle, and their devotion to the most odious of all oligarchies, must shake the confidence of the electors in that party, and make the party itself as desperate in its fortunes as it is corrupt in its means for attaining success.

If the spirit of hostility to our free institutions, manifested by the supporters of Mr. Buchanan, had been as violent during the days of Washington, Jefferson and Madison as it now is, those patriots would have been driven from their native state for their love of liberty, and compelled to seek protection where sentiments in unison with their own were held sacred.

The attempts of the Buchanan presses generally to misrepresent the true condition of affairs in Kansas; their desire to make light of the depredations committed by the national administration party against life, liberty and property; the open applause or silent acquiescence of the same party in appeals to brute force, exhibited at the capitol of the nation during the present session of congress; their efforts to induce congress to pass the bill concocted by Senators Toombs and Douglas, containing an ingenious but effective guarantee of slavery to Kansas, though persevered in with that clamorous assurance and dictatorial air strongly characteristic of gross wrong—must and shall be thoroughly canvassed and exposed. The people will not fail to stamp such duplicity with merited condemnation.

The series of measures terminating in the repeal of the Missouri compromise, has proved disastrous to the political prospects of the originators and promoters of the scheme, and subversive of public tranquility. Mr. Buchanan is a fresh recruit to this service. He has surrendered his own principles to the dictation of others. His antecedents are strongly against him. He is not a sound representative of the true democracy of the nation. With his tendency to foreign aggression and domestic strife and discord, he is eminently fitted, by nature and position, to carry out the policy of President Pierce in all its parts. The one has introduced civil strife among our people as the most noticeable feature of his administration;—the other, if elected, seems likely to adopt the same feature in his domestic policy, and also to embark in foreign wars for the purpose of conquest. This convention is prepared to stamp both of these projects with unreserved and unalterable condemnation.

President Pierce promised the democracy of the nation an economical administration of the government. In this, also, his pledges have been broken. No administration has been more prodigal than his. The time which he should have devoted to retrenchment and reform, has been lavished in fruitless efforts to secure his own re-nomination and re election. The dupe of the Cushings and the Davises, his treachery to principle was paid off at Cincinnati with a cheap recompense—THE VOTE OF AN INSINCERE AND HEARTLESS MINORITY. We trust that the defeat of Mr. Buchanan in November next will save him from a similar fate. If Mr. Buchanan is elected, *Kansas is Slave*. If Mr. Fremont is elected, *Kansas is Free*. Thus thinking, we shall labor against the one and for the other. And we earnestly ask our fellow democrats to aid us in the work.

RESOLUTIONS:

Forasmuch, as the conventions of the democratic party in this state and the late convention at Cincinnati, have not only kept silence respecting the public disorders and violence which now unhappily prevail, but have adopted resolutions on the subject of slavery in the territories which are at variance with the traditions and principles of democracy, are anarchical in their tendency and immoral in their results; and, forasmuch, also, as the question of slavery extension has been forced by the administration and the Cincinnati convention into paramount importance, and is made, by politicians, the hinge on which all other questions turn—Therefore,

Resolved, By the democrats of New York here assembled, representing the democracy of the state, that we repudiate these conventions, and all their proceedings, and will act as independently of them as if they had never assembled.

Resolved, That as democrats we stand upon the platforms of Jefferson and Jackson, Tompkins and Wright; on principles which do not change with the clamor of packed conventions, or the schemes of seekers after nominations; and because the extension of slavery has never been,

and can never be the purpose or result, immediate or remote, of true democracy, we hereby declare our uncompromising hostility to it, and our firm resolution to resist it by every lawful means; we will vote for no man who contributes to it, directly or indirectly; and we will oppose the election of any person who does not oppose it as we do.

*Resolved*, That because the nominees of the Cincinnati convention are pledged to make the resolutions of that convention their guide and rule of conduct, and because their election would prolong and tend to perpetuate the deplorable misrule of the present administration, and because the exigencies of the times demand the union of all who oppose the extension of slavery, and the waiver, for the present, of other questions of subordinate importance, and because the opinions of John C. Fremont and Wm. L. Dayton on this subject agree with ours, and there is much in their history and character to commend them to our regard, we hereby nominate them to the offices, respectively, of President and Vice-President of the United States, and will use every honorable effort to secure their election, that we may rescue the Presidential office from the degradation into which it has fallen, and the politics of the country from corruption, which is fast undermining our best institutions.

*Resolved*, That the chief practical question in this Presidential election, is the question of freedom or slavery in Kansas; the election of Mr. Buchanan would make Kansas a slave state, and give courage and strength to the slave element in our national government; while the election of Mr. Fremont will make Kansas a free state, and reduce slavery to what it was in the better days of the republic, and ought ever to have been—a purely state institution, determinable by the states, each for itself, over which the other states have no control, and for it no responsibility.

*Resolved*, That as it respects other questions of national and state policy, though the administration and the Cincinnati convention have made them to be all swallowed up in this one question of slavery extension; yet we are none the less attached to all democratic principles and measures, and none the less ready and willing to labor for them on all necessary occasions.

*Resolved*, That a state committee of three from each judicial district be appointed to further the objects of this convention.

## Norwich Evening Courier.

SATURDAY, JULY 26, 1856.

### Lines

Respectfully inscribed to the Fremont Club of Norwich.

BY R. JOHNSON.

Come to the rescue, one and all  
Come, for it is our country's call;  
The contest now is nigh,  
Send out the song, profl'g the strain,  
Let Freedom and Fremont fill the air  
Till victory shall reply.

While office seekers stride the fence,  
We'll drive each doughface far from hence,  
And tell them we don't need 'em.

For we have found a nobler one,  
Type of the first great Washington.  
And we are all for Freedom.

While candidates may crowd the wa,  
Honest, perhaps we would not say.

But, staid old politicians,  
Pledged to some party years ago,  
Drawn by self-interest to and fro,  
Must side in their conditions.

While Fremont's no party to subscribe,  
With Freeman's heart and Fremont's nerve,  
He'll hold the balance steady;  
While Freedom is our country's song  
Fremont, unpledged, will ne'er go wrong  
But in our cause be ready.

He sees our nation now oppressed,  
The name of Freedom how burlesqued,  
And we as Freeman prate it,  
While thousands groan beneath Slavery's yoke  
Where the dear word of Freedom's spoke  
And yet can never taste it.

While we'd award just rights and laws,  
We'd write, we'd fight, for Freedom's cause,  
And check the growing slavery,  
And we'd the wholesome lesson teach,  
Freedom of press, and, free in speech,  
And honesty, not knavery.

The South we mean shall have her own,  
Though Bully Brooks is voted home  
And turned from the convention.  
While we would not infringe state rights,  
We'd tell those changing satellites  
We'll have no more extension.

Justice now bids the tide to stay,  
Nor roll its influence o'er our way,  
In Kansas and Nebraska;  
We'll teach those in our country's cause,  
If they'll disgrace fair Freedom's laws,  
They'll find their efforts risky.

We want a man on whom to lean,  
No half way taddler, I ween;  
But one who'll serve the nation.  
Well, in our Fremont we have all,  
Come, vote for Fremont, great and small,  
He's worthy of the station.

### That's the Talk!

The House of Representatives went into Committee of the whole, Thursday, on the Army Appropriation Bill, and a very important amendment was engrafted upon the Bill which if adhered to will be a long step toward a most desirable and most righteous result in reference to Kansas.

Mr. Barbour moved to amend the appropriation of \$3,275,000 for the pay of the army, by expressing a disapproval of the alleged laws of Kansas and the way in which they are enforced, declaring that until such laws are confirmed by Congress, they shall not be enforced by Federal troops, nor shall any citizen of Kansas be compelled to act as posse comitatus. [Efforts were made to get this amendment ruled out of order but the House sustained the decision of the chairman that it was in order.] Mr. Barbour said he wanted to prevent revolution by preventing the enforcement of disgraceful laws.

A general debate ensued. Mr. Stanton proposed an amendment declaring the laws of Kansas null and void—passed, 80 to 55. Mr. Barbour's proposition thus amended passed by 72 to 56 in the com.; the com. then rose.

Com. on Elections reported a resolution declaring Mr. Whitfield not elected, and that Mr. Reeder be admitted to the seat as delegate from Kansas. Resolution to be called up next Wednesday.

Mr. Campbell of Ky., gave notice of his intention to speak of the corruptions of the Government from the period of Mr. Buchanan's connection with it, holding himself responsible in or out of the capitol for what he may utter.

## The Evening Press.

HARTFORD:

SATURDAY, JULY 26.

### Freedom vs. Oppression.

It has disturbed our neighbors of the *Times* that the Germans should so generally support FREMONT and Freedom, and it denies that all of them will vote for the Pathfinder. There are, undoubtedly, exceptions. It would be strange if Slavery had no its advocates and supporters among that portion of our citizens as well as among all others. The apologists and defenders of tyranny and oppression, exhibited in Kansas, no matter where they have been their birth-place, or country, will not be found in the FREMONT ranks. All such go for BUCHANAN, no matter what country may have produced them, but the champions of freedom are for FREMONT.

The lovers of liberty and the apologists of tyranny are confined to no country or clime, but are found in every community and among every people.

Freedom has her votaries in despotic Austria, and Slavery her defenders in republican America.

In our own country, and in the pending election, JAMES BUCHANAN is the representative man of the advocates of slavery in all its forms, whether in the degrading and demoralizing servitude of the black race in the South, or the tyranny, oppression and wrong that is witnessed in Kansas in the West. On the other hand, JOHN C. FREMONT is the representative man of freedom, liberty, justice and right. While he would not and can not disturb the institution of domestic slavery in States where it is established under the shield of State sovereignty, he is opposed to its extension and nationalization by the central government, and would defend the constitutional rights and liberties of free state men in Kansas, so ruthlessly invaded and trampled under foot by the Administration and the party that support JAMES BUCHANAN.

These are the opposing issues and the opposing candidates before the people. The friends of liberty and right, whether born on the Connecticut or the Rhine, will vote for FREMONT, while the advocates of, and the flunkies who apologize for Slavery whether native or foreign born, will vote for BUCHANAN.

This is a question of principle, and intelligent and independent men will be governed by their individual convictions in the votes which they shall give. It does not surprise us that so large an element of our emigrant population sympathize with FREMONT and Freedom. They perceive the FREMONT cause is that of liberty, truth, justice, universal toleration and the rights of man, and that the BUCHANAN cause is the opposite. And they can not fail to distinguish that while the latter appeals to them as a class, that the very ground assumed would lead the enemies of freedom, if they had the power, to oppress them as a class. The leaders of the slavery propaganda in Congress have stated their distrust of the emigrants who fled from the oppressions of the old world to obtain liberty here, and the Senate has recently passed a bill taking from them the right of voting in Kansas. Our neighbor of the *Times* while appealing to them as a class, justifies their exclusion as a class. Such are the absurdities and contradictions involved in the abandonment and disregard of fixed principles.

Those who support FREMONT are the friends of toleration, liberty and justice to all, and of proscription to none. They do not ask what have been or what are the party antecedents or associations of any, where they were born, or where they have lived. If friends of Freedom, their candidate is and should be FREMONT, who is the representative of that cause. If opposed to Freedom, or in favor of extending slavery, if the apologists for bondage and oppression, and disposed to convert our government into one of tyranny, they should support BUCHANAN, who is the candidate of that policy.

## The Republican.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

SATURDAY MORNING, JULY 26, 1856.

The New York Tribune has a letter from Lawrence, Kansas, dated the 15th. Several companies of ruffians had gone north to intercept and drive back free state emigrants entering through Iowa. The ruffians expect the passage of Douglas's last bill, and are confident that by keeping out free state emigrants and driving from the ballot-box those now in the territory, they can adopt a pro-slavery constitution. The Platte Argus, Atchison's home organ, was zealously urging Missourians to go into the territory before the 1st of August, and get a residence, so as to be able to vote in November. It says:

"Go there at once—be there as settlers—be there to be enrolled—be there to vote, and thus save yourselves and your country! We are glad to see all around us preparing to move. Knowing that the day for the final struggle has come, they do not hold back. Let others do their duty and we are saved."

So also the slavery propagandists at the extreme South are zealously at work to complete the de-

sign of Douglas's last grand move for slavery. A steamboat passed Springfield, Ill., one day last week, with 90 Missisippians for Kansas, all completely armed, who are described as the hardest set of ragamuffins ever seen on the river. These men will march into the territory without hindrance, of course, and when there will aid their brethren in robbing and sending back such free state men as may attempt to enter the territory. Very likely they will be enrolled in Shannon's militia as soon as they land at Leavenworth, and be placed under pay of the general government. A company of 26 South Carolinians also went up from St. Louis last week, of whom the Democrat says, "to judge from their conversation, if they don't soon get a chance at a fight, they will spile." Major Buford has gone home to raise more money. He states that the \$50,000 he himself invested in the enterprise has all been used up, but his men instead of taking claims and securing him by a portion of their lands, as they agreed to do, prefer to hang about the settlements and depend upon the contributions of Missouri for support. He thinks his patriotism fares hard, and has a poor prospect of personal returns.

Mr Holliday, a printer of Lawrence, was seized near Leavenworth, on the 7th, by six of Shannon's militia and robbed of his horse, saddle and money.—On the 4th a party of 125 ruffians from Missouri, on their way to Lawrence, were met by the U. S. dragoons, disarmed and driven back. This is the first instance of the disarming of ruffians by the government troops, and they were taken all aback by it. The exploit was accomplished by Lieut McIntosh, and it is believed by the Missionaries that he must have exceeded his instructions, and that his conduct will be promptly rebuked by president Pierce.—Gov Robinson and his associate traitors imprisoned at Leecompton, addressed a letter to Col Sumner, on the 7th, reviewing with just severity the oppressions enacted by the general government, and especially its last outrage in the dispersion of the free state legislature by the troops.

The N. Y. Tribune is raising a Kansas fund, the proprietors opening it with \$1000, and asking their readers to add one dollar each.—Rev William Henry Channing sends from Liverpool, where he is now preaching, \$20 in aid of the free settlers in Kansas and the same amount to circulate the speeches of Seward, Sumner and Wilson for free Kansas.—There was a large Kansas meeting at Marlboro, Wednesday night; \$120 was raised, and a committee appointed to solicit subscriptions from all the inhabitants of the town.—William B. Parsons, a student of Dartmouth college, who went to Kansas a democrat, has returned a republican, and is giving interesting addresses upon the condition of Kansas.

#### Running the Missouri Gauntlet.

Correspondence of the Republican.

LEAVENWORTH CITY, Kansas, July 8.  
I arrived in this city late last night. In coming up the river, I can speak of no "hair-breadth" escapes, or imminent deadly breaches—of being taken by the insolent foe, and sold to slavery"—but I pretty effectually sold one pro-slavery man, the driving of which trade I will relate, with your permission.

You must know that Southern emissaries are doing the dirty work of slavery on the Missouri river steamers. They have established an infernal system of espionage. No stranger on the river is free from their insolent intrusions. In coming from Kansas city to this place, I am confident I was watched by one of those ruffian spies. I was seated at a table in the cabin, making a record of certain events, in a large book which I had brought for the purpose. I observed a fellow pass and re-pass me several times, with eyes intent on that book. Since it was a big book, perhaps he thought it was big with the fate of Kansas, or that it might contain something that would betray me. This latter suspicion, if he had it, was true. I therefore devised an expedient to dispel it. Now it so happened that this book was an Index Rerum (Dr Todd's) into which I had been accustomed to insert certain elegant or pithy extracts from various authors. It also contained sundry law maxims and legal definitions. One page was entirely covered with legal rules under the head

of Titles to Real Property. I opened the book on this page, and leaving it on the table thus opened, I retired to a convenient distance, keeping a strict watch, however, upon the movements of my curious friend. I was confident he would examine this page, and that after he got pretty well involved in Contingent Remainders and Executory Devises, his intellect would give out, and his curiosity be completely satisfied.

I was not disappointed. After studying awhile upon law titles, and probably concluding that this was a pursuit of knowledge under difficulties, he began to turn over the pages. I immediately stepped up to him, and, politely taking the book from his hand, asked him if he did not think it was quite a curiosity, at the same time showing him its title, and explaining its nature. I illustrated my remarks by submitting to his inspection, critical, no doubt, several elegant extracts from distinguished authors, in which the words "Kansas" or "Free Soil" could not be possibly discovered by the sharpest eyes, all of which he appreciated with seeming relish, and agreed with me, that the book was exceedingly useful in fixing in the memory whatever of reading we wish to retain. I was troubled no farther with Mr Paul Pry.

Speaking of Paul Pry, I was in need of his remarkable inventive faculties, to enable me to find a resting place last night. It was midnight when I arrived. I knew no free State man—and no free State hotel. I wandered about for sometime, and, at last, found myself vigorously knocking at the door of what proved to be a pro-slavery house. No one answered from within. Presently a man whom I had observed on the levee, a suspicious looking fellow, came from that direction close to my person, and I asked him if I could get lodging there. He said nothing, but immediately started in the same direction from which he came. I soon heard a shrill whistle, which was answered by another. Then this man, in company with another whom also I recognized as having seen on the levee, approached me. They told me to follow them if I wished for lodging. Remembering the outrages which had been committed in this wicked city, my first thought was that I was in the hands of ruffians, and that their object was to fleece me. Free State men here are considered legitimate objects of plunder. My next thought was to dissolve all connection with these fellows, and make good my retreat. But the question where to go, was one of considerable importance which I could not satisfactorily answer. I therefore assumed a cool indifference, and followed my guides, rather reluctantly, I confess. I was conducted into a large hall in which were thirty beds or more, most of them filled with snoring, wheezing, grunting occupants. I went to bed armed and equipped as the law of safety directs, not to sleep, but painfully to listen to certain unearthly guttural sounds, which, to my excited imagination, in that strange place, were so many signals for ruffianly attacks. But the glad light of morning at last came, and I hailed the "offspring of Heaven first-born," if not with the poetic utterances of Milton, certainly with heartfelt gratitude. I do not know that I was in the slightest danger from these men. Probably not. They might have been as much concerned for their safety as I was for mine, and they would naturally have a repugnance to entertaining midnight strangers these troublous times. But I am free to confess, that their mysterious proceedings, the calling and responsive whistle, the consequent approach in that lone hour of the night, gave me unaffected alarm. I have since learned that there is in this city a band of desperate men, who are never known to do any work save that of mischief. They subsist on plunder, and are eagerly watching the arrival of every boat, in expectation of victims. In connection with this, I am reminded that one of the men above alluded to, inquired where I was from. I told him I had come from St. Louis, which was strictly true, for I had left that city on the Saturday previous. I took it for granted that this Paul Pry the second wished to be informed from what place I had come on the boat. Not pursuing his inquiries any farther, I did not feel called upon by exigency of the

occasion to enlighten him any farther upon the subject of my travels.

On the second day of July, a party of sixteen men from Illinois landed at the levee of this city. They are remarkably quiet and inoffensive men. They had come with agricultural tools, with three months' provisions, and with much other personal property, besides Sharpe's rifles, one to each man. These guns were not at all displayed, but they were hidden in the bedding of the party so effectually that they had escaped the notice of thirty armed ruffians who examined the boat at Kansas city. All this property was stored in a warehouse in this city. Most of it has been seized by the robbers—the guns distributed among them; and the consignee of the goods declares that he expects that the remaining portion will be soon carried off. One of this Illinois party told me, that every particle of his property that could be got hold of was stolen, and he has nothing left except that which is about his person.

You remember that the sham democracy claim, that trust in the discriminating justice of the American people is the peculiar feature of their political creed, for which, overturn the planks of their platform, and "when found, make note of." The outrage above described, for which the democracy is responsible, (for Frank Pierce could have prevented it if he had seen fit), was probably enacted expressly in order to exemplify that beautiful trust which the democracy have in the discriminating justice of the American people. So, too, eighteen families from Iowa, passing through Platte city the other day, on their way to Kansas, were stopped by a band of men, probably with that senatorial bear, Davy Atchison, at their head. They were robbed of their goods, and obliged to retrace their steps to their old homes. This is trust in the discriminating justice of the American people! But I am tired of these sickening details. When will the day of retribution come? PIONEER.

#### The Campaign.

BY A MEMBER OF THE CHICOPEE FREMONT CLUB.  
TUNE—Captain Kidd.

Buchanan he grows small,  
Over there! over there!!  
Buchanan he grows small,  
His chances are not tall,  
For they leave him, one and all,  
Over there! over there!!

They've heard of Kansas' plains,  
Over there! over there!!  
They've heard of Kansas' plains,  
Where naught but terror reigns,  
With the dwellings all in flames,  
Over there! over there!!

They've heard of Franklin Pierce,  
Over there! over there!!  
They've heard of Franklin Pierce,  
Who fell from off his horse,  
And run away, of course,  
Over there! over there!!

They've heard of bully Brooks,  
Over there! over there!!  
They've heard of bully Brooks,  
For the people read the books,  
And they do not like the looks,  
Over there! over there!!

They've had enough of these,  
Over there! over there!!  
They've had enough of these,  
No soul with them agrees,  
The breed it does not please,  
Over there! over there!!

They've heard another name,  
Over there! over there!!  
They've heard another name,  
And they know it is the same,  
That kindles hearts a-flame,  
Everywhere! everywhere!!

They're going for Fremont,  
Over there! over there!!  
They're going for Fremont,  
You may depend upon't,  
From Ohio to Vermont,  
Everywhere! everywhere!!

#### From and about Kansas.

A telegraph dispatch from St. Louis states that Col Lane crossed the Missouri into Kansas, on Monday, with 600 men, armed with Sharps' rifles, revolvers and bowie knives. After crossing, Lane returned, saying he would force his way up the Missouri with his other regiment.

SATURDAY, JULY 26, 1856.

Special Despatch to the Boston Daily Advertiser.

WASHINGTON, July 24, 1856.  
Thursday evening.

Mr. Burlingame arrived to-night. His friend, Mr. Campbell of Ohio, named Canada as the place of meeting, and claims his own responsibility therefor. I understand that Mr. Burlingame objected to it, lest it should be deemed inconvenient by Mr. Brooks, but Mr. Campbell properly insisted that that was his business.

The House Committee on Territories will to-morrow report resolutions, declaring that Mr. Whitfield is not entitled to a seat, and that Mr. Reeder is entitled to one as delegate from Kansas.

News was received here, to-day, that Schuyler Colfax has been re-nominated by acclamation by the Republicans in the Ninth District of Indiana.

The debate in the House, to-day, was of exciting interest, as showing that the Kansas question takes the deepest hold of any now pending. It is the determination of the Republicans to insist upon their amendments, declaring the Kansas laws null, even if they lose the army bill by it. Mr. Matteson of N. Y., intends moving an amendment, that no money appropriated by the bill shall be expended until *nolle prosequis* are entered on the Kansas indictments for constructive treason.

The Atlas.

SATURDAY MORNING, JULY 26, 1856.

The printing of a large number of the report and evidence in the Kansas investigation, produces great feeling on the Southern side of the House. One of the gentlemen on that side, Mr. Carlisle, of Va., took up the book, comprising 1600 pages, and, presenting it to the House, declared that the Southern members would not send it among their constituents. This is entirely probable. Indeed no honorable Southern man can be willing to circulate the proofs of such atrocious outrages, as are shown by this report to have been committed by their allies and in their cause. We have not had since the Greek insurrection in 1824, any civil war within the pale of Christianity, characterized by such cruel and unmanly excesses as this war of the slaveholders upon the settlers of Kansas. The Turks were not merciless compared with their Border Ruffian imitators.

Daily Evening Traveller.

BOSTON:

SATURDAY, JULY 26, 1856.

What can be done for Kansas?

It is very evident that no legislation for the benefit of Kansas will be effected by the present Congress, unless some different proposition shall be entertained by the two Houses than either of those now before them. Of course there is not the remotest possibility that the Senate will pass the House bill, providing for the admission of Kansas as a State with the Topeka Constitution. In fact, the Senate has already taken up the House bill, struck out all after the enacting clause, and inserted the Toombs-Douglas bill, and sent it back to the House. Equally impossible is it that the Senate bill, providing for the election of delegates to a Convention to be held on the first Monday in December next, for the formation of a State Constitution, can ever be got through the House. If anything is to be done for Kansas, therefore, at the present session, it must be through some measure which will, as far as practicable, avoid the objections which attach to both these bills.

We have been disposed to favor the admission of Kansas as a State under the Topeka Constitution, as the speediest way of putting an end to the disturbances in the Territory; though there has always been room for doubt as to the expediency of establishing a State Government until the Territory shall have become farther advanced. The most proper course to be observed in relation to our Territories is undoubtedly to allow them to

remain under the care of the General Government during what may be deemed their minority, and not to raise them to the dignity of States until they shall have become sufficiently populous, and so far advanced in wealth and resources as to be enabled to sustain themselves in an independent position. The Territory of Kansas is not now presumed to be in this condition; and nothing but the extreme urgency of the circumstances of the case would justify its present admission as a State.

But, as we have intimated, it is evident that Kansas cannot be admitted as a State with the Topeka constitution; and it has become a question for serious consideration, whether any other mode can be devised for its present security and prospective admission as a free state. The bill of Messrs. Toombs and Douglas, although on its face a fair measure, must be unfair in its operation, for it is to be applied to a most unfair state of things in the Territory. The Free State party there is now shorn of a great portion of its strength; nor is it likely that it can recover itself in time to participate to any great extent in the election of delegates to the Convention proposed to be held on the first of December next. The result, therefore, is likely to be that the Convention will be controlled by the pro-slavery party, and that a consummation devoutly to be deprecated will be achieved by the formation of a Constitution establishing slavery. The friends of free Kansas must therefore oppose this measure, if they would avoid a possible, if not a probable defeat of their great purpose.

Inasmuch, therefore, as it is impracticable to make Kansas a State at present, the interests of the Territory demand that there should be some legislation by Congress to secure to the inhabitants of the Territory a fair representation in the next Territorial Legislature; to protect them against any outside interference in the management of their domestic affairs, and to afford them all practicable relief from the obnoxious laws passed by the first Legislature.

Mr. Haven, of New York, has given notice of his intention to offer a bill in the House of Representatives—as a substitute for the Senate bill—which appears to be well calculated to effect these objects. This bill proposes that four Commissioners shall be appointed by the Secretary of the Interior, whose duty it shall be to cause a faithful and impartial enumeration of the inhabitants of the Territory, and a like enumeration and a catalogue of the names of all the legal voters resident in each election district on the 30th day of June last. After the enumeration of the inhabitants is completed, and the returns made, the Commissioners are to proceed to make an apportionment for members of the Council and House of Representatives of the Territory, giving the inhabitants one representative for every one thousand people, and one member of the Council for every two thousand. After making such apportionment, the Commissioners are to cause a list of the voters in the several election districts to be published and distributed among the inhabitants, to the end that the inhabitants may inspect them and apply to the Commissioners to correct errors, for which purpose the Commissioners are to remain in session from the time of making the apportionment until the twenty-fifth day of October next. The voting lists having been perfected, an election for members of the Territorial Legislature is to be held, under suitable regulations, on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November next. Those persons who may have been *bona fide* inhabitants of the Territory, at any time since its organization, and who shall have left on account of disturbances therein, are to be allowed to vote at this election, provided they return before the first day of October next, and with the intention of making the Territory their permanent home. Severe penalties are provided for those who shall attempt to influence any qualified voter in giving his vote, or disturb or hinder him in the exercise of his right of suffrage; for those who vote at any election without the proper qualifications; and for any fraud or irregularity on the part of the judges of election.

The bill further provides for the repeal, or declares of no force or effect the alleged laws of the Territory concerning freedom of speech and of the press, upon the subject of slavery, imposing condition upon the exercise of the right of suffrage by qualified voters;—and other obnoxious acts of the so-called Territorial Legislature. It also provides that all complaints or indictments now pending in any Court of the Territory for political offences, including indictments

for treason, shall be dismissed and discontinued, and that the parties now detained or imprisoned for such offences, shall be dismissed immediately upon the passage of the bill.

The Legislature elected under the provisions of this bill is to meet at Topeka on the first Tuesday of December next, to remain in session for a period not exceeding sixty days. The power of any former Legislature is to cease upon the passage of the bill, and no law enacted by such legislature shall be in force in the Territory after the tenth day of December next, unless the same shall be approved or re-enacted by the new legislature. When it shall appear by a census to be taken by the authority of the legislature that there shall be the number of inhabitants (92,420) required by the present ratio of representation for a representative in Congress, the legislature is authorized to provide for the election of delegates by the people of the Territory to a convention for the formation of a constitution and State government, preparatory to their admission into the Union, on an equal footing with the original States in all respects whatever.

The remaining sections of the bill contain some provisions in regard to the disposition of a portion of the public lands in the new state, and in conclusion the President is authorized and empowered upon application of the Board of Commissioners to employ such military force, according to existing laws, as he shall deem necessary to secure the faithful execution of the provisions of the act.

This bill—though perhaps not what is to be preferred in all particulars—certainly seems to be a judicious, wise and statesmanlike measure. It affords a ray of light with which to dispel, in some measure, if not altogether, the dark clouds which now hover over Kansas. It does no violence to any one's prejudices, North or South; it is in harmony with the usual principles regulating the course of the General Government towards Territories; it asserts the right and power of the General Government to control the course of the Territory, and its obligation to do so until it becomes populous enough for a State; it gives also essential relief to the inhabitants of the Territory from the evils under which they are now suffering. The inquiry now presents itself, shall the Territory be left, in its present attitude, to the tender mercies of disorder and civil war; or shall it be secured to the best form of American civilization? Will Mr. Haven's project solve this important question in favor of the cause and interests of freedom? As we have intimated, we have hopes that it will; and some of the most active and efficient friends of Kansas in this quarter are so confidently of the same opinion, that they have, as we understand, expressed their full concurrence in the measure.

Lawrence Courier.

LAWRENCE, JULY 26, 1856.

A Revolutionary Poem Revived.

TO THE FREE STATE MEN OF KANSAS.

STAND! the ground's your own, my braves!  
Will you give it up to slaves?  
Will ye look for greener graves?  
Hope ye mercy still?  
What's the mercy despot's feel?  
Hear it in the battle peal!  
Read it on your bristling steel!  
Ask it, ye who will!

Fear ye foes who kill for hire?  
Will ye to your homes retire?  
Look behind you; they're a-fire!  
And, before you, see  
Who has don't it! From the vale  
On they come! and will you quail?  
Leaden rain and iron hail!  
Let their welcome be!

In the God of battles trust!  
Die we may—and die we must!  
But, O, where can dust to dust  
Be consigned so well  
As where heaven's dews shall shed  
On the martyred patriot's bed,  
And the rocks shall raise their head,  
Of his deeds to tell!

SATURDAY MORNING, JULY 26, 1856.

[For the Telegraph and News.]

It is with no ordinary degree of satisfaction, as you may well suppose, that I perceive the name of Fremont at the head of your columns, that you Mr. Editor, may have the satisfaction of recording, and I of reading the glad tidings of his triumphant election to the exalted station he is so abundantly competent to fill, is certainly my most earnest and heart felt desire. It can be done, and it only remains for those who love freedom and hate slavery to say *It shall be done.* It seems to me to be the first and paramount duty of every true American who loves his country above all other, who glories in her good name and the exalted position she should occupy among the nations of the earth. It is the duty of all such I say, in at least suspending all differences of opinion on matters of less immediate importance, to join hands heartily in the great work of crushing out a despotism more detestible and abominable, than any other with which the earth is cursed, and to make our fair land, our goodly heritage, that is now a mockery and a bye word among the nations, in truth and in deed the land of freedom. That liberty shall be the rule, and slavery, while it exists, the exception. Gradually and cautiously, but persistently and surely has the monster thrown his slimy evils around us, his envenomed, poisonous breath is in our faces, it needs but one blow more to have it all his own way. Shall it be so, or shall we care the strength we have, to tear this dragon asunder and to drive him back stripped, maimed, and howling to his den. One or the other must, and will be the event; there will be no half way work, no compromise about it. Shall we go on and cry peace, when there is no peace? Shall we give countenance and support to an administration whose next crusade against the people, promises to be but a refinement upon, and a fitting climax to the abominable and devilish deeds of the present one,—an administration that takes to its bosom and into its council, drunkards, blacklegs, murderers, ruffians, and bullies; that knocks out the brains and spills the blood of our Senators on the floor of congress, and gives the lie, direct and plump, to its own declaration of pretended principles, as appears on the face of the infamous Kansas-Nebraska act; that instigates, encourages and protects, the most infamous, and thoroughly brutalized gangs of villains the world has ever seen or heard of, in their acts of piracy, robbery and murder on the rivers, those public highways of the nation, and on the land; that applies the torch of the incendiary to the dwellings of the peaceful, and honest settler, on the public domain, and batters down their ho-

tels and dwellings with cannon and muskets taken from the U. S. armies for the purpose, with the understanding and consent, even if not by the positive orders of the Government, and for no other purpose than that of forcing upon that great and beautiful portion of our land, that was once by solemn, irrevocable compact consecrated to Freedom forever, the accursed institution of slavery. Our citizens are deprived of their armies, and their peaceful assemblages are broken up by the intervention of an armed body of U. S. troops on the 4th of July, in direct violation of the positive guarantees of the Constitution.

These are grave, serious charges, are they? well, should not wonder if they were, but is there any sane man in, or out of the state prison or the custom house, that can begin to show that they are not true. It is not only upon the plains of Kansas that this stupendous iniquity is to be established. Give this slave oligarchy another four years lease of power, and the remaining territories will gradually but surely feel its blasting, withering curse, the buying, selling, and holding of slaves will be legalized in the now, nominally, free states; and Senator Toombs may verify his insolent threat of calling the roll of his slaves under the shadow of Bunker Hill Monument. The African slave trade will be established and legalized, and freedom will be subdued, crushed out.

Descendants of the men of Bunker Hill, Lexington and Concord, shall these things be, will you acquiesce?

Free laborers, men of the plough, the loom, and the anvil, and of every implement of Industry, the honest use of which gives to yourselves and your children homes, food, churches, and schools, you who would "secure the blessings of liberty to yourselves and your posterity," are you willing that your labor and theirs, should come in competition with that of slaves?

"To this complexion we *must* come at last," if we are not true to ourselves. One of the most encouraging and significant signs of the time, is the very evident dismay, and consternation, manifested by our impious Belshazzers at Washington. They see the handwriting on the wall, and like their prototype of old, the joints of their knees tremble and smite together, and their strength has departed from them. Their magicians and soothsayers, their Cushings, Douglasses, and Stringfellows are at fault, and their cry is, men and brethren, what shall we do,—border ruffians, bullies and kidnappers, what *SHALL* we do?—The Senate is crowded with bills for pacification, and protection and explanation, and for the sake of deprecating the storm of righteous indignation that is about bursting upon their heads, they would do any thing, every thing, except that which is simply right and just. Their iniquity is to appear in a new and different shape; a horn is to be taken off here, a tail there, a cloven foot ingeniously concealed, and the vile spawn of Satan, gild-

ed and sugared over with specious but transparent lies, and then, perhaps, it may forced down the throats of an indignant and outraged people,—and perhaps not. Mess Brooks, Douglass, Cushing & Co., you will hear the reading of the writing, and will listen to the interpretation thereof. Friends freedom be true to truth, and to yourself and

"Henceforth our song shall be,  
Free soil, free speech, free press, free men,  
FREMONT, and Liberty."

C. A. B

## The Caledonian.

ST. JOHNSBURY, JULY 26, 1856.

LECTURE ON KANSAS.—REV. A. WEBSTER will lecture on Kansas at *Union Hall*, Friday evening, the 25th. Don't fail to hear him. Mr. Webster is a very respectable clergyman of Montpelier. The *Repository* says, he "went to Kansas, a few weeks since, on a mission of mercy—to, bring home an insane brother. He minded his own business,—intruded his opinions on no one—and yet he was deceived and shamefully abused by the pro-slavery men in Kansas; and when he returns home, the *Patriot* continues the abuse of him by saying that all parties there seem to have taken him for a 'greenhorn.'—What has Mr. Webster done to merit such treatment from a neighbor?"

### 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.

### CIRCULATE THE FACTS!

In a government where the people are the law makers, it is of the utmost importance that every man be well informed upon every subject on which he is to vote. In the present campaign, this is of more than usual importance. New issues are before the people. A new party is in process of formation. There is a general overturning of old landmarks. Measures of vast magnitude are proposed for consideration. Scenes of violence and disorder occur on the frontiers of the land, which in relation to sections and interests, are of peculiar significance. Facts are every day occurring which no American citizen ought to be ignorant of, and without understanding which he can not vote intelligently. Facts are the greatest arguments which need to be made use of to overturn the administration. Facts are sharper than a two-edged sword. Put them in the hands of the people and they will hew in pieces this Agag of Slavery, and the rotten platform on which he stands.

Foremost among the facts that ought to be universally circulated, are those relating to the attempts of the slave power to force slavery into the Territory of Kansas. The history and character of the whole dark scheme, from its inception and birth, commencing with the first introduction of the Kansas-Nebraska bill into Congress, to the last act of piracy on

ner, and last tyrannical usurpation at Topeka, should be spread before the people in their naked, simple truth. The facts upon this subject are presented with great clearness in Mr. Sumner's last speech, and in the Majority Report of the Congressional Kansas Investigating Committee. Both these documents are too long for general newspaper reproduction, but yet of such value as to render their perusal imperative upon every voter. Several other speeches upon this subject should not be overlooked. Those of Senator Seward, and Mr. Colfax, are especially valuable. That of the latter, upon the "Laws of Kansas," presents in the clearest light the rascally enormity of the Missouri code first enacted under forms of legislation by illegal banditti from the Slave States, and then forced upon an unwilling people by United States Dragoons acting under order from the President. These four documents have to do entirely with facts, and if any man will read them dispassionately, we will answer for the correctness of his inference therefrom.

Next in value in our estimation is the Life of Colonel John C. Fremont, our candidate for the Presidency. With a character so daring, truthful, and self-reliant, and a career so heroic and grand, attainments so noble and commanding, and a nature made strong and enduring by hardships and stern experience, the history of his life and achievements is well fitted to stir the generous impulses of the American heart and endear him in the affections of the people. There are several good editions of his life, of which the campaign Tribune edition is the best for the price, namely \$2.50 per hundred, or \$20 per thousand copies.

Among other documents which are worthy of extensive circulation are the speeches of Senator Trumbull of Illinois—one delivered in the Senate on the bill to annex Kansas to Nebraska, and one spoken at the great Republican ratification at New York; the speech of Colonel Benton upon the Cincinnati Convention and the democratic platform; the short speech of Senator Hamlin of Maine, in the recantation of the principles and candidates adopted at Cincinnati, and the vigorous, hearty, and honest letter of George Law. Such of these and other documents as are suitable to our limits we shall publish, to the exclusion, until after election, of the usual amount of miscellaneous matter. But some measures must be adopted to bring the heavier and longer array of facts before the people. Here is a work for clubs and individuals to do. The circulation of such documents as the above among doubtful and opposition voters will be of more service to the cause of Truth than any other measure we can think of. As fast as Intelligence spreads, so fast will Error and Prejudice flee away. This is an encouraging fact, for the world moves on, and the end cometh to every delusion.

#### THE ISSUE AS IT IS.

The miserable subterfuges which are made use of by the administration politicians to bring upon the Republican cause, are deserving of the most supreme contempt. If ever a contest ought to be decided upon its merits, it is the one we are now engaged in. Yet it is almost impossible to bring the opposition to the real and only issue. At the North, Republicans are accused of being Disunion-

ists and Nullifiers. At the South, we are Abolitionists and Know-Nothings.

With this misrepresentation of our principles come slanderous charges against the Republican Candidate. The opposition seem determined that Fremont shall be a Catholic in spite of himself. He is charged one day with having secured the nomination by the liberal use of his enormous wealth, and the next, with being a defaulter to the fabulous amount of hundreds of thousands. These charges refute each other, and are contemptible in themselves; but they show plainly enough the spirit of the opposition, and are indicative of the weakness of the cause which is obliged to resort to such falsehoods.

—As to the charges against our principles:

1. That we are Disunionists and Nullifiers.

This is the accusation brought by Ex-President Fillmore in his Albany Speech. He there says:

"We see a political party presenting candidates for the Presidency and Vice Presidency, selected for the first time from the Free States alone, with the avowed purpose of electing these candidates by suffrages of one part of the Union only, to rule over the whole United States. Can it be possible that those who are engaged in such a measure, can seriously have reflected upon the consequences which must inevitably follow, in case of success? Can they have the madness or the folly to believe that our Southern brethren would submit to be governed by such a Chief Magistrate?"

If this sectional party succeeds, it lends inevitably to the destruction of this beautiful fabric reared by our forefathers, cemented by their blood, and bequeathed to us as a priceless inheritance."

That is to say, if Col. Fremont is elected President by a clear majority of the people, under the forms of the Constitution, the South won't submit. Now, admitting, for a moment, that they would not, and could maintain themselves in such a course, is it the supporters of Col. Fremont, or his opponents, who threaten disunion? The overt act of treason is to be committed at the South, because unjustly treated by their brethren at the North. But what treatment do or can they complain of? Have not the people an undoubted right to vote for whom they please? and according to Thomas Jefferson, "the first principle of Republicanism is that the *lex majoris partis* is the fundamental law of every society of individuals of equal rights, and that the majority of a single vote is as sacred as if unanimous." What is the grievance that the South complains of?—There have been crimes committed recently against the Constitution, against law, justice, humanity and religion;—who are the criminals, and who reap the advantage? For whom and by whom was the Fugitive Slave Law enacted? By whom the Missouri Compromise repealed? For what purpose and accompanied by what scenes of bloodshed and rapine did Aitchison and his bands of villains from the Slave States, destroy the right of suffrage—the freedom of the press and of speech, in the Territory of Kansas? Who assailed with murderous blows, in the Senate chamber, an eloquent defender of Northern Rights, for words spoken in debate, against the express language of the Constitution? and who glorify in and defend the criminal? And now that the freemen of the North declare their sense of these indignities, and determine to submit to them no longer, and to restore the Government to

the exercise of its legitimate and principal duties,—to make, in the language of the day, Slavery sectional, Freedom national,—we are told by a Northern man, whose ambition is towards the Presidency, that by persisting in these reforms the South will be driven into Treason and Nullification!

Well, if so, we can't help it. Col. Fremont is very likely to be elected, and then let him who counsels treason look out that he don't get into that awkward predicament mentioned by Mr. Webster in his reply to Mr. Hayne, of "dying without touching the ground."

II. It is charged again that we are Abolitionists. This is a silly and foolish accusation, and the man not very sound in his upper works who allows himself to be influenced by it one way or the other. But to be plain about the matter, if we were citizens of a Slave State, we should most assuredly be Abolitionists, Emancipationists, or whatever would most surely and considerately remove the curse of Slavery from the State. But as inhabitants of a Free State, as citizens of the Federal Government, enjoying its protection and living under the Constitution, we have clearly no right to interfere with the local institutions of other States, and hence the term Abolitionist has no application whatever to any class of Northern men, except those who disregard the federal compact by which the several States are united. To that number the Republican party does not belong. Its central doctrine is, NO MORE SLAVE TERRITORY FOREVER. This is the pivot on which the State and National elections of 1856 must turn.—It is the great sun of the system around which revolve those other principles dear to every American heart, and which it cost our fathers so much to maintain,—the Right of Suffrage, Freedom of Speech, and a Free Press. Minor issues are overshadowed by these, as Mount Washington overtops a mole hill.

Not long ago we chanced upon a paragraph in a hunker sheet of the most unscrupulous character, averring that because the Republican platform contained nothing about the restoration of the Missouri Compromise, it had therefore abandoned its hostility to the extension of Slavery. The fact is, on the contrary, that the sentiment of the North has taken a long step in advance since the repeal of that Compromise, and now, instead of being content with the prohibition of Slavery North of 36° 40', we say that if any opposition of ours can prevent its extension, Slavery shall be proscribed everywhere outside of its present limits. This is Republican doctrine, and in accordance with it, Kansas must be admitted into the Union as a Free State, and the glaring injustice and the cruel wrongs inflicted upon her citizens be redressed.

These considerations suggest the form which discussion should take in this campaign. Republicans ought not to allow themselves to be diverted from the true issue.—Whenever our opponents ramble to the four winds about sectionalism and danger to the Union, two words are always sufficient to bring them at once to the main point—KANSAS and BROOKS.

For the Telegraph.  
FREMONT THE MAN.  
BY FREEFELLOW.

Oh! Freedom is our battle cry,  
And Fremont is our man,  
And let the bogus democrats  
Defeat him if they can;  
His name is striking terror through  
The opposition ranks,  
And honest men are getting off  
The Cincinnati planks.

We'll fight the foes of liberty,  
And let them have the ins,  
For Buck agrees to start the race  
With all of Pierce's sins;  
He'll have enough of other's freight  
To sink him, let alone  
What he will take along in weight,  
In running with his own.

Then rally, boys, for freedom's flag,  
And freedom's chieftain true,  
We'll send him on to Washington,  
And "give 'em Jessie" too;  
Oh! who can doubt the issue with  
Such leaders in the van,  
With freedom for our battle cry,  
And Fremont for our man!

THE MEMORIAL.

Liberty, guarded by Constitution and secured by U.  
Plymouth, Saturday, July 26, 1856.

Sectionalism.

Mr. Editor:—The Democratic Press has charged the Republican party with sectionalism; while these, our accusers claim to be the national party. I propose, with all possible brevity, to ascertain, by the help of facts, the practical meaning of these phrases.

It is well known that the Cincinnati Convention, representing the entire democratic party, have endorsed the doings of our present administration. In other words, the democratic party have declared, through that Convention, that they approve of that atrocious swindle, the repeal of the Missouri compromise—that they approve the president's upholding, by armed force, the bogus legislature of Kansas, and a code of laws well worthy of the murderous crew who enacted them—that they approve of the action of the U. S. troops, who, under the president's control would suffer every possible outrage to be committed upon the free-state men of Kansas, by proslavery gangs of invaders from Missouri; and generally, the democratic party has shown a strong propensity for sackings and burnings, for gutta-percha and revolvers; for the suppression of free speech and free men; for the extension of slavery over all the world and the rest of mankind. If such a party is national, the republican party is undoubtedly sectional, for the principles of these last are a perfect contrast to those of the democracy.

In times past, Mr. Editor, the democrats struggled bravely and successfully against an U. S. Bank; against a protective tariff; against a redundancy of paper money; against a wild system of internal improvement; against dividing the proceeds of sales of public lands among the States. These questions have passed, or have ceased to excite much interest. And where is democracy now? One great question convulses the country from end to end. It is substantially this: shall slavery force itself into a territory of the United States (almost boundless) in spite of its inhabitants—in spite of a long respected compromise, and in opposition to the wishes of a majority of the people. The democracy is with the slave power. The very party who but a few short years ago were sternly arrayed against agitation, have now turned agitators, and coolly call those who would confine slavery where it is, sectionalists, traitors, &c. Brooks, Stringfellow, Atchinson and those who swear to call the roll of their slaves at the foot of Banker Hill are capital specimens of democracy as now illustrated.

It is idle to dispute about names, Mr. Editor; but they

should be well defined, and understood, to prevent mistakes. If democracy, as described by its own acts, is national, it must be accounted an honor by all but slaveholders, office-holders, and office seekers, to be called SECTIONALISTS.

[From the N. Y. Tribune.]

From Washington—Kansas Affairs in the House.

WASHINGTON, July 24, 1856.

The House resolved itself into Committee of the Whole on the State of the Union, on the Army Appropriation Bill. The debate turned on the amendment offered by Mr. Barbour of Indiana, which is as follows:

"But Congress, hereby disapproving of the code of alleged laws officially communicated to them by the President and which are represented to have been enacted by a body claiming to be the Territorial Legislature of Kansas, and also disapproving of the manner in which said alleged laws have been enforced by the authorities of said Territory, expressly declare that, until these alleged laws shall have been affirmed by the Senate and House of Representatives as having been enacted by a legal Legislature, chosen in conformity with the organic law by the people of Kansas, no part of the military force of the U. States shall be employed in aid of their enforcement; nor shall any citizen of Kansas be required, under their provisions, to act as a part of the posse comitatus of any officer acting as marshal or sheriff in said Territory."

Mr. Wadsworth of New York, moved to amend by adding the following words, which was carried: "Said laws, and every part and parcel thereof, being hereby declared null and void."

Mr. Barbour's amendment, as amended, was then adopted by a vote of 72 to 57, and the Committee rose and reported progress.

In the House, Mr. Washburn of Maine, from the Committee on Elections, reported two resolutions on the Kansas Election case, the first declaring, first, that John W. Whitfield is not entitled to a seat; second, that A. H. Reeder is entitled to a seat. The resolutions and accompanying report, which goes over the ground repeatedly traveled, were ordered to be printed, and Mr. Washburn gave notice that proposed to call the subject up for the action of the House on Wednesday next.

The House then went into Committee of the Whole on the State of the Union, and at 4 o'clock took a recess until 7 o'clock in the evening.

During the debate on Mr. Barbour's amendment in Committee of the Whole, Mr. Whitfield, the sitting Delegate from Kansas, said it was his wish that the President would withdraw the United States troops from the Territory of Kansas. He thought the laws of the Territory could be enforced without them, and laws that could not be enforced without troops he believed good for nothing. He said he had been one of the best abused men in the community. The New York Evening Post had published a letter written within a few days, charging that he was ready to head a force of Missouri Border Ruffians and invade Nebraska. This he pronounced an unmitigated falsehood. He said he had also been charged with having headed a force of armed Missourians to invade Kansas, but it was false. He had never done so; nor had he ever seen bodies of armed Missourians cross the line to go into the Territory. He said when at Westport he went over into the Territory to prevent a fight!

Mr. Sherman—Mr. Chairman, I do not now propose to enter into any debate as to the validity of the alleged laws of Kansas. My own opinion upon that subject is well known. It has been fully stated in the report of your Investigating Committee. I do not propose now even to discuss the question whether these alleged laws ought to be enforced. At a proper time I will ask the indulgence of the House for that purpose. I rise rather to answer the statement made by the sitting Delegate from Kansas Territory but a moment since. It was this: He says, among other things, that the people of Missouri in armed bodies have not recently invaded the Territory of Kansas, and that he, himself, did not accompany an armed body of men from that State for the purpose of enforcing these alleged laws of Kansas. I so understood the gentleman from Kansas to state. Did I understand him correctly?

Mr. Whitfield—You did.  
Mr. Sherman—Very well. I state, Sir, upon my honor, upon my character as a man, and there are other witnesses now present who will testify to the fact, that there were bodies of armed men marshaled in Westport and other places in Missouri, and marched over into Kansas Territory.—I myself saw them march in military array in Westport and other towns in Missouri, and take up their line of march for the Territory. They openly avowed that they were citizens of Missouri, and that their object was to go into Kansas and aid in enforcing these very laws; I myself saw from 100 to 300 mounted men formed into companies, with no equipments under Heaven except such as were needed for war. They wore the ordinary dress for a sudden foray—flannel shirts, pantaloons, and felt hats. They were all well armed with bowie knives, revolvers, and rifles, and some carried with them their tents and provisions. This military array was gathered in and about Westport in the presence of hundreds, the members of your Committee and its officers being among the number who witnessed it.

I must confess my astonishment that the Delegate from Kansas should rise here in high place and deliberately state to the Committee that no armed bodies of men had marched from Missouri into Kansas. I ask that gentleman if he did not leave Westport while the Committee was in session there, with a body of about 200 citizens of that State for Kansas?

Mr. Whitfield—I did not.  
Mr. Sherman—Did you not go with a company of armed men over into Kansas?  
Mr. Whitfield—I accompanied no Missourians.

Mr. Sherman—Were they citizens of Kansas?  
Mr. Whitfield—They were.  
Mr. Sherman—How many?  
Mr. Whitfield—About 70.

Mr. Sherman—Will the gentleman deny that companies of armed citizens of Missouri did gather from Clay, Jackson, and other counties in Missouri, and go over into Kansas at the time to which I refer?

Mr. Whitfield—I speak only for myself. I did not accompany citizens of Missouri into Kansas.

Mr. Sherman—I desire only to ascertain the facts from the gentleman from Kansas; and I will ask him this question: He says that those who accompanied him on the occasion to which I have alluded were citizens of Kansas. Now, will the gentleman deny upon his honor that armed bodies of men did go over from Missouri into Kansas?

Mr. Whitfield—I say that I accompanied no Missourians.

Mr. Sherman—The gentleman says those whom he accompanied were citizens of Kansas Territory. That does not meet the point, Sir; I say there were armed bodies of men who went over from Missouri into Kansas; that while they were marching into Westport from the East, Gov. Shannon, in obedience to the Summons of the Territory, came into Westport from the Territory, and in his presence they filed off in regular array and went into the Territory; that he afterward went with the Committee to Kansas City, and there saw a company of "Clay County Boys," cross the Missouri river on their way into the Territory. These facts are notorious. And I say further, that no candid man who will take the trouble to look into the testimony of the 326 witnesses contained in this book (Kansas Report), a majority of whom are Pro-Slavery men, can arrive at any other conclusion than that in every transaction in the Territory of Kansas, from its organization to this moment, citizens of Missouri have participated, and have overruled the citizens of the Territory. This fact has been proven by Free State witnesses and by Pro-Slavery witnesses, and so clearly that the only way to meet it is either by evasion or a general denial; and the very laws which these armed companies went over to enforce were passed by a Legislature elected by citizens of Missouri.

But the gentleman says that citizens of Massachusetts also interfere. Why, Sir, the citizens of Massachusetts are stopped on the great national highways on their way to Kansas. Emigrants from the Northern States have been stopped by bodies of armed men at Lexington and at other points on the Missouri River, and sent back. Are these highways national, or are they sectional?—Have the people of the Northern States the right to go there or not? If, why, is it that peaceful emigrants seeking homes in Kansas are a waylaid, searched and robbed even, in the streets of towns, while armed borderers are cheered with applauding shouts on their way from Missouri into the Territory to "enforce the laws?"

Mr. McHullen, of Virginia, defended the Territorial laws, and charged that they were the indirect productions of the movement made in Northern States, especially in Massachusetts, to send freemen to that Territory to mould its institutions after the fashion of New England; to prevent slavery from going in there; to make a free State, and thus defeat the object of the Kansas-Nebraska bill. He was replied to by Mr. Cumbick in the following brilliant and laconic speech, which is too good to be lost, and I send you every word of it verbatim. The Anglo-Saxon language was never better used in the same number of words:

MR. CHAIRMAN: I am not surprised to see the members on the other side of the House inclined to shoulder and make their own the outrageous laws enacted by the Legislature, so-called, of Kansas. I am willing to see them do it, in accordance with their inclination, for these laws are theirs, and are but the necessary sequel of the original plot in the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, to make Kansas a Slave State. Those who did that act should, to be consistent, sustain these laws, as they are. But the production and result of the act of 1854. But it is said in this discussion that if the amendment of my colleague (Mr. Barbour) be adopted, that there will be no law in Kansas but mob law. This is not correct. The laws of the United States, not locally inapplicable, are in full force there as in all the other Territories. Sir, this proposition is not to create mob law, but to put mob law down. It is to prevent the President of the United States from continuing his crusade against the Free State men, by enforcing, with the army of the United States, an abominable code of laws, in which they had no part in making—laws forced upon them by a Missouri mob. Sir, is there a man in this hall that would submit to a usurpation of his deepest rights, and tamely yield



to all the usurper? Poor in spirit, indeed, and unworthy the Revolutionary blood flowing in his veins, transmitted to him by ancestors who were prompt to resist aggression, would be the American Freemen who would do it. But it is gravely submitted here that Freemen of Kansas must do so. The President says they must, and asks money at our hands to accomplish his object. *Mr. he cannot have a dollar by my vote for any such a purpose.* The gentleman from Virginia (Mr. McMullen,) who has spoken, makes the oft-repeated charge that these laws, with all the Kansas troubles, are wholly chargeable to the Associations formed in the Free States to promote the interests of Freedom by settling the Territory with Free State men. Does the gentleman from Virginia deny the rights of men from the Free States to go and settle in Kansas in as large numbers as they choose, for the purpose of making it a Free State? Has he so soon forgotten that our fathers declared that it should be free from the curse of Slavery—not until 1854, but "forever." I know the President in his Annual Message and in his Special Message puts in his plea of palliation on the same ground, but it is no plea of palliation of the conduct of the Administration toward the Free State men. These men are American citizens, and they will have the protection to which they are entitled, if not now, at the termination of the present Administration. We too, in the North, will have our rights, and notwithstanding the blockade of the Missouri River, and the high-handed attempt to keep men from the North from settling in that Territory, they will go; who dare claim the right to hinder them? Free State men have a right to go there and settle where they please, and in such numbers as they please, and it has not yet come to pass that they must consult the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. McMullen) or his political party, or the President, in the exercise of that right.

Mr. McMullen—I deny the right.

Mr. Cumbuck—It was not denied at the time of the passage of the Kansas and Nebraska act, but whether denied or not they will exercise it like men. But as I said at the onset, the object of that bill—as conclusively shown by the opposition of his friends to investigate the usurpation in Kansas, and the disposition of the President and Democratic party, so called, to sustain these sham and cruel enactments, which are but the results of the usurpation—was to make Kansas a Slave State. It was to defeat that object that the Free State men emigrated to Kansas as well as to find western homes for themselves. This is the real cause of complaint against them. It is not pretended by anybody that any one has the right to prescribe the number of Free State men that may go there. It is not pretended that they violated any law in going there, or that they refused to submit to all that men ought to submit to after they got here. But the real cause of complaint is, that they went there to make it a Free State, and for that crime their printing presses have been destroyed, their houses burned, and many of them imprisoned and murdered, and that too, by the sanction and consent of the President. For that crime a usurpation of their rights is justified, and they are compelled to submit to a bloody code of laws forced upon them against their will, made and enacted not by and for the free people of Kansas, but made by their invaders to carry out the scheme of the Slave Power. The day of their deliverance is not distant.

## New-York Chronicle.

NEW YORK, Saturday, July 26, 1856.

### KANSAS.

THE following, from a young man in Kansas to his friends in the East, which was written without a thought of its publication, has been sent us for insertion. We give it place simply as an index of what is passing in men's minds in that distant Territory. The political aspect of some of its sentiments, though quite aside from the province of our sheet, we retain, especially since the principal person addressed in the letter is one of the strongest friends of the present administration, an officer under it, and one of the most earnest supporters of the democratic platform and nominees of the Cincinnati Convention. Who have more interest in knowing these facts than the Democrats? They are the ones to apply the remedy, and thus ensure the integrity and the success of their party.

TOPEKA, K. T., July 4, 1856.

To-day is the glorious 4th, but there is no feeling of exultation here, such as should be felt by every heir of the glorious liberties achieved and bequeathed by the Heroes of the Revolution. We are a subjugated people, and the sounding bugles and the bristling arm of the government troops encamped in our midst to keep under the freeman of Kansas, remind us of our subjugation.

Yesterday a mass meeting of the people of Kansas was held here, and is to be continued to-day. Yesterday, nothing of importance was done, and that which will be done to-day remains to be seen.

The members of the Legislature which adjourned to meet this day, are here, and will meet and organize only to be dispersed by the bayonets of this Free (God save the mark) Government, that neither allows us to protect ourselves, nor furnishes any efficient means to protect us from the most intolerable outrages.

At noon, however, the Legislature will convene, and then we shall probably behold a glorious sight.

No resistance will be made, although we have four or five hundred fighting men, ready to fight if needed, and we thought it best.

It is an easy thing to sit in your comfortable home in New England, and think it is nothing to submit to what this corrupt Administration is forcing upon this free people; but no man who is worthy the name can be here and see these things, and feel this degradation, without having his blood boil with indignation and hot anger. And we have borne our wrongs till patience and sufferance have almost ceased to be a virtue. And now, what are we to do? To whom are we to look for the redress of our wrongs? To the party in power? Have we not had full proof of the policy and principles of that party in the course of this Administration, and have we not a fresh earnest of what the policy and course will be in the platform of the Cincinnati Convention? Can any Lonest and candid man who knows these things, even tacitly sustain, or be attached to, that party? God help

the man who goes in the face of his hon convictions and his duty in this thing!

Our town is full of people in doors and out doors, and looks lively, animated with the tents of the volunteers, the covered wagons and camp fires scattered all about, and the scores of horses picketed in every vacant space near them. Last evening D. and I went out to see a very handsome banner presented to one of the military companies of this city. The company were out in a uniform of white pants, blue shirts, and Kossuth hats. The banner was of white silk lettered in blue, and was presented by Miss S. in behalf of the ladies of Topeka.

The wife of the young man adds in a note: "I will write by next mail, if we are not all murdered or imprisoned. We cannot celebrate the day; for what have we to celebrate save our bondage?"

The affairs of Kansas are still in a very unsatisfactory state. The Senate Territorial bill excites alarm among the people there, and great trouble is occasioned to emigrating parties on their way to the country, by the interference of lawless bands. All the passages to Kansas are said to be infested by these ruffians, who intercept emigrant companies, search their wagons, or if on the river, compel them to debark, and cause them all manner of embarrassment. These are measures without a precedent in our country's history. Our greatness has arisen from the hardy men who

have penetrated untrodden wilds, and by industry have reduced them to cultivation.—Whatever may be said of the motives of some who go to Kansas, there cannot be a doubt that the great majority are actuated by the same desires and hopes, which have so rapidly filled up Wisconsin, Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota, and all those vast regions to which the Indian claims have been cancelled by our Government, and which have been opened to the dominion of industry and civilization. And if special causes exist to propel forward the wave of population, from the North and the South towards any unoccupied section, so much the better, since its reduction must be so much the sooner and more certain. What madness therefore, this toleration of lawless measures to obstruct the natural course of events!

From the Washington Star of Friday.

**STOPPING THE WHEELS OF GOVERNMENT.**—The action of the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union yesterday, in amending the Army appropriation bill by adding a clause repealing all the legislation of the Kansas Legislature, if finally insisted on by the House, will be equivalent to a refusal to appropriate a dollar for the support of the army of the United States for the current fiscal year. This will be playing plump into the hands of the (so-called) Border Ruffians, who only ask a fair field in Kansas and no interference whatever on the part of the Government. We are satisfied that naught but the interference of Col. Sumner and his troops prevented the forcible expulsion from the Territory of all who had joined the abolitionist cause there, which but for that would have been consummated a month ago or more. If the President, for want of the means of paying the troops, shall be compelled to withdraw them, abolitionism in the Territory will "see sights," the reader may rely on it.

**THE VERY LAST SHRIEK FOR FREEDOM**—is to be found in the resolutions reported yesterday from the (House) Elections Committee; the first outgoing Gen. Whitfield from his seat, as the delegates from Kansas, and the second awarding the seat to ex-Governor Reeder, who according to the report of the majority of the Kansas Investigating Committee, was elected under no warrant or even pretence, whatever, of law. If a reasonable conclusion may be drawn from the action of the House recently on their reports concerning the Illinois and Nebraska contested elections cases, though the partizanship of the majority may lead them to oust General Whitfield, they will hardly carry it to the length of installing Reeder.

By the by, not a single witness was examined by the Kansas Investigating Committee with reference to either Whitfield's or Reeder's election. Yet upon such testimony as *ex parte* writing concerning the election for a Territorial delegate from the pens of James H. Lane and one or two others of his stripe, they (the Kansas Investigating Committee) assume to recommend the expulsion of Whitfield, while the Elections Committee—with no more reliable or legal proof before them—go a step further, and recommend that the seat be awarded to Reeder, who, it is not pretended, was a candidate at any election based on the color of authority of law!

### A Blow for Freedom.

[From the New York Tribune, Saturday.]

The champions of Free Kansas in the House of Representatives struck a noble blow in her behalf when they voted to appropriate money for the Military service of the ensuing year only on condition that the Army shall not be used to enforce the Border-Ruffian usurpation. The pretended "laws" of the body which sat at Shawnee Mission and styled itself a Territorial Legislature of Kansas have no more rightful validity than those of the British army which once captured Washington City would have had that army resolved itself into an American Congress, or elected one from its own body, and thereby proceeded gravely to enact the re-annexation of the United States to Great Britain. Whenever and wherever the friends of Free Kansas have power, they will of course treat those "laws" as the impudent imposture and outrage they really are; where they have but partial or divided authority, they will do the best they can.

We beg the Free State Members of the House to follow up this well-aimed blow by others.—To the clause in the general or any other Appropriation bill providing pay for Shannon, Lecompte, Donaldson and the rest of the crew, let other amendments be voted, striking at other features or incidents of the Border Ruffian usurpation in Kansas. Let us in every way expose and riddle the base falsehood now current in the Anti-Fremont journals that the Senate wants to repeal the Border Ruffian laws in Kansas, but the House refuses. The notorious truth is that the Senate offers to repeal in part a few of the obnoxious enactments of Stringfellow & Co., by a provision which assumes and establishes the validity of all the rest. Instead of putting an end to the Missouriian usurpation, this Senate bill virtually affirms its validity.

This the House must resist, even at the cost of being belied and defamed as they now are. But give the Senate opportunity after opportunity to repeal the Border-Ruffian laws; and even to repeal the worst of them separately if that can be done without implying the validity of the rest. Serve up the repeal of those laws in every style, and let us see the Senate make faces thereat. If Douglas & Co. want to repeal the Border-Ruffian enactments, which his first Kansas Report this Session said they couldn't and wouldn't repeal, let them have abundant and varied opportunities.

**DAILY GAZETTE.**

**The South-Past and Present—Shall Slavery be Extended!**

The real question now presented to the people of the United States is, shall slavery be extended over Free Territory? This is likely to be the question for many years to come, unless the verdict of the people at the coming election should be so decidedly in favor of Freedom, as to leave no hopes to the friends of Slavery-extension. The party of Freedom was stronger in 1850 than in 1840, and is much stronger in 1856 than it was in 1850. Since the attack on the right of petition, in 1835, the agitation on slavery has never ceased, and freedom has continually acquired strength. If it should not be entirely successful now, but one more battle will be necessary. The idea that this agitation can be arrested by any legislation of Congress, short of one which limits slavery to the States in which it exists, is folly. It can be only entertained by those who have either read or observed to little purpose. We began our government with 700,000 slaves, and now we have 3,700,000. There are five times the number, and they cover three times the space. Can it be supposed that the free white laborers of the United States will quietly submit to see this army of slaves swarm into every vacant territory, which does and ought to belong to white laborers and their children? The idea is to the last degree absurd. It is to suppose that they will forget and forego all the rights of man, but that they will quietly give up to slave and master the land, the soil and territories which belong to them, and they have the power to retain. This is a good deal more than any common human nature will submit to.

This controversy may possibly be settled at this Presidential election, but if not, will continue until freedom has regained its rights, and the white freemen vindicated by power, what it is their clear interest and their constitutional right to maintain. The Presidential question does not involve, as it was supposed, three propositions. It involves but two; Freedom and Slavery. Mr. FILLMORE, who was supposed at first to occupy some sort of undefined mid way position, has disembarassed the friends of freedom by his Albany speech. He has placed himself distinctly on the Pro-slavery ground, and divides with Mr. BUCHANAN the pro-slavery platform. In that speech he declares that a constitutional election, made both in the terms and the spirit of the Constitution, is a sectional election; nay, a justification for resistance!

There are therefore but two positions, pro-slavery and anti slavery; the last being manifested in the simple resistance to the extension of slavery. Here the first argument or rather assertion, is, that to resist Slavery-extension is sectionalism, is aggression! This is the falsest, the most reckless and impudent assertion ever put forth in our political history. To show this beyond the possibility of a doubt, it is only necessary to relate two or three passages in American history, showing the opinions of the South on this very question.

First,—In the South itself, till within a very few years, slavery was regarded not only as an evil, but its extension and expansion as a thing to be resisted by every humane man. The language used by Southern statesmen was as

strong as any used by Northern abolitionists. We will cite only one passage from a most eloquent speech of Wm. PINCKNEY in the Legislature of Maryland, on the policy of voluntary emancipation, with the view to a diminution of slavery. Mr. PINCKNEY said:

"Sir, by the eternal principles of natural justice, no master in the State has a right to hold his slave in bondage a single hour; but the law of the land, which (however oppressive and unjust, however inconsistent with the great ground-work of the late revolution, and our present frame of government) we cannot in prudence, or regard to individual rights, abolish, has authorized a slavery as bad, or perhaps worse than the most absolute, unconditional servitude that ever England knew in the early ages of its Empire, under the tyrannical policy of the Danes, the feudal tenures of the Saxons, or the pure villanage of the Normans."

"We may talk of liberty in our public councils; and fancy that we feel reverence for her dictates. We may declaim with all the vehemence of animated rhetoric, against oppression, and flatter ourselves that we detect the ugly monster, but so long as we continue to cherish the poisonous weed of slavery among us, the world will doubt our sincerity. In the name of Heaven, with what face can we call ourselves the friends of equal freedom and the inherent rights of our species, when we wantonly pass laws inimical to each; when we reject every opportunity of destroying, by silent imperceptible degrees, the horrid fabric of individual bondage, reared by the mercenary hands of stone, from whom the sacred flame of liberty received no devotion?"

Such was the eloquent denunciation of the very acts now done and doing to extend slavery into Kansas, where laws have been passed "inimical to the inherent rights of our species;" where all opportunities of destroying the "horrid fabric of individual bondage" have been ejected by the present Government, and whose duty it was to seek them; and where, to sustain slavery, the cruelest and most barbarous outrages have been inflicted upon human nature itself. In what language, of fire and eloquence would PINCKNEY have denounced the murder, rapine, robbery and pillage, which have attended the slave invasion of Kansas? The opinions held by Mr. PINCKNEY were held by WASHINGTON, JEFFERSON, MADISON, CLAY, and nearly all the race of real statesmen in the South. Well, if such be slavery in the opinion of the South itself; if such be, as it really is, the monstrous crime of omitting an opportunity of "destroying, by silent and imperceptible degrees, the horrid fabric of individual bondage," with what face, with what conscience, with what plausibility, can a sensible decent man call it "sectionalism," simply to use the constitutional means of limiting its extension? This is the most silent and imperceptible means which can possibly be adopted.

Secondly,—But not only has the opinions, but the acts of Southern statesmen proved that, till a very late period they not only believed slavery to be a monstrous evil, but were willing to have it limited by any constitutional means.

The proofs of this consist in a series of public acts.

1. In the Ordinance of 1787, prohibiting Slavery in the North-west Territory.
2. In the prohibition of the Slave Trade in 1808.
3. In the Wilmot Proviso over Oregon.

Not one of these could be passed without the consent of the Slave States. The last, it is true, was of no importance to the South; but it admitted a principle. It was not till after the census of 1830, when Slavery had come to involve a vast property, and cotton had become the principal article of export, that the Slaveholding interest began to repudiate its own doctrines. It then cried, "Let us alone." This was the doctrine of 1834. It made no claims whatever to new territory. But simply wanted the quiet enjoyment of its property in human beings. In 1834 was the dividing epoch; from that time the Slave interest denied its own acts, repudiated its own opinions, and assumed a bold, defiant, rampant tone. It became aggressive. It claimed to extend its institutions wherever it chose to go. From that time freedom of opinion was lost to the South! In the twenty years which have since elapsed, CASSIUS M. CLAY,

Free, and a dozen or two more in Kentucky, are almost the only ones who have vindicated the rights of opinion!

Now, with this history before us, who shall without a blush, charge the policy of simply "non-extending" Slavery, as Sectionalism, as aggression? The mere ignoramuses or the petti-foggng partizans may be guilty of such shameless perversions, but no man of sense or honesty can do it without a of conscience. The great fact now stands out that the Slave holding interest has become aggressive, that what was once a monstrous evil is now regarded, where it is tolerated, as a blessing; that it claims to extend itself, with all its "horrid fabric of individual bondage," over the free territory of the Republic. Now we ask if any man can think or propose more than two courses? Either to admit these demands, and quietly see the four millions, six millions, ten millions of slaves go over the whole vacant territory of the country, or to resist its extension at all. Is there any other course than one of these two? If we adopt the former, and meekly submit to the mandates of the Slave interest, where will be the white laborer? Where will the sons of the farmers of the Free States go? Where will the mechanics flourish? Every acre of land given to a slave is taken from a white free man. The Constitution, we repeat, has given us an unquestionable right to settle this question in favor of freedom. Who can object that that constitutional right is exercised? Who will go out of the Union because it is exercised? We have had threats enough. Let us know who mean to go? The answer will tell who are Disunionists, who are Sectionalists.

**The Scioto Gazette.**

CITY OF COLUMBIA:

SATURDAY EVENING, JULY 26, 1856.

For the Scioto Gazette.

**Kansas, and Constitutional Rights.**

So much has been said on the subject of Slavery—of the "Constitutional rights" of slave-holders, interlarded with Abolition, Democracy, Liberty and Equality, and the rights of man—and these again so mixed up and kneaded in with the declaration "that all men are created equal," that so dense a fog has arisen around us as not to be able to distinguish a negro from a white man; nor to see the line between liberty and despotism.

We will call for a light, and look at the book.

Constitution of the United States—Art. 1. Sec. 2. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians, not taxed, three fifths of all other persons.

This "three fifths of all other persons" means Slaves. And it is this privilege under the Constitution, to count their Slaves at elections (five Slaves counting equal to three white men) that gives the 270,000 slave-holders in the Slave States, what is equal to 1,200,000 votes more than they would be entitled to, did they live in the Free States. That gives to Mr. Aiken, of South Carolina, with his 1,000 Slaves, the political power of 600 natives, Irish and Germans, in Ohio; and that would enable Mr. Aiken where he is, or

in Kansas, by adding to his Slaves, and organizing his plantations into a Congressional District, to elect himself to Congress by his individual vote.

So that we see the Constitution of the U. S. has incorporated slave-holders into a *privileged order*, whereby a perfect identity of interest has been established between them, and that has, does, and will continue to enable them, like all other *privileged orders* and incorporated bodies, to exercise a power dangerous to the people of the Free States—Kings and Nobles every where are watchful of their *privileges*; and prone to enlarge them at the expense of common people; and when we thus see that while in the Free States, Jeffersonian—Jacksonian Democracy is left by the Constitution, to walk on its ten toes bare-footed; but that in the Slave States it travels in a coach and four, like the Carolean, equestrian orders all over the world, “looking down upon their poor neighbors with contempt; reckoning the poor white man no better than their bondmen,” and asserting that it would better the condition of the poor whites, were they, too, reduced to servitude; we need not wonder that slave-holders and their advocates, clamour so loudly for their “Constitutional rights.” The wonder is, that there should be found one solitary man in the Free States, willing to add to his present inequality and inferiority, under the Constitution, (that instrument which has swallowed up so much of the soul of the Declaration of Independence) by enlarging the boundaries, and thereby truthfully augmenting the power of slave-holders.

Let Kings remain in their Kingdoms and sit in peace on their thrones. Let slave-holders remain in peace and security where the Constitution of 1787, found them and their Slaves, and THERE enjoy their rights under that instrument. Kansas did not then belong to the United States. As a part of the then Territory of Louisiana, Mr. Jefferson bought it of Napoleon Bonaparte in 1803, and, although Mr. Jefferson was a slave-holder, he had not one solitary word inserted in it, about Slaves or the Constitutional rights of their masters. With the soil, he bought all the *Sovereign rights* of France, and accordingly in 1820, Congress, in virtue of this Napoleonic deed, declared there should never be Slavery nor involuntary servitude in Kansas.

Congress thus, in virtue of a *sovereign* right, planted a Liberty tree in Kansas.—Louis Napoleon had just commanded all the Liberty trees, in France, to be cut down, and all inscriptions to Liberty, to be chiselled out. And following his lead, slave-holders demanded the Kansas tree to be cut down; and the deed has been done by hands holding the axe of the people of the Free States!

And now Buchanan says, let the tree rot upon the ground where it lies; Fremont says replant it and water it.

This tree was planted by our fathers; and the command of the Lord is—“Honor thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long in the land which the Lord thy God, giveth thee;” and it is for us to choose whom we will obey. And in making this choice, let us keep in sight the fact that it is not with *Slaves* we have to do, but the *privileges* the master claims to exercise in Kansas, at our expense, in virtue of his Slaves. He

has struck us, and ordered us to leave: Kansas—and the tute remains to be told whether we, like his Slaves, will tamely receive the lash; or play the part of men who know their rights and have courage to assert and defend them.

“Who will be a traitor knave?  
Who can till a coward's grave?  
Who so base as be a slave?”

MACHACHACK.

## Mobile Daily Tribune.

### MOBILE:

SATURDAY MORNING, JULY 26, 1856.

Letter from Kansas.

Extract of a letter from a Mobilian in Kansas, dated

(FRANKLIN, KANSAS TERR.,  
July 6, 1856.)

“Dear Sir: Knowing the interest felt by you and your readers in every thing relating to Kansas, I am constrained to write you that the situation of affairs here is not as flattering as our friends at home could wish, and had good reason to expect.

“From the best information I can obtain there are not more than one-seventh, if so many, of Col. Buford's original company, now remaining in the Territory. This is the general opinion of those still here. Of the 360 who came in that company not more than 50 are now here! Most of the others have returned home to hang around their mothers' apron strings, leaving the energetic and persevering Yankees to rule Kansas. Yes, those men, the ‘flower of southern chivalry,’ the men on whom the south relied to vindicate her rights, and for whose support liberal subscriptions were made, the men whom the Missourians welcomed with outspread arms and open purse, have proved false just at the time when they should have stood ready to do or die for southern rights.

“Having seen Kansas, having spent their money in dissipation, when the time for work and enduring hardships came on they struck for home to disparage the country, to denounce Col. Buford, and, what is worse, to desert and leave unprotected the rights of the south. In short, they will do and say anything to save themselves from that contempt and indignation with which they should be received by their old neighbors and friends.

“You know not how humiliating it is to be compelled to listen to the jeers and taunts of the northern fanatics at such specimens of ‘southern chivalry.’ Upon whom should devolve the duty of southern pioneers in this lovely country to open the way for our elders, men of families, position and property, if it is not the *young men*? Some of our company scarcely had set foot on the Territory before they turned their backs upon us, hastened home, circulated exaggerated accounts of the country, and misrepresented Col. Buford and his conduct. Believe them not. The country is a delightful one. I wish I had time and the ability to write you full accounts of its many and great advantages, and show you how energetic, industrious and moral men may better their condition here. It is a general remark that wages are better here than in the south.—Any man who chooses can get employment on the farms of settlers at \$20 or \$25 a month with board, and only work one-third of the time. Provision is plenty and no one need suffer who is willing to work. Then let others come on—not chicken hearted men, but men of character and nerve to take the places of those who have deserted their colors. And let them come quickly.

“Respectfully Yours.”

# Daily Gazette.

G. C. McWHORTER & J. J. JONES,  
PROPRIETORS.

OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF THE PARISH.

SATURDAY MORNING, JULY 26, 1856.

## SOVEREIGNTY IN THE TERRITORIAL LEGISLATURES.

In a previous issue we quoted extensively from the Congressional Globe, elucidating clearly, that upon this subject the Democratic party were unsound to the core, and that notwithstanding this doctrine had been considered by some of their Southern leaders as dangerous to our institutions, yet, these leaders, and this party, continue to support the men who defend this doctrine, and actually engraft it upon our legislation. We showed that upon the floor of the United States Senate, in 1850, Mr. Douglas and Mr. Cass both avowed and defended this odious and anti-Southern doctrine—a doctrine, too, in direct conflict and antagonism with all the precedents of legislation established and acted upon since the earliest days of the Republic, in opposition to Jefferson Davis and Mr. Downs. In this debate, Mr. Webster, the immortal expounder of the Constitution, also took part, and laid down the doctrine maintained by the Whigs then, and now by the American party, and that should be defended to the last extremity by the South, in such a clear and logical manner, that we are induced to lay it before our readers.

Mr. Webster said:

“We have always gone upon the ground that these territorial governments were in a state of *pupillage*, under the protection or patronage of the General Government. The Territorial Legislature has a Constitution prescribed by Congress. They have no power not given by Congress. They must act within the limits of the Constitution granted them by Congress, or else their acts become void. The people under the Territorial Government are not a *Sovereignty*; they do not constitute a *Sovereignty*.—They are, if you so please to denominate it, in a state of inchoate government and sovereignty. If we well consider this question upon the ground of our practice during the last half century, I think we will find one way of disposing of it. It is our duty to provide for the people of the territory a government to keep the peace, to secure their property; to assign to them a *subordinate legislative authority*; to see that the protection of their persons and the security of their property, are all regularly provided for; and to maintain them in that state until they grow into sufficient importance, in point of population, to be admitted into the Union as a State, upon the same footing with the original States. It seems to me that that is all our duty. I shall most readily concur in anything which tends to the performance of that duty.—But I cannot go into any general discussion about the rights of the people while under the Territorial Government, and do more than they are permitted to do by that Constitution which creates a government over them.”

This is the true, common sense doctrine upon this all important and vital question.

We give again, a portion of the remarks of Mr. Cass in reply to Mr. Webster:

“I so understood the gentleman. These laws are to be submitted to Congress, not for confirmation, but for consideration, with the view, I suppose, to repeal or modify such as might appear unconstitutional or improper. But I can recall only one case where this power has been exercised, and that is in relation to banking. I again ask why this case of slavery should be excepted from the jurisdiction of the Territorial Legislatures? The Senator from Massachusetts says we have excepted many other cases. But I repeat that he labors under a misapprehension upon that subject. I consider the people of a Territory just as competent to settle this question as the people of a State; and I believe a man knows just as much when he goes to a territory as he did before he went there. And I believe, further, that we have no territory where the American settlers will not exercise a preponderating influence over all public affairs. The inhabitants will always have a legislature which will reflect their wishes; and if they desire slavery, they will have it, and if they do not, they will exclude it, unless prevented by the Constitution. The simple question is, why you take from them one of their natural rights—the right of regulating one of their domestic relations? The gentleman told us just now that he did not desire to see the question of slavery agitated in the Territories.—Sir, this is just where I desire to see it agitated, if agitated.”

test it must be, as it will do far less injury there than here. Why, then, I repeat, do you make a distinction between this right and any other?"

After a few other remarks by Mr. Webster and Mr. Cass, Judge Berrien of Georgia, said:

"There is, as it occurs to me, an answer to the question of the Senator from Michigan, which will justify the provision contemplated to be introduced into this bill. That inquiry, I understand to be, why, if all other domestic relations are within the scope of legislative authority, that of the master and slave should not be? The answer which seems to me to be sufficient, is this: There is no diversity of opinion, no diversity of interest between the different States in this Union, with regard to these other domestic relations. The inhabitants of a Territory about to be organized, in the condition of the one now under consideration, are composed of persons gradually successive, emigrating from different States of the Union, with views respecting this slave interest which are distinct and conflicting. To invest the first Territorial Legislature which should assemble with power to control an interest in relation to which there is such a conflict in the different States of the Union, would be to permit a handful of men to decide upon conflicting interests affecting the feelings and interests of thirty States of this Union. This population is not full; it is not permanent; it is successively added to, and added by persons who have different interests from those who are to be invested, according to the proposition of the Senator from Michigan, with the right to legislate upon this subject. Now, if the few persons who upon this subject. Now, if the few persons who happen to be in a Territory when a bill of this sort shall be passed, shall have power to forbid the introduction of slavery into the Territory, that small number of persons are enabled to decide upon the rights of a much greater number of citizens of the United States than they constitute. The inhibition once existing, no person can go into the Territory with interests conflicting with those of the persons by whom this inhibition has been imposed. I think the Senator from Michigan will admit that there is a distinction between this question of domestic slavery and that of all other relations of life. There is a community of interests with regard to all other domestic relations, existing between the different States, which does not and cannot be affirmed with regard to the institution of Slavery."

Now, fellow-citizens, you have the record before you, to show that in 1850, Jefferson Davis, Mr. Downs, Mr. King, of Alabama, (afterwards elected Vice President of the United States) were in direct conflict with Mr. Douglas and Mr. Cass upon this doctrine of Territorial power, and that they were sustained by Mr. Webster and Judge Berrien, of Georgia. You will perceive further that this odious doctrine has been endorsed throughout its length and breadth, by Mr. Buchanan in his letter of acceptance, wherein he declares, distinctly and emphatically, "that the people of a Territory, LIKE THOSE OF A STATE, decide for themselves whether slavery shall or shall not exist within their limits."

Men of the South are you ready to endorse this doctrine, that the people of a Territory, of which you are a co-proprietor, have the power to exclude you with all your property, from the common domain. If so, like Esau, you are about to sell your birth-right.

# Daily Democrat

July 28, 1850.

## PROGRESS OF COLONEL BENTON.

### Twentieth Day of the Campaign.

THE MEETING IN WARRENSBURG.

WARRENSBURG, Johnson Co., Tuesday, July 15.

#### THE EMIGRANT AID SOCIETIES.

Benton was the first man in the United States who denounced the emigrant aid societies.—When the Boston newspapers came to Washington, telling of the formation of those societies, he crossed over on the floor of the house of representatives, to where Mr. Banks was sitting, and told him what would be the result of that movement and asked him to put a stop to it, and Mr. Banks promised that he would. As far as he knew, he was the only member from Missouri who took grounds originally against that movement. After the Nebraska bill passed, Mr. Mace, a member from Indiana, made a speech in which he laid down the ultra doctrine—no more slave States—and the refusal to admit Kansas unless as a free State. Benton was ready to start on the cars for Boston, to speak in favor of your Pacific railroad, and the few moments which he had at his disposal before leaving, he employed in writing out a speech which he gave to Mr. Oliver, a member from this State, asking him to read it in the House.—Mr. Oliver asked and obtained leave to read the speech, which some of you may have seen, as every fair newspaper published it. In that speech Benton asserted the right of any State to come into the Union with or without slavery, according to her own determination; and the double right which Kansas had by virtue of the treaty of Louisiana; and he not only asserted it but proved it. In that speech, he combatted all the doctrines of Mr. Mace. He was a man of no concealments, and now, having told them of his condemnation of the emigrant aid societies, he would say that he also condemned the inroads of Missourians into Kansas as a violation of law and right. The elective franchise was the basis of their whole political fabric, and a terrible crime was perpetrated when it was subjected to violence. The purity and freedom of their elections was their only safeguard for safety and liberty, and whoever violated them, even if it was those whom he addressed, sinned against the constitution and the sacred rights bequeathed to them by their fathers.

[From the St. Joseph Cycle.]

### War upon Doniphan.

The Atchison organ at Weston, the Platte Argus, thus opens the war upon Gen. Doniphan. Let it come, neighbor; Doniphan is a pretty good "war horse," but our advice to you is, to "mind your pints." Doniphan is not the man to "endorse lies and slanders;" and if any more innuendos of that kind are thrown out, you may find that Doniphan's "friends intend to submit to slander and abuse no longer, and they (too) intend to hold the proper parties responsible."

But hear the Argus. We don't know of any abuse heaped upon Atchison. What does the man mean? Is he mad because the people won't instruct for "Davy?"

We have always treated Gen. Doniphan with respect and kindness. We do not wish to make up any issue with him now; but we have a right to know whether he endorses the lies and slanders of papers that assume to be organs; whether he expects to break down others and rise on their ruins. Because Judge Atchison's friends have been silent—have suffered slander and abuse to go unanswered—is no reason why they should always remain so. They have the ability and the power to defend themselves. When blows are dealt them they can pay them back with interest. The fact is this: Atchison's friends intend to submit to slander and abuse no longer, and they intend to hold the proper parties responsible!

Visit to Parkville—Its Hills, Public Buildings and Editor Park; the Highwayman—Park, the Horse-whipped Negro Thief—Park, the Industrious and Industrious Citizen—Park, the Anti-Atchison Politician—Patterson, the Editor—A Salt Story—"Money Over!"—Park, the Bereaved and Present Man—Park, the Public Spirited Citizen—The Missouri Democrat under Drunken Davy's Ban—Vinous David's Deraat!!—A Southside View of the Petticoat Question!

AMERICAN HOTEL, KANSAS CITY, Mo., Monday, July 24.

EDITOR OF THE DEMOCRAT: Last Saturday afternoon after the members of Kansas House of Representatives had adjourned to hold private discussions over Governor Reeder's veto, and to consider the unprecedented position it had placed them in, I rode rapidly to Kansas City, entered the Polar Star, and proceeded to the far-famed little city of Parkville, celebrated alike for having extinguished its Luminary, and distinguished itself for its mobocratic proclivities.

It is built, as nearly all the towns on the Missouri river above St. Louis are built, on a bluff or rather on a group of hills. Weston, which was built on a level plain close to the banks of the river, is now more than one mile distant from it! The lesson taught by the coquetish Missouri's treatment of that town, will cause all future founders of "places" out West, to build their city on a hill, which will at once prevent the river from overflowing and "filing it."

Walking in Parkville is rather an exercise than an amusement. A person unaccustomed to promenadeing on hill tops cannot walk either up or across any street without puffing like a porpoise—or like the Republican's theatrical critic. I don't believe that any person ever did, does, can, will or could die in Parkville of consumption or disease of the lungs, unless he contracted them in other cities. The ladies look healthier there than in St. Louis. Health is the never failing reward of taking out-door exercises daily; and the inhabitants of Parkville cannot leave their homes without taking such exercise!

Parkville contains from 800 to 1,000 souls. It supports two churches. What Mrs. Stowe modestly said of herself is exceedingly applicable to the city of Parkville: It's "not much to look at, nor ever was." It boasts, however, of a large stone-built hotel—built by Mr. Park—of two very fine stone-built blocks—built by Mr. Park—of several handsome stone private houses—built by Mr. Park—of a stone-built Presbyterian church—built chiefly, one of its members told me, by Mr. Park—and several tastefully constructed and painted wooden cottages surrounded by well cultivated and pretty little gardens. There is evidently good taste as well as political excitement in the city of Parkville.

Parkville still supports a weekly paper, The Southern Democrat is the successor of the Parkville Luminary. It is well edited; it advocates pro-slavery principles. Mr. Starns is an able writer as well as most hospitable gentleman and agreeable companion. Permit me thus publicly to thank him for his hospitable conduct toward me during my stay in Parkville. By the bye, the next time you send me on a reporterial tour, I wish you would look over your correspondence from the section I am traveling in before you publish it. I went to the post office on Saturday, in company with Mr. Starns, and got a copy of the Democrat. The first article he saw was an attack on himself! As he was an editor, of course it did not offend him; but supposing he had only been a man, what a fix I would have been in! I should have been obliged to have fought him, at least. Now, as fighting is a great bore, and as I've already done as much of it as I care about, I hope you will be more considerate the next time I leave, or give me a certificate declaratory of your willingness to fight at all times with all parties.

I tried very diligently to ascertain the character of Mr. Park, and the estimation in which he is held in the city which bears his name, and in which he has lived for the last seventeen years. It is said that Sir Walter Raleigh smiled at his intention of writing a true history of the world when he heard several conflicting accounts, by eye witnesses, of a fight that occurred between two men beneath his own window. If he had visited Parkville, he would certainly have given a broad grin at the thought of writing a true character of any historical celebrity.

Mr. Park was originally a highwayman! and a negro thief; he was publicly whipped in Texas; he made money by cheating the Indians and stealing their ponies; he was one of the meanest of men, and he was a d— abolitionist! That's the firm belief, or at least expressed opinion, of one party.

Mr. Park was a self-made, honorable man; he rose from poverty to wealth by his own unaided exertions; he was the most industrious and public spirited of citizens; he encouraged every public enterprise, and gave material aid to every public improvement; he intended to build and endow a college here at his own expense, and would soon have commenced it if he had not been banished. "I have known him," said one old man, "for seventeen years; he believed, until I saw one old man, that for the last six or eight years, as everybody did mud within the last six or eight years, that slavery was a curse to a State; and that Missouri would go ahead faster if she was free soil; but as for interfering with slavery, sir, or running negroes away, he was as far from that as any human being is." "The fact of the matter is," said another citizen, "he was a strong Benton man; he interferred too much with Davy Atchison's schemes; it was necessary to ruin him if Davy was to succeed, and Davy soon found a pretext for ruining him."

heard but one opinion expressed: he is despised, and to be so—if what is alleged against him be true. It is said by persons who received their information from the anti-Maine Law politician himself, that Patterson applied to Davy Atchison, some time ago, for \$500, for the purpose of starting an Atchison anti-Benton paper in Parkville to oppose the Luminary. It appears that Davy the drum-laying had no confidence in him, and declined to comply with his request. He next applied in turn to all the prominent anti-Benton men in the county; but without success. He then applied to Mr. Park, who engaged him as an assistant editor. It is said—I know nothing of the matter—that he made the Luminary a violent anti-Atchison journal. Now, a man who is capable of selling his loyalty and hatred in this manner, is utterly undeserving of confidence or esteem, even when he is battling under the banners of the advocates of the right. I hope Mr. Patterson will explain his conduct.

But, to return to Mr. Park. So intense is the pro-slavery feeling at Parkville, as well as at Kansas City, at Westport and throughout the Territory, that men are capable of believing anything against their political opponents. A gentleman—a member of a Legislature—who in ordinary times would be a conservative citizen, and laugh at such a story—gravely told me that it was believed by many persons in Platte county, and that he believed that Mr. Park was one of Murfill's men! He said that Mr. Park came to that settlement seventeen years ago, and bought out an original squatter for a small sum. For six or eight years he lived in a little log cabin, which hadn't more furniture in it than one man could carry. He left every fall, added the narrator, on the pretense of paying the taxes on his lands in Texas; but it was observed that he always brought more money back with him than he took away. Now, if he had any lands at all, they must have been wild lands, which couldn't sell for much; then where did he get the money? That's the rub—a dub-dub, as Hamlet observed—isn't it, O Sir? This gentleman stated that Mr. Park had continued to increase in wealth, although apparently he had never carried on any lucrative or extensive business.

Industrious men generally do continue to increase in wealth, I thought, even when unconnected with highway robbers.

Another gentleman said that Mr. Park, before the city was laid out, used to sell whisky to the Indians in contravention to the provisions of the United States laws on the subject, and that he was tried for the offense several times, and escaped only by extraordinary exertions. He said, also, that he had heard that Mr. Park and a brother-in-law of his, once sunk a barrel of salt in the sand, on the opposite side of the river, and used to catch the Indian ponies and swim them across to Missouri, whenever they came up to lick the salt. "Did you ever?" "No! I never!"

Another pro-slavery citizen told me, that a few days after the Luminary was thrown into the Missouri, a stranger came to the city, and heard people talking about Mr. Park. He asked if it was a Mr. Park who had lands in Texas? Yes. Well, that man said the stranger, was tied up to a tree in Texas in 1832 or '33, and whipped for stealing negroes! "Would you know him again?" He didn't know that; 23 years made a great change in a man's appearance. Soon after, Park approached in company with several citizens. That's the man, said the mysterious stranger, pointing to Mr. Park; or it was a brother of his. This man's affidavit was taken and published, but what is more singular, it was believed! The word of an unknown man, most probably the paid tool of a politician, was taken against the established character of a well known, old and respected citizen!

Such is the excited state of feeling along that border, that men, otherwise clear-sighted and sensible, believe these ridiculous stories. Thank Heaven there is only one subject that can excite me; and thank Heaven, too, that politics can't be put up in muslin!

I visited the churchyard of Parkville. It is a thoroughly democratic burying-place. No costly monuments or expensive grave-trappings render one of the miserable social distinctions which divide men; or the puerile pride which characterizes so many of them. The headstones are all plain and simple. I saw no evidence of bad taste except the word "consort" for wife, on a headstone, which I instantly turned my eyes away from in contempt.

There is one graceful little white marble obelisk standing on a pedestal of granite, opposite the gate. Both are not over four feet high. It is surmounted by a dove. It looks very pretty and appropriate; appropriate, because cheerful-looking and unpretending, as every thing in the churchyards of believers in a merciful God should be.

Standing at the foot of the grave, you read:

ELIZA

Was kind and good.  
Her memory is sweet.

On the right hand side—

"On this side lies her infant son."

On the other—

"Bury her husband near to this side. In life they were one; let not death separate."

As you turn to the remaining side, with your feet near the head of the grave, you read:

Sacred to the memory of  
ELIZA ANN PARK,  
wife of  
George S. Park,  
who died

April 25, 1855.

Aged 27 years.

"O I am so happy now!  
Praise the Lord! Blessed Jesus!"

The last words quoted were spoken by Mrs. Park on her death-bed last year, during her husband's visit to Texas.

Unfortunate Park—calamities have accumulated on his head of late. Within a year past, death has deprived him of his wife—a woman, as his friends, and enemies alike confess, universally beloved—of his sister-in-law, and two infant sons. A political conspiracy has driven him from his home, and robbed him of thousands of dollars. His last surviving child died ten days ago, and his sister on Saturday. She had come up to see after his property.

Davy has raised a storm which will yet shatter his hopes, I trust. So vengeful is he in Platte county at present that some citizens who wish to subscribe for the Missouri Democrat are afraid to take it, lest they should be marked by his regulators! He has succeeded by means of his tools in spreading the opinion that, if he is defeated in the coming election, the abolitionists will regard it as a fanatical victory! He is the root of all the anarchy and fanaticism that has characterized the border counties during the recent excitement. If our State is ever to recover her old high character, "Atchison MUST BE DESTROYED." The sooner he gets notice to leave, the better. His departure will never prevent the commencement or endorsement of any college.

I think I cannot give you a better idea of the excited state of parties up the river than by relating a tea-table incident. I was sitting at supper at the American House in Kansas City, talking with a Missouri politician—a first-rate fellow—on the "absorbing question" of the day. He was defending what I thought the absurd practice of going to hotels whose landlords agreed with you on political subjects, even if a member of the opposite party kept a better house and charged less for his accommodations. "Well, I do believe in it," he said—"touch a Yankee's purse, you touch his conscience; it's the only way we can stop their d—."

He suddenly ceased, and I saw that his eyes were riveted on the pretty young English waiter. After about two minutes silence he resumed. "Well," said he with the slightest bit of a sigh, "that's a d—d pretty girl—WHETHER SHE'S PRO-SLAVERY OR NOT!"

He said so quite unconsciously, and laughed at it as much as I did when I related it afterwards. You may imagine that politics run very high when they rush into a man's mind in looking at a pretty girl! I am glad he said so, though, for we men like to see the ladies see every point of view; and his answer constitutes what I may call "a south side view of the great muslin question."

Variouly yours,

J. R.

## THE DAILY SENTINEL.

RUFUS KING & WM. H. WATSON,  
PROPRIETORS.

Under the Name and Firm of Rufus King & Co.

MILWAUKEE:

Monday Morning, July 28.

THE K. N. KANSAS BILL.

The *News*, speaking of the bill passed by the Know-Nothings and Democrats in the Senate, to give Slavery another chance in Kansas, says:

"Four out of the six Black Republicans, who voted in the Senate on the K. N. amendment, voted to exclude from the ballot box those foreigners who had only taken their first naturalization papers. This they did, not only to please their allies, the K. N.'s, but also with a hope of defeating the bill."

Eighteen of the Black Democracy voted for this K. N. amendment, and thirty-two Democrats and Know Nothings voted for the bill, as amended, against the united vote of the Republican Senators. The motive for thus disfranchising foreign born settlers in Kansas is plain enough, and was openly avowed by the *News*.—We again quote what the Washington correspondent of that paper said on the subject:

"The passage, yesterday morning, of the Kansas Bill is, however, truly important, that measure being one of an eminently healing and conciliatory character. It is the bill of Douglas, framed on the basis of that presented by Mr. Tombs, and amended in minor particulars by Senator Geyer and Adams. The patriotism of Democratic Senators, and especially of Hunter and Mason, was conspicuous in conceding, for the sake of saving the principles of the bill, to the Know Nothings, the exclusion of foreigners who had merely declared their intentions and were not naturalized, from the right to vote on the character of the local institutions of the new State. That concession should go far to disarm opposition in the House."

There is a very frank and explicit avowal that the Democrats voted for this K. N. amendment, excluding foreigners from voting, in order to conciliate Know Nothing support; and the *News* even praises the "patriotism" of those Democratic Senators who thus sacrificed their friends in order to gratify their enemies! The foreigners were "ruled out," the better to enable Slavery to obtain a foot-hold in Kansas; it being well known that every German settler there is for Free State, Free Men and FREEMONT!

## Grand Rapids Eagle.

CITY OF GRAND RAPIDS:

MONDAY MORNING, JULY 28, 1856.

### A few "Loose Expectations."

The following is an extract from the speech of A. H. STEPHENS, of Georgia, on the passage of the Nebraska bill. We commend it to the attention of those who pronounced Mr. SUMNER's speech abusive and discourteous:

"Well, gentlemen, you make a good deal of clamor on the Nebraska measure, but it don't alarm us at all. We have got used to that kind of talk. You have threatened before, but never have performed. You have always caved in, and you will again. You are a mouthing white-livered set. You will rail, but we don't care for your railing. You will hiss, but you do adders. We expect it of adders, and we expect it of you. You are like the devils, that were pitched over the battlements of heaven into hell. They set up a howl of discomfiture, and so will you. But their fate was sealed, and so is yours.—You must submit to the yoke, but don't chafe. Gentlemen, we have got you in our power. You tried to drive us to the wall in 1850, but times are changed. \* \* \* \* \*

You went a wooling, and have come home fleeced. Don't be so impudent as to complain. You will only be slapped in the face. Don't resist. You will only be lashed into obedience."

## Dubuque Daily Tribune.

MONDAY, July 28<sup>th</sup> 1856.

### Sympathy for Kansas.

The citizens of Rochester, Olmstead County, Min. Territory, met on the 4th inst., generally to a call previously circulated and agreeably signed. At the hour appointed, a large audience assembled, evincing a deep interest in the object of the meeting, which was called to order by Rev. R. Reynolds, who, in a few words, stated the object of the meeting.

On motion, S. G. Whiting was appointed Chairman, and George S. Harris, Secretary. On motion, the Chair appointed S. P. Jones, O. F. Lindsley, and R. Reynolds, a committee to prepare resolutions for the consideration of the meeting, and while the committee were attending to their duty, Mr. Prentiss entertained the meeting with some interesting remarks upon the vacillating and stupid defense by a few "old liners," in this vicinity, of the present corrupt Administration.

Rev. R. Reynolds, upon being called, responded in a clear, earnest and forcible manner. He said the aggressions of the Slaveholders upon our rights and liberties through our past national history and their recent crimes in Kansas and Congress, were worse than the sufferings of our forefathers as detailed in the Declaration of Independence, which had just been read. He held that these aggressions should now and at all times be opposed and resisted as our fathers resisted tyranny in their day and generation.

S. P. Jones, Esq., Chairman on the Committee reported the following for the consideration of the meeting:—

Resolved, 1st. That all government derives its first powers from the consent of the

governed; that whenever the consent of the governed under any system of popular government, is not had, such pretended government, and all acts of legislation under it, are void.

2d. That as a majority of the late pretended Legislative body of the Territory of Kansas were elected by the votes of men whose actual and exclusive residence was in Missouri, and other slave-states, and who never had any intention of being residents of Kansas, such pretended Legislature had no right or power to legislate for the people of Kansas, any more than for the people of Minnesota; its exercise of legislative authority was an usurpation and a despotism imposing no obligation of obedience upon the people of Kansas, and resistance to it, is obedience to the Constitution and Laws.

3d. That all efforts of the President of the United States; or other persons, to enforce such legislation, is but an attempt to aid the execution of usurped, illegitimate and despotic governing power, and is disobedience to the Constitution and Laws.

4th. That the illegal and unconstitutional acts of such legislative body, directly and palpably interdicting the Freedom of Speech and the Press, and abolishing the Freedom of Elections are strictly consistent with its illegal and unconstitutional origin, and deserves at the hands of the people of Kansas opposition and resistance, even by force of arms, till the last drop of patriot blood is shed.

5th. That we offer down-trodden Kansas our warmest sympathy; to the living a "God Speed" in their course of right; to the friends of those who have fallen, our condolence; to the noble dead, who have perished in their just struggle, theirs is the certainty of a fame of holy martyrdom; to the ignoble few, who in death bite the dust of that foreign land they sought to enslave and curse, theirs is the hope that their shame will find in the pity of that very humanity against which their deeds of blood and crime were aimed, the solace of eternal silence and forgetfulness.

6th. That we hold the Federal Government responsible for the flagrant violation of the rights of suffrage, of freedom of speech, and of the press, and of property, liberty and life of the people of Kansas Territory, as accessories both before and after the fact.

7th. That the weak, vacillating and tyrannical Administration at the head of the National Government deserves the indignant contempt and execration of all friends of free institutions in all countries and in all times.

8th. That the great crime upon the people of Kansas, now in course of perpetration, we recognize but one of the thousand outrages of the Black Slave Power of the Nation, all of which have their spirit and origin in the well settled design of that power, to seize upon as much Free Territory of the United States as it is able, dissolve the union of these States, and establish a Southern Slaveholding dynasty, under which to spread slavery from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and make it perpetual on this Continent.

In response to a general call, S. P. Jones, Esq., formerly a law partner of the Hon. Joshua R. Giddings, responded in an eloquent and able speech in behalf of the foregoing resolutions.

He congratulated the citizens of this rich and beautiful Territory, for being in the full enjoyment of peace, quietness and prosperity; the more to be appreciated when we remember the sore afflictions of our brethren and neighbors in Kansas, who are molested, robbed and murdered by Savage Border-Ruffians, who have been encouraged rather than restrained by the unbecome and wicked administration, which now unfortunately curses our entire country.

A usurping Legislature, elected by force and fraud, cannot legislate legally for any people; there is no authority in the infamous enactments of the bogus Legislature of Kansas and the great wretch who now sits in the Presidential Chair, backed by such scoundrels as "Prudent Douglas," in attempts to enforce odious and unconstitutional acts, although they were wholesome laws, under the shallow and hypocritical pretence of "law and order," must be resisted in their unallowed designs, even unto death.

They tauntingly term them, were conclusively proved by Mr. Jones, to hold substantially, the doctrines relative to human slavery and its curtailment, as were strenuously advocated by Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Franklin, Patrick Henry, and others, notwithstanding the false representations of Pierce, Douglas & Co., who hold practically that liberty will dissolve the Union, and that slavery will perpetuate it.

Chas. H. Lindsley, Esq., concluded the interesting services of the occasion by expressing ardent sympathy as the predominant sentiment of Minnesota for the friends of Liberty in our sister Territory, and in order to develop the magnitude of the great interests involved in the present struggle between liberty and slavery, right and wrong, truth or error, Mr. Lindsley traced the history of Virginia from what she was, and her great resources what she might have been, to what she is. Fallen from the first to be the fifth State in the Union, from being the noble mother of statesmen, such as Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Henry and Lee as she was, to her present degraded condition as a hireling nurse for such demagogues as Wise—wise only in name—and Mason. She was the mother of great and good men, now she breeds slaves and politicians, (not statesmen) who are dragging her down still lower into crime and poverty. "How are the mighty fallen!" Slavery is the cause! And now shall this mighty incubus and obstacle of all good and prosperity be indosed by the mad violence of tyrants and their tools upon the virgin soil of Kansas? May the united efforts of all wise and good men co-operate with a benign Providence to avert a calamity so awful.

On motion of Rev. R. Reynolds, Mr. S. G. Whiting was appointed a committee to solicit and receive material aid from the citizens of this vicinity for our needy brethren in Kansas.

On motion, the Chair appointed Charles H. Lindsley, S. P. Jones, and Reuben Reynolds, a committee to correspond and make all necessary arrangements to organize a Republican party in this Territory.

Moved, That the proceedings of this meeting be published in the Winona Republican, St. Paul Times, and Dubuque Tribune.

Whereupon, the meeting adjourned, sine die. S. G. WHITING, Chairman. GEO. S. DAVIS, Secretary.

### Iowa City Republican.

J. TEESDALE, EDITOR. WEDNESDAY JULY 28 1856

#### A Spectacle for a Republic.

The following is the description given by the Kansas correspondent of the Chicago Press, of the circumstances attending the dispersion of a peaceable assemblage of the people, by the hired soldiery of the United States. The spectacle is one for the contemplation and ponder, that the things where things are passing under the despotic rule of the Slave Oligarchy:

"The shrill voice of the 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.

### An Organized Movement.

Among those who desire to save Kansas from the curse of Slavery, has at length been effected in the Free States. The Buffalo Convention has completed what was before wanted. It has appointed efficient committees, of national reputations, who will operate together and concentrate the means devoted to the work throughout the North. The route to Kansas will, henceforth, be through this State and City, until the Ruffians of Missouri shall learn to respect the rights of American citizens, with American principles. A vast amount of money expended along the Missouri River, will hereafter be expended in this State. This city, by virtue of its position as the terminus of the Rail Road, will receive a large proportion of these expenditures for supplies. We are gratified at this secondary advantage accruing to our business men. But our chief gratification is derived from the fact that there is at length an efficient movement which cannot fail to tell in favor of the freedom of Kansas, despite the shameless and traitorous opposition of pro-slavery men here and elsewhere in the North.—H. B. HURN, is Secretary of the National Committee, and may be addressed at Chicago.—Col. ELDRIDGE, (who was proprietor of the Free State House at Lawrence and who has been stopping at the Clark House for several days) is Route Agent, and will assist in arranging matters for the Emigrants along the line.

#### Sustaining the Ruffian Code.

The Reporter has at length completed its identification with the murderous ruffians who have trampled upon all the rights of the Free State Settlers of Kansas, by sustaining the Draconian code, which was forced upon the Territory by invaders. In last evening's paper, one of its railing accusations against the Republicans is that they refuse to submit to that code. Gen. Cass felt constrained to denounce it as unconstitutional and barbarous. But, outstripping all in its servility, the Reporter assails men for refusing to submit to a code that denies the freedom of speech and of the press, and makes it a capital crime to deny the existence of slavery there. The same code requires every Free State man to swear obedience to the Fugitive Law, before he can vote, and makes it *fineable* to kidnap a white child; but *death* to kidnap a negro child! We have mistaken the character of many democrats here, if they do not repudiate with scorn such base servility.

### The Daily Journal.

MONDAY MORNING, JULY 28, 1856.

#### Latest from Kansas.

The St. Louis Republican, of Friday 25th, contains the following account of the condition of Col. Lane's "emigrant" effort, but considerably colored with the "niggerism" of the Buchanan party. Our readers will not fail to note how exactly this rabid pro-slavery paper talks like the Sentinel, and "Old Line" papers generally. Their community of purpose and feeling will show, in spite of all efforts to conceal it. Those who want proof of the pro-slavery tendency of the Buchanan party in Indiana, need only remember that in every act, profession, and mode of discussion, they agree entirely with the bitterest pro-slavery advocates in Missouri and Mississippi.

governed; that whenever the consent of the governed under any system of popular government, is not had, such pretended government, and all acts of legislation under it, are void.

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On motion of Rev. R. Reynolds, Mr. S. G. Whiting was appointed a committee to solicit and receive material aid from the citizens of this vicinity for our needy brethren in Kansas.

On motion, the Chair appointed Charles H. Lindsley, S. P. Jones, and Reuben Reynolds, a committee to correspond and make all necessary arrangements to organize a Republican party in this Territory.

Moved, That the proceedings of this meeting be published in the Winona Republican, St. Paul Times, and Dubuque Tribune. Whereupon, the meeting adjourned, sine die. S. G. WHITING, Chairman. GEO. S. DAVIS, Secretary.

## Iowa City Republican.

J. TEESDALE, EDITOR.  
WEDNESDAY JULY 28 1856

### A Spectacle for a Republic.

The following is the description given by the Kansas correspondent of the Chicago Press, of the circumstances attending the dispersion of a peaceable assemblage of the people, by the hired soldiery of the United States. The spectacle is one for the ages to contemplate and ponder, that there are where things are being done under the rule of the Slave Oligarchy:

The shrill voice of a drummer was heard crying "First squad, 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.

## An Organized Movement.

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Among those who desire to save Kansas from the curse of Slavery, has at length been effected in the Free States. The Buffalo Convention has completed what was before wanted. It has appointed efficient committees, of national reputations, who will operate together and concentrate the means devoted to the work throughout the North. The route to Kansas will, henceforth, be through this State and City, until the Ruffians of Missouri shall learn to respect the rights of American citizens, with American principles. A vast amount of money expended along the Missouri River, will hereafter be expended in this State. This city, by virtue of its position as the terminus of the Rail Road, will receive a large proportion of these expenditures for supplies. We are gratified at this secondary advantage accruing to our business men. But our chief gratification is derived from the fact that there is at length an efficient movement which cannot fail to tell in favor of the freedom of Kansas, despite the shameless and traitorous opposition of pro-slavery men here and elsewhere in the North.—H. B. HURN, is Secretary of the National Committees, and may be addressed at Chicago.—Col. ELDRIDGE, (who was proprietor of the Free State House at Lawrence and who has been stopping at the Clark House for several days) is Route Agent, and will assist in arranging matters for the Emigrants along the line.

## Sustaining the Ruffian Code.

The Reporter has at length completed its identification with the murderous ruffians who have trampled upon all the rights of the Free State Settlers of Kansas, by sustaining the Draconian code, which was forced upon the Territory by invaders. In last evening's paper, one of its railing accusations against the Republicans is that they refuse to submit to that code. Gen. CASS felt constrained to denounce it as unconstitutional and barbarous. But, outstripping all in its servility, the Reporter assails men for refusing to submit to a code that denies the freedom of speech and of the press, and makes it a capital crime to deny the existence of slavery there. The same code requires every Free State man to swear obedience to the Fugitive Law, before he can vote, and makes it feasible to kidnap a white child; but death to kidnap a negro child!

We have mistaken the character of many democrats here, if they do not repudiate with scorn such base servility.

## The Daily Journal.

MONDAY MORNING, JULY 28, 1856.

### Latest from Kansas.

The St. Louis Republican, of Friday 25th, contains the following account of the condition of Col. Lart's "emigrant" effort, but considerably colored with the "niggerism" of the Buchanan party. Our readers will not fail to note how exactly this rabid pro slavery paper talks like the Sentinel, and "Old Line" papers generally. Their community of purpose and feeling will show, in spite of all efforts to conceal it. Those who want proof of the pro slavery tendency of the Buchanan party in Indiana, need only remember that in every act, profession, and mode of discussion, they agree entirely with the bitterest pro-slavery advocates in Missouri and Mississippi:

This is a most expressive word. And the pro-slavery party hate it worse than they hate a Free Kansas man, if that be possible. It is in their ears perpetually. Their county meetings are "fizzles;" their State Conventions are only one degree more dignified, "failures;" and their District gatherings have neither "local habitation nor name." The people wont turn out to hear repeated, with no variation, but the additional virulence produced by anticipated defeat, the stale lies and exploded arguments of the slaveites. They have not a word either for encouragement or conversion, that was not used to death in 1854. They feel the rebuke, and among themselves curse bitterly the "listless masses" who wont turn out to hear them, but flock by hundreds to every cross-road gathering or school house meeting, where Republicanism is to be heard. From every part of the State we receive letters containing the most cheering assurances of the confidence, determination and activity of the Republicans, and with these assurances indisputable proof of the perpetual "fizzles" of the slaveites, and the rapid and constant desertion from their ranks to those of Freedom, Free Kansas, and Fremont.

## DAILY TRIBUNE.

PUBLISHED BY

WRIGHT, MEDILL & CO.,

No. 53 CLARK STREET.

J. C. VAUGHAN, C. H. RAY, EDITORS.

CITY OF CHICAGO.

Monday Morning,.....July 28, 1856.

### An Overland Journey from Topeka to Chicago.

CHICAGO, July 26, 1856.

I left Topeka on Monday at noon on the 7th of July. Topeka is a city of magnificent distances. The town plat of Topeka is one mile square, and there are houses in every part of it. But the houses are not gregarious. Builders there have an eye to the future. They purchase corner lots and erect dwellings on them, indifferent whether or no the adjoining blocks are to be built on for years to come.

Topeka has increased in wealth and population as rapidly as any town in the Territory this season; although, like every other town, it has suffered severely from the anarchy which Atchison inaugurated and Pierce sustained. It is built on a high prairie. It contains between four and five hundred inhabitants, chiefly Pennsylvanians. The surrounding country is very fertile. All claims are taken up within several miles around the town. Some of them can be purchased. Lots sell at from \$20 to \$300—25 feet front by 75. Larger lots vary in price according to their locality.

Before I started from Topeka I bought a one-eyed horse—a Kansas Rosanante—on which, at noon, I forded the river, and rode in an easterly direction for Grasshopper Falls. About three miles from Topeka, on the opposite side of the Kaw river, is a little Pro-Slavery village, called Indianola. It is built on the Delaware lands. From Indianola to Grasshopper Falls—a distance of twenty-seven miles—there are very few cabins built or claims improved. Squatters are afraid of speculators. These lands are to be sold to the highest bidder, and there are rich men mean enough to outbid the squatters for lands which his own industry has improved. I took dinner at Grasshopper Falls on Tuesday. Like every other villagelet in Kansas, Grasshopper Falls is bound to be, ought to be, in fact can't help but be, "quite a tall city," some day or other. At present it contains a hotel, inhabited, but unfinished, two houses and a store kept by the Messrs. Crosby. \$50 a day, cash, is about the average amount taken at stores in towns of this size in Kansas.

Crossing the Grasshopper, a pretty little stream, I followed an old Indian trail in a Northerly direction. For twenty miles, at least, although the county was fertile, well watered, and abounded in timber, not a vestige of human habitations or industry was visible.

We met a party of semi-naked Indians lazily riding towards town. The squaws conception of female beauty differs widely from fashionable notion. Although the prairies are wider than our side walks and much less traveled, the fe-

male Indian, instead of pre-empting an acre at every step with hoops and more sacred coverings, wears, as a general thing, a black broad-cloth petticoat so narrow that it is impossible for her to walk at ease in them, or distract the unfortunate males of her tribe with her graceful or coquetish movements. Happy Indian boys! The list of the web is left standing up in front, rooster's comb fashion, in a line with her dusky dis fascinating nose. Feet in warm weather generally naked; ancles in all kinds of weather, not calculated to disturb the equanimity of enthusiastic youth.

Their other dresses are equally elegant. Their blankets are of the grandest colors. Red is their favorite color; blue ranks next. All of them—males and females—wear beads around their necks, frequently ten pair; and large tin ear-rings and brass rings on their fingers and wrist. Few of them have less than ten rings on each wrists. I noticed one with a thimble suspended from his ear.

The thoroughly civilized Indians do not paint—although they drink like Christians—but nine-tenths of the Kansas red men delight to daub their faces with black paint, red paint, yellow ochre and other gaudy colors. They do not understand the art as well as "white man's squaw." They prefer a glaring contrast to a scientific blending of flesh colors.

At nightfall I reached the hut of a Frenchman who has married a squaw and adopted the habits of the Indians.

Two Missouri scouts were there before me. I knew them, but they did not know me. I was too tired to ride further, and dismounted. After lariatting out my horse, we had the following conversation:

Your Cor.—(To the eldest)—Hav'n't I seen you in Platte?

Scout—Wall, perhaps; but I live in Buchanan.

Cor.—You're watching out for Lane and the abolitionists that are coming out from Iowa, I suppose?

Scout—Oh! no. I'm a pro-slavery man; but I don't believe in interfering with the Free State party.

(The speaker was a lo-browed, thick-lipped, big-jawed, sensual-eyed fellow—and such men, except when playing spy, never use the words Free State men. They say either Abolitionist or nigger-thieves. This expression invariably betrays them.)

Cor.—What are you doing out this way?

Scout—Looking out for claims.

Cor.—Here?

Scout—Yes.

Cor.—I didn't know you could get claims in an Indian Reservation.

Scout—(Confused)—Yes you can, leastways, you know when the land comes into market. Is that a Sharpe's rifle?

Cor.—Yes. (I handed it to him.) Great weapon that; and this (taking out a navy revolver) will make any man equal to twenty, if he can see them half a mile before they reach him.

Scout—Is that a dragoon pistol? I never seed one afore. Let's see it?

Cor.—Thank you, I'd rather not; men ought to be careful of themselves in these times, you know; one at a time, if it's all the same to you.

Scout—(Trying to be friendly) Let me force you.

Cor.—I don't care a cent whether you are or not; but I've lived long enough in Kansas to know what men hunt claims in Indian reservations for. I'm a Missourian myself and I'm up to the cards.

Scout—Oh, are you a Missourian! What part do you hail from?

St. Louis, not Platte, thank God.

Scout—Are you a Freesoiler.

Cor.—Rather. I guess if you Border Rufians ever come down there to try your game on the Free soilers in St. Louis, you'll find yourself missing quite numerously.

Scout—Well, I'm a pro-slavery man, but I'm opposed—

Cor.—Yes, so am I, to your taking the charge out of that rifle. Hand it here.

(The fellow had drawn the slide to drop the powder out. He did so gradually, but as I was watching him closely he did not succeed.)

Scout—Oh! was I? I don't know how to work them, and—

Cor.—Well, you oughtn't to handle arms you dont understand; you might hurt yourself you know, and if you did the Free State men would get the blame of it. Your party have lied about them enough already. (He loaded the rifle.)

Cor.—Now, stranger, let's understand one another. I know you and I know your business.

There are two of you, but if you attempt to stop me or follow me tomorrow, I'll fire. There's no use your trying to say you are not scouts. I know you, and I'll take care you dont leave in the morning before I do.

After breakfast I started on the route indicated by the Indians. I had not gone half a mile before the trail "forked." I took the most traveled trail, which suddenly descended into a ravine abruptly. A broad muddy brook flowed at the base, which I crossed, and entered a wood. The trail gave out. I returned. After crossing the brook, the horse in ascending the hill, stumbled and rolled back into the stream. I was covered with mud from head to foot.

This accident compelled me to stay over till next morning.

A day's residence among the Indians is enough to destroy the prejudice which every one imbibes at an early age in their favor.

They are a filthy, lazy, worthless race of loafers—morally and intellectually as far beneath the negro as the negro is below the white man. I will speak of the "poor begin" again.

Next day after riding four or five miles I came upon the California road. The leader, of a Santa Fe train which was passing at the time informed me that eighty Carolinians had left Atchison three days before and were proceeding to the Big Blue, and that twenty more were on the road following them, and had encamped a few miles back last evening. As I had no desire to meet the chivalry I rode along the road in a westerly direction. I soon met a squatter who was coming from the West. He said that a body of Carolinians were encamped about nine miles above. It is bad policy to get into a cross fire so I left the road and struck across the prairies in a northerly direction. There was another ravine to cross. This time old One-eye surpassed its achievement of the previous day. It not only tumbled back but stuck in the mud. It was utterly impossible to extricate it. I dismounted before it fell and escaped another coat of mud.

I left it sticking in the mire, and left my saddlebags and all their contents with it. One-eye is sticking there yet for anything I know to the contrary. Space filled, printers waiting. R. P.

### Latest News from the West.

CHICAGO TRIBUNE OFFICE,  
Saturday July 26.

Col. Lane was at Tabor, Iowa, twelve miles from Nebraska City, on Sunday last.

The northern emigrants who accompanied him moved from their camp near Sydney, on Saturday morning. They numbered, with the Wisconsin company of 90 persons, about three hundred—including women and children. They were all in good health and had enjoyed the overland trip exceedingly. There was not more than one half of them armed. These had rifles or shot guns, which were their private property. The Milwaukee company—the new—was the only one that had Sharpe's rifles. The Chicago boys were two days journey behind.

A Massachusetts company of thirty men were expected at Nebraska City on Monday to join the three hundred.

The Wisconsin company crossed the Missouri river on Saturday. The other companies were to cross on Monday.

Some time ago, a messenger was sent to Gen. Smith to find out his intentions in regard to Col. Lane. He returned on Friday week. The General stated that if Lane entered the Territory, the Governor would put a requisition in his hands for his arrest, which he would execute, he said, if five hundred lives should be sacrificed in the attempt.

On Friday, immediately after the messengers arrived, a meeting of the conductors of the various companies was held, and a resolution adopted in favor of dispatching a courier to Gen. Smith, to ask whether or no he would send a detachment of his forces to protect the emigrants.

The letter was drawn up, signed by the agent, (Col. Dickey,) and the conductors, and a messenger was dispatched to Fort Leavenworth.—The letter stated that the companies were proceeding to Kansas for the purpose of settling there; "not to incite or encourage insurrection, or interfere with the affairs of neighboring communities," and that the majority of them were unarmed; invited him to examine their wagons, tents and luggage, to convince himself that their intentions were pacific; informed him that they had received repeated and reliable information that an attempt would be made by citizens of Missouri, to intercept, disarm and drive them back before they arrived at Topeka, "a measure which could not be effected without bloodshed;" a rumor, "which, from



the recent action of certain citizens of Missouri, in stopping, plundering and driving back, several companies of Northern emigrants, traveling toward a National Territory, on a National highway, they were inclined to credit; and informed him, in conclusion, that if he did not give them protection they would arm themselves before proceeding further.

It is stated that six hundred men are armed and organized at St. Joseph for the purpose of intercepting Lane. He will not go into Nebraska for the present; but will remain in Iowa, unless the emigrants should be attacked or threatened, when he will of course go to their aid. Col. Dickey will accompany the party as far as the Kansas and Nebraska boundary, where all will wait until the return of the express dispatched to Fort Leavenworth.

## DAILY TRIBUNE.

DETROIT:  
MONDAY EVENING, JULY 28, 1856.

PRINCIPLES—NOT MEN.

### A Good Deed

The Republican members of the House of Representatives did a most excellent thing on Friday last, in refusing to pass the army appropriation Bill except with the understanding that the United States forces should not be used in enforcing the laws of the Kansas Bogus Legislature. This is a blow in the right place. Since the publication of the Kansas Report, no intelligent man in the country, and scarcely a hardened locofoco, pretends that the Kansas Legislature is a legal body, and now that this fact of its illegality is so thoroughly established it is the duty of our members of Congress to resist in the most emphatic manner every act which even implies a sanction of its laws.

After a call of the House on Friday morning last, and some unimportant preliminary action, the House resolved itself into a Committee of the whole on the state of the Union on the army appropriation Bill. The principal discussion was on the following amendment offered by Mr. BARBOUR of Indiana:

"But Congress, hereby disapproving of the code of alleged laws officially committed to them by the President, and which are represented to have been enforced by a body claiming to be the Territorial Legislature of Kansas, and also disapproving of the manner in which said alleged laws have been enforced by the authorities of said Territory, expressly declares that, until these alleged laws shall have been affirmed clear that, by the people of Kansas, no part of the military or police force of the United States shall be employed in aid of their enforcement; nor shall any citizen of Kansas be required, under their provisions, to act as a part of the posse comitatus of any officer acting as marshal or sheriff in said Territory."

To this Mr. WAKEMAN of New York moved an amendment in the following words:

"Said laws, and every part and parcel thereof, being hereby declared null and void."

Mr. Barbour's amendment, as amended, was then adopted by a vote of 72 to 57, and the Committee rose and reported progress.

So it is now settled that so far as the House is concerned a majority of its members will not abet the Administration in the oppression of Kansas. Of course if the appropriation which has been voted is employed to support the fraudulent laws of Kansas, the conditions upon which it was granted will be violated and the law become invalid. This is supposing that the Senate will be true to its professions of a desire to pacify Kansas, and pass the bill as amended, which it will probably not do.

COMMITTEE ROOMS, No. 11 MARINE BUILDINGS,  
Chicago, July 22, 1856.

We would request the Editors of papers friendly to our cause, to notice the fact that the National Kansas Committee are organized and in daily session, and are issuing circulars urging our friends to organize auxiliary societies and committees in each State, county and town, and would like to have the concurrence of the newspaper press in urging the energetic prosecution of the work of organization, for the purpose of raising funds and forwarding with all speed such pecuniary aid as may be contributed. A meeting of the National Committee is called in this city on the 30th inst., by which time it is expected to have important and definite information of the state of affairs in Kansas, from agents of the Committee now there. All communications should be directed to "H. B. Hurd, Secretary, Chicago." Every day is precious, and we hope friendly editors will exert their eloquence in stirring up the people to immediate action.—  
Chicago Press.

It is hoped the friends of Free Kansas in every town and city in Michigan, will organize and aid in means and men, and report as early as practicable, in compliance with the request of the Executive Committee.

# DAILY HERALD.

A. HARRIS, A. W. FAIRBANKS, GEO. A. BENEDET.

OFFICIAL CITY PAPER.

CLEVELAND

Monday Evening, July 28, 1856.

### The Kansas Traitors.

Will Gov. ROBINSON, Editor Brown, and the Free State prisoners, so long held in durance vile by United States troops at Leecompton, under indictments for treason against the bogus laws enacted by Missourians, be tried, convicted, and hung? The Pro-Slavery Court of Judge Lecompte is to try the cases in September, and Gov. Shannon is reported to have said—"If charged, they must be tried—if tried, convicted—and if convicted, hung." Not only Shannon, Stringfellow, Atchison, and the Border Ruffians generally, thirst for the blood of Robinson and the Free State prisoners, but even Senator Douglas, in the same spirit, says—"This Government has shown itself equal to foreign war or to domestic defence—equal to any emergency that may arise in the exercise of its high functions in all things *except the power to hang a traitor.*" "We intend to reduce to subjection those who resist the laws and authorities, and to punish rebellion and treason."

Such are the threats and the portents. What a record to go to the civilized world! God grant the tried friends of Freedom may yet escape the vengeance of the Slave power. But should they not, and should Gov. ROBINSON and others ascend the scaffold to meet such a doom, it will, in the language of the *North American*, be a horrible and portentous crime, though one in perfect keeping with all the acts of this great Kansas tragedy.

A WORD FROM KANSAS.—A resident of Topeka writing to a friend in this city, July 16th, thus speaks of the feeling there in regard to the dispersing of the Legislature by the United States troops:

It was an exciting as well as sad scene. Many of our people—good, bad and indifferent—were charged with the spirit of fight to bursting, and could hardly be restrained from "pitching into" the troops acting under the President's orders. They called us—the more sober and discreet—all manner of hard names—some even got angry, packed up their duds and left the country, because we counselled a longer endurance of our troubles, rather than run our head against a wall.

The last hope of our bleeding country lies in the election of J. C. Fremont to the Presidency, and the complete triumph of the Republican party. For this will we ever labor and pray.

### Things to be Remembered.

Let it be remembered, that men are now imprisoned, to be tried, and may be hung, for treason in Kansas, for forming that very Free State Constitution which the House of Representatives in Congress so recently approved.

Let it be remembered, that the Free State Legislature dispersed by the threatened bayonets of United States soldiers at Topeka, on the 4th of July, peaceably assembled under the provisions of the Constitution of Kansas so approved by the House of Representatives.

Let it be remembered, that United States troops are employed by President PIERCE to enforce the Draconian code of laws enacted in Kansas by a Missouri elected Legislature, and to "disperse" a Legislature elected by the people of Kansas, the real "squatter sovereigns."

Let it be remembered, that the Toombs and Douglas bill, which has passed the Senate, virtually disfranchises all those Free State men who have been driven out of Kansas by bills of indictment, and by the bayonet point, and acknowledges the validity and upholds the acts of the Bogus Legislature.

Let it be remembered, that not a single murderer of Free State men in Kansas has been arrested by the Bogus Territorial officers, or by the U. S. authorities, and that no attempt has been made by said officers or authorities to bring the robbers and murderers to justice.

Let it be remembered, that Free Presses have been destroyed, towns sacked and burned, dwelling houses entered and robbed, men shot down in cold blood, and women driven to insanities, and for no reason but to establish human Slavery in Kansas by brute force.

Let it be remembered that these worse than Algerine outrages have been permitted, aided and justified by the Administration of Franklin Pierce, and the Democratic National Convention endorsed them by endorsing his Administration—that James Buchanan not only stands on the same platform but declares that his individuality is absorbed in the platform.

Let it be remembered that the bludgeon has been substituted for Free Speech in the Senate of the United States, and that the cowardly ruffian who struck down its champion is sustained and applauded by the South and the dough-faces of the North.

Let it be remembered that the recreant Pierce has vetoed every bill passed since his inauguration for the improvement of Lake Harbors, the St. Clair, the St. Mary's, and other Western river rivers—that he finds his justification in the hostility of the Democratic National Platform to such improvements by the General Government—and that BUCHANAN is bound by the same resolution to "follow in the footsteps of his illustrious predecessor."

Let it be remembered, that JOHN C. FREMONT is in favor of a Pacific Railroad, Harbor and River Improvements, Free Speech, Free Press, Free Labor, and Free Kansas.

And lastly, let it be remembered, that the election of JAMES BUCHANAN will be but a mere elongation of the administration of FRANKLIN PIERCE—that the issues have been fairly made up—that the result of this contest will make Slavery National and Freedom sectional, or Freedom National and Slavery Sectional—that every vote counts on the one side or the other—and that the Country expects every Free Man to do his Duty.

## The Daily Republic.

SUFFALO, N. Y.

MONDAY EVENING, JULY 28.

The "Laws" of Kansas.

The Philadelphia *North American* thus sums up the legislative iniquities imposed upon the people of Kansas by the border ruffians of Missouri, and sustained and enforced by the President of the United States:

"Freedom of speech, expressly guaranteed by the constitution, without which the citizen is a powerless slave, is overthrown by that act which makes it a felony to assert that men have no right to hold slaves in the territory.

"Freedom of the press is most effectually destroyed by that which makes it a felony to print or circulate, or even possess a printed paper, calculated (in its estimate of an ex-parte judge and packed jury) to produce disorder among slaves. Speech and press may be free, except when they conflict with the views of the tyrannical usurpers. In other words, these sacred rights are virtually abolished.

"The Indians' corpus, that great defence of personal liberty, is denied to those claimed as fugitives from service, not only in defiance of the constitution, but of an express provision in the organic law.

"The trial by jury, another chief safeguard of freedom and sanctuary of rights, is in effect destroyed in all cases affecting the interests of slavery. The constitution provides for an impartial jury. But the Kansas code will allow no one to act as a juror in such cases who does not admit that slavery rightfully exists in that territory, though even Douglas dare not admit in

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...that slavery can be established by a territorial legislature.

The alleged criminal must be tried by a pro-slavery jury, and even that selected by a Sheriff Jones, who, on a former occasion, pointed his pistol at the head of a free state judge of elections, and told him he had five minutes in which to resign, with the alternative of being shot down. The system is rounded off and completed with a similar provision to the effect that no one can serve as an attorney in the courts who does not take the unconstitutional and unlawful test oath of obedience to the fugitive-slave law, that test oath, which so calleth forth the indignant admonitions of a Senator from a slave state, the Hon. John M. Clayton.

Thus do we see not only public faith, justice and law, but the constitution itself, in its most hallowed provisions, sacrilegiously laid prostrate, that slavery may be established on the forming soil of a new and great empire in the west. And no walls are yet standing of which one stone will be left upon another, if the same occasion requires their overthrow. But no need of this when the breaches are wide enough now to admit the most unbounded tyranny, with all its engines.

3. But we come to survey the apex of this pyramid, which crushes down liberty and right, the bloody and atrocious penalties of this code, the fangs and claws, the tiger strength and serpentine folds with which these lawless and unconstitutional statutes are guarded. Death, in all his array of terrors, is summoned to enforce these wicked and monstrous laws.

So raise an insurrection among slaves, to assist in such rebellion to persuade to such revolt, each of these crimes is to be punished with death. But this may be justified on the plea of expediency and the example of the southern states. We therefore search farther into the code, and find that

To entice any slave out of the territory, in order to procure his freedom, is grand larceny, to be punished by DEATH, or imprisonment, at hard labor, for not less than ten years.

To aid in thus enticing a slave is a similar offence to be punished by DEATH, or imprisonment at hard labor, for not less than ten years.

To entice a slave from any other territory or state into Kansas, is to be punished by DEATH, or ten years imprisonment at hard labor.

To entice a slave from his service, or to harbor one who has so escaped, is punishable by imprisonment at hard labor, for not less than FIVE YEARS.

To aid or harbor a slave who has escaped into Kansas from another state or territory is punishable with such imprisonment for not less than FIVE YEARS.

To entice a slave to escape from the custody of an officer is to be punished with imprisonment at hard labor for a term not less than two YEARS.

To assert, in spoken words, that no one has a right to hold slaves in the territory, is a felony to be punished with imprisonment at hard labor for a term not less than two YEARS.

To print, circulate or possess any printed paper calculated to produce disorder among slaves (in the opinion of such judges and juries, influenced by such artifices) is to be punished with imprisonment at hard labor for not less than FIVE YEARS. And this hard labor on public works for private individuals, to whom the offenders may be hired as slaves in the south, is not made less rigorous by a further statute, the very crown of border ruffian ingenuity, which provides that a heavy chain six feet in length, with a ball of iron at the end, six inches in diameter, shall be fastened to the ankle of the offender, while at work with a strong lock and key.

And all this, while slavery has no legal existence on this soil; in defiance of an express provision of the constitution against cruel and unusual punishments; and amid the illumination of nineteen centuries of christianity. If the friends of the Inquisition, driven from Spain desirous of a new field for their exploits of blood and terror, we would advise them to settle upon a territory between Kansas and Utah, establishing their peculiar institution on the principle of popular sovereignty; and if they are ambitious to improve on the atrocities of the Inquisition, we would send them not to the old world, to Spain or Austria for profitable lessons, but to the authors of the bloody code of Kansas. To graduate in that school, is to be perfect in all science of lawlessness, despotism and cruelty.

Nor do we yet comprehend the depths and height of this mystery of iniquity, till we see the unscrupulous provision they have made to perpetuate the reign of terror, protracting the term of their official life for almost a year beyond its legal bounds, guarding adverse votes by refusing the elective franchise in such as will

not swear to sustain the fugitive slave law, and providing for any requisite number of fraudulent Missouri votes, by allowing suffrage on the payment of a dollar poll tax, without a day's residence. Even this is improved, for, when the judge examines a challenged voter, no evidence to contradict shall be received. Fitting climax to border ruffian hardihood! With suitable instruments in office to enforce these statutes, all the ends aimed at must be secured, and law become a terror to well doers and a praise to them that do ill.

Behold the fruits. Can we confide in the tree upon which they grew? It has been pertinently asked, do men gather grapes from thorns and figs from thistles? Can we accept the new Kansas bill from the men who have made and sanctioned these "laws," especially when we discern a latitude in its provisions through which the same despotism might drive its coach and four?

### Buffalo Commercial Advertiser.

Monday Evening, July 28, 1856.

#### Kansas.

If the recent disturbances in this unfortunate Territory can be fully quieted, and things left to their natural cause for a short time, there is no doubt that the result will be that a large majority will be found in favor of the exclusion of slavery. This opinion is confirmed by the following extract of a Kansas letter in the New York Tribune. It is from the regular correspondent of that paper, and is written from the town of Franklin, near the Missouri border:

Franklin is by no means so busy a place as when the whole travel and commerce of the Kaw Valley went through it. Still it improves, and in spite of the uses the Ruffians have made of it, bids fair to clear itself. It has always been considered a Pro Slavery den, but this is incorrect, as a large majority of the citizens of the town and vicinity are Free State men. Standing on the edge of the Shawnee Reservation, it is of course the first place the traveler coming up the Westport road sees. It was settled chiefly by Missourians, and was considered rather a hard place for Free State people, but in the progress of events these Missourians became converts to Free State principles, which after all was their true interest; for what is slavery but an aristocratic burden upon poor white men?



There were a great many that swelled the "Democratic" ranks last fall, who will not answer the Buchanan roll call this year. The apparent recruits gained through Liquor questions in Maine and Wisconsin—the factitious strength acquired through questions of Nativeism in Pennsylvania and Illinois—have not been enlisted for this fight. Those in this State who were then drawn to the Democratic standard by the known integrity of its candidates and by their known belief that Kansas would and ought to be a Free State—have now just given Buchanan a coup de grace, at Syracuse. The old lines are rubbed out, and new ones drawn. Past issues laid aside, and present issues concern Freedom only. There are as many as ever that fully believe in Democracy, but thousands of them do not consider the system of extending Slavery by standing Armies a fair specimen of the article.

**SOUTH CAROLINIANS FOR KANSAS.**—The steamer Moderator 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 "Genl. 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. [St. Louis Democrat, 18th.

**REMEMBER!** These Southern armed men passed into Kansas without a word of protest

either from the men who drove out the Free State Emigrants, or from the United States authorities. Violence is only meted out to the enemies of Slavery. But we shall by and by have, in Col. FREMONT, a Commander-in-Chief who will see that Freedom has fair play in this struggle with Slavery.

But one thing can hold us together much longer, and it is a reaction at the North, that will arrest Abolitionism. Can that be hoped? Ah! it is a faint hope—the future is dark and gloomy. But, come what may—dissolution, strife, civil war, or death,—the South is firm and calm. We feel ourselves injured and aggrieved, and as the storm rages higher and higher, grows more fired.

So writes a Georgia correspondent of the Journal of Commerce. If we could stand face to face with this correspondent, we would ask him why the South feels herself "injured and aggrieved?" What has she ever asked that she has not received? Let this question be answered by the light of the history of the past twenty years. Would he say that the North refuses what the South now asks? But has not the North a right to refuse? Kansas, under a Compact for which the North gave a full equivalent, was guaranteed freedom "forever." This Compact has been treacherously broken. The North says Slavery must not be benefitted thereby. This is the present issue. It is an issue which cannot be compromised. Let the consequences be what they may—dissolution, civil war, or both—the issue must be tried. There is nothing unreasonable in the demand. It is but insisting upon retaining what has been paid for; and in seeking to crawl out of the bargain, the South is playing a dishonest part. In private life, such conduct would be declared a cheat and a swindle, and subject an individual to imprisonment for obtaining goods under false pretences.

By the "arrest of Abolitionism," the surrender of Kansas to Slavery is meant. And if this surrender is not made, we are told "the Union will be dissolved!"

This kind of talk has hitherto been effective. Timid men have quailed under it, and Dough-faces have made it their apology for recreancy to Freedom. But it has lost its power. Timidity is no longer a ruling element in the Northern character. It has cost too much. And when "Doughface" aspirants learn that they can no longer hope for "Doughface" constituents, the race will very soon become extinct; for, like camp-followers, they only live for plunder.

"The North" ask nothing which will justify "dissolution." They are content to allow Slavery to remain where it is. It is the doctrine of our People that Slavery is a local institution; governed by the local laws of the States—in capable of an hour's existence where no local law is in force. They contend only that Congress has no power to send it into the Territories; and insist that it shall be "forever prohibited" from soil whose perpetual freedom has been purchased and paid for by the People. This is no cause for dissolution. But if dissolution shall follow the triumph of a principle so incontrovertibly right in itself, the responsibility will not rest with the North.

This Government of ours was instituted as a Government of Freedom—not of Slavery.—When this ceases to be its recognized character, and when its whole power is exerted to promote the interests of Slave Holders and to make Slaves of Freemen, the continuance of the Union will not be deemed of any very great importance.

Our People hold to the doctrine of the Fathers—that Freedom is National and Slavery Sectional; and those who, in the event of this doctrine being persisted in, shall seek to dissolve the Union, will become traitors; and the penalty of treason is the gallows.

### The Kansas Contested Election.

Following is the Report of the Committee on Elections on the Kansas contested seat:—

The Committee on Elections, who have had under consideration the memorial of A. H. Reeder, claiming the seat as delegate from the Territory of Kansas, now held by J. W. Whitfield, and the report of the Special Committee appointed to investigate the troubles in the Territory of Kansas, with the accompanying evidence, now submit the following report thereon:—

Your Committee believe that all the conclusions as to matters of fact arrived at by the said Special Committee are clearly and incontrovertibly established by the testimony in the case. Among those conclusions, applicable to the question of the seat in controversy between J. W. Whitfield and A. H. Reeder, are the following:—

That each election in the Territory, held under the organic or alleged Territorial law, has been carried by organized invasion from Missouri, by which the people of the Territory have been prevented from exercising the rights secured to them by the organic law;

That the alleged Territorial Legislature was an illegally constituted body, and had no power to pass valid laws, and their enactments are therefore null and void;

That the election under which the sitting delegate, John W. Whitfield, holds his seat, was not held in pursuance of any valid law, and that it should be regarded only as the expression of the choice of those resident citizens who voted for him;

That the election under which the contesting delegate, Andrew H. Reeder, claims his seat, was not held in pursuance of law, and that it should be regarded only as the expression of the resident citizens who voted for him;

That Andrew H. Reeder received a greater number of votes of resident citizens than John W. Whitfield, for delegate.

That in the present condition of the Territory, a fair election cannot be held without a new census, a stringent and well-guarded election law, the selection of impartial judges, and the presence of United States troops at every place of election.

In view of these conclusions, that the election of J. W. Whitfield was without any authority of law, and that he comes here as the choice of only a minority of the resident citizens of Kansas, your Committee decide that he is not entitled to the seat which he holds as delegate from the Territory of Kansas.

The election under which A. H. Reeder claims, was equally without authority of law, but inasmuch as he comes here as the choice of a much larger number of the resident citizens of Kansas than the number of those who voted for J. W. Whitfield, your Committee recommend that he be admitted to a seat as delegate from the Territory of Kansas.

The office of delegate from a Territory is not created by the Constitution. Such delegates are not members of the House, and have no votes in its deliberations. They are received as a matter of favor, as agents through whom may be communicated the opinions and wishes of the people of the Territories. It is competent for the House, and this power has been often exercised, to admit private parties to be heard before it by counsel. It must be equally competent for the House, at its discretion, to admit any person to speak in behalf of the people of the Territories. It may, if it sees fit, admit more than one such person from each Territory. Under ordinary circumstances, no case calling for the exercise of this discretionary power will arise.

In all the laws creating territories, provision is made for the election of delegates to Congress, and the people of the territories, having the opportunity to be heard through such delegates, and by memorial and petition, under the general provisions of the Constitution, could not ask to be heard through any other agency. In the present case, however, the people of the territory of Kansas have been deprived of the power to make a strictly legal election of a delegate, by an invasion from Missouri, which has subverted their territorial government and annihilated its legislative power. To deny to Kansas the right to be heard through the choice of its resident citizens, merely because that choice was manifested outside of legal forms, and necessarily so, because the law-making power was destroyed by foreign violence, is to deny to Kansas the right to be heard at all on the floor of the House.

Your committee cannot recommend to the House to declare that the seat of the delegate from Kansas is vacant, and to order that a new election be held. The objections to such a recommendation are obvious and insuperable. No

gate to Congress, the provision on that subject in the organic law, having reference only to the first election, and no territorial law for such an election can be enacted for the plain reason that the law-making power of that territory has been subverted by usurpation.

To send this case back to the people of Kansas for a new election, is merely to invite a repetition of the scenes of last October, and it is quite certain that at the next session of Congress, some person would again appear, claiming a new election under territorial laws which your committee regard as nullities, while some other person would again appear, claiming a new election, as the choice, outside of any laws, of a majority of the people.

It is undoubtedly competent for the Congress of the United States to enact a law, under which a legal election of a delegate from Kansas could be effected. Should such a law be enacted, and should a delegate elected under it appear here, your committee cannot doubt that he should be and would be admitted to a seat. But in the meantime, and until such an election is ordered and held, your committee are of opinion that Kansas is entitled to be heard on the floor of the House, by the agent chosen by a majority of her citizens.

Your committee therefore recommend the adoption of the following resolutions:—

Resolved, That John W. Whitfield is not entitled to a seat in this House, as a delegate from the Territory of Kansas.

Resolved, That Andrew H. Reeder be admitted to a seat on this floor as a delegate from the Territory of Kansas.

## The Republican.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.  
MONDAY MORNING, JULY 28, 1856.

### Kansas Reports.

Gen Stringfellow and other citizens of Western Missouri issued a handbill dated July 8th, calling on all Missourians to go over to Kansas before August 1st (and assume a residence) in order that they might be able to vote in November under Toombs' new bill.—Gen Lane with a party of 200, including women and children, crossed the Missouri at Nebraska city on Monday last. It is reported that Gen Smith says if Lane enters Kansas he will take him if it costs 500 lives. Lane will remain in Iowa unless the Missourians intercept his party, when he will go to their aid. It is said that 600 Missourians are at St Joseph's, Mo., to intercept Gen Lane's party. If they attempt it there will be a battle. Ninety Chicagoans and thirty Massachusetts men expected to join Lane's party at Nebraska city.—Gen Harney left Council Bluffs, Iowa, on Monday, for Kansas.

### A Brace of Letters from Iowa. Correspondence of the Republican.

BURLINGTON, Iowa, July 22.

Our proximity to Kansas brings us in daily contact with exiles from that ill-fated territory. Whatever disguises and subterfuges it may suit the purposes of party to throw around it, the record of wrong and outrage to which peaceable and unoffending settlers there have been subjected has not been half revealed, and would hardly be believed if told. It will constitute the blackest page in our annals, and many of those who now connive at the perpetration of these crimes, will hereafter blush to tell it to their children.

A party of gentlemen, among whom were Mr Whitman of Lawrence, formerly of Cambridge, Mass., and Dr Howe of Boston, was here last week, and have gone up the line of the Burlington and Missouri river railroad with the view of marking out a new and more eligible route to Kansas, by which emigrants will be saved from the perils of the Missouri river pirates, and can reach the territory in safety.

## The Daily Spy.

MONDAY, JULY 23, 1856

SENSE OF RETURNING REASON.—The Weston (Missouri) Reporter, heretofore a Border Ruffian paper of the hardest character, protests against the recent outrages on emigrants from free states, in refusing to allow them to enter Kansas by the

Missouri river. It undoubtedly sees the reaction such refusal will have upon the interests of Slavery. The Reporter 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 his country. Are the citizens of other States to be deprived of their rights to emigrate to Kansas? Are the principles of the Kansas bill to be nullified, and the bands of men stationed along the border to demand a passport 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 at Boston."

The Platte Argus, Atchison's home organ, was zealously urging Missourians to go into the territory before the 1st of August, and get a residence, so as to be able to vote in November. It says:

"Go there at once—be there as settlers—be there to be enrolled—be there to vote, and thus save yourselves and your country! We are glad to see all around us preparing to move. Knowing that the day for the final struggle has come, they do not hold back. Let others do their duty and we are saved."

So also the slavery propagandists at the extreme South are zealously at work to complete the design of Douglas's last grand move for slavery. A steamboat passed Springfield, Ill., one day last week, with 90 Mississippians for Kansas, all completely armed, who are described as the hardest set of ragamuffins ever seen on the river. These men will march into the territory without hindrance, of course, and when there will aid their brethren in robbing and sending back such free state men as may attempt to enter the territory. Very likely they will be enrolled in Shannon's militia as soon as they land at Leavenworth, and be placed under pay of the general government.

A company of 26 South Carolinians also went up from St. Louis last week, of whom the Democrat says—"to judge from their conversation, if they don't soon get a chance at a fight, they will spile." Major Buford has gone home to raise more money. He states that the \$50,000 he himself invested in the enterprise has all been used up, but his men, instead of taking claims and securing him by a portion of their lands, as they agreed to do, prefer to hang about the settlements and depend upon the contributions of Missouri for support.

## The Atlas.

MONDAY MORNING, JULY 28, 1856.

### Kansas Correspondence of the Atlas. LAWRENCE, Kansas, July 6th, 1856.

It is more than gratifying to find such sympathy as yours for our incarcerated friend—and most of his fellow prisoners would also interest you deeply, if you knew them. One of them, L. W. Dieter, Secretary of State, pro tem., and an intimate friend of our Governor, was boarding with us at the time of his arrest, and his many noble and generous qualities and found a large place in my heart. The loneliness of his position too, without father or mother, brother or sister, wife or child, in this region—and the sensitiveness of his nature, making his confinement particularly irksome to him—bespeak most considerate kindness on the part of his host of friends.

But I may not stop to specify among the group. They all bid me a cordial welcome—always, however frequent my visits—and appreciate, as only the imprisoned can, every slight expression of regard. Your letter was a treat to them yesterday. It arrived on the 4th—a day to which you have looked forward with an interest perhaps scarcely less intense than the solicitude with which we awaited its coming. But, as you will have learned, before you see this, it has passed peacefully, quietly, and, as we are satisfied, triumphantly, for our cause. The Free State men compromised nothing; they maintained their dignity, carried their point to all practical purposes, and henceforth Col. Sumner is their fast friend.

I must give you a few details. The hour of the meeting was called on the day previous, and held an adjourned session on the morning of the 4th, on the piazza of the Hotel, opposite the Constitution Hall. Between ten and eleven, and while the committee on resolutions were reporting, Marshal Donelson made his appearance in the assembly, and proceeding to the stand with Judge Elmore, asked audience while proclamations were read. With all due courtesy the meeting promptly suspended business, and the Marshal, by his proxy, the Judge, proceeded to read, for our especial benefit, slips cut from old newspapers of last winter. We would rather have had something original, having seen them before; but we listened to all the flummery and nonsense of that famous proclamation of Frank Pierce, dated Feb. 11th; its successor, from the hand of Wilson Shannon—about equally entitled to our respect. These were followed by an original document from Secretary Woodson, Gov. Shannon being absent, and a few lines appended by Col. Sumner. During the early part of the reading, it was difficult to suppress the general feeling of scorn that rose to meet such accusations; they did not hit us anywhere. There were but slight murmurs—though it was easy to see what one determined spirit might have done in that audience. A call to order was sufficient, however, and nothing could have been cooler or richer than the finale. Soon as the reader paused, "Is that all?" asked the moderator; "Yes," said the Marshal; and next breath a voice was heard in the crowd, "Three cheers for Gov. Robinson," and they were heartily given; "Three groans for Frank Pierce" followed in quick succession; and without a word or a pause it was proposed "that we proceed to business." There was perfect order. The next resolution was read and adopted; the next was commenced, when the Marshal asked if any reply was to be sent to Col. Sumner. "Those proclamations do not apply to us," was heard from some voice in the crowd. "This meeting is not the Legislature," said some one officially, "and we cannot answer for them." I think the dignitaries must have felt very much as though they had come on a fool's errand; and while they were taking themselves away, the succeeding resolutions were read and adopted. The Marshal's request to have the written proclamation posted up, was not acceded to. Looking down from my position in the window above, I saw an excited face pushing its way through the masses. "The 'regulars' are coming," said the man, exhorting to caution. Evidently he was making himself unpopular; but Dr. Root, who was reading some reports, caught his eye, and promptly said, "This man was a prisoner with me too long to do your cause any harm." Whereupon, making his way to the stand, he gave the Dr. a grateful look, as artless as a child, and begged him to speak for him. The Dr., giving his name, presumed that he meant simply to apprise the meeting that any strong expression of feeling at that moment might be misinterpreted, as the troops, not yet in sight, were near. He bowed and retired. Some allusion being made to a company then parading close at hand, a conservative, though injudicious man said, "There is not a town in the country where military men are not armed and equipped today. If Col. Sumner attempts to take those rifles, I'll be one to help resist him!" "Good," "good," said a few voices. "Mr. President!" "Mr. President!"—it was Rev. Pardee Butler, addressing the Chair with the determination of being heard; "Mr. President, I have one word to say—Resolved, that this meeting have no intention of resisting Col. Sumner."

The resolution was carried without opposition, and by this time another breathless messenger was pressing his way toward the stand. He had been to the camp, and heard the Marshal's report, that the Legislature were determined to meet in spite of U. S. troops. The Marshal was chagrined and angry at his own reception, and the coloring he gave the matter roused Col. Sumner's ire. "At what hour do they meet," he inquired. "Twelve," was the answer. "I will be there with the troops," he added, looking at his watch, and moving with energy. The reporter had not concluded before the cavalry were in sight, riding rapidly toward the spot. A committee was immediately appointed to inform the Colonel of the resolution last passed. Before they could reach him, he had ordered his men to form a line, and, in doing so, they had rode into the company that stood in single file between the hall and the meeting. So soon as the brief conference was ended, the air was rent with cheers from that quarter, and we knew that Col. Sumner had seen his mistake, and apologized. The committee returned, and reported that Col. S.'s mission was to disperse the Legislature according to his orders, and that he should retire immediately with his forces, he having no further duties to perform, and no wish to interfere with any ceremonies of the celebration. "Three cheers for Col. Sumner," said Mr. Butler, and the shout of voices rent the air. "Three cheers for Gov. Robinson," called another, and again the welkin rung. "Three cheers for Maj. Sedgwick," demanded somebody who had witnessed the gentle-

manly department of that officer before the arrival of the Colonel, and the hurrahs were almost enthusiastic. The ladies who had met to present a banner to one of the military companies, had not retired from the hall when Col. S. entered. He stood by the chair, while S. F. Tappan, from Boston, Clerk of the House, called the roll with as much calmness as though arrests had not been talked of.

The Colonel's remarks on each floor were kind, dignified, and brief. It was the most unpleasant duty he had ever been obliged to perform. It was only because it was his duty that he could bring himself now to the task. It was as the agent of the General Government that he commanded them to disperse. Judge Schuyler asked in the House if they were to consider themselves dispersed at the point of the bayonet; "it is equivalent to that," was the reply. Members of the Senate told me that he submitted to more parleying and cross-questioning than would have been expected. When asked what the result would be if his demands were not complied with, he said the members would be arrested. The Sergeant-at-Arms for the Senate had been ordered to admit no one without knowing him. The Marshal had demanded entrance, which was granted as soon as he made himself known. There were only two or three persons in the hall, besides members, but no arrests were made. He tried to elicit a promise not to meet again—threatening to arrest all who would not pledge themselves—but nobody deigned him an answer. *The twenty-first of May is not forgotten.*

But I meant to have replied to your letter before talking of other matters. There is scarce a subject to which every fibre of my heart so readily responds as the theme you so briefly, yet so eloquently discuss. I find a new bond of union to those whose sympathies are alive in this matter. This same Marshal Donelson gave strict orders, last Tuesday, that no communication should be allowed between the prisoners and their friends till after the 6th, nor then, unless everything was quiet. A small party who went up Tuesday morning, were not permitted to converse with Mrs. Robinson or Mrs. Jenkins; and the Captain refused to hand their letters, which had come by mail, into the camp! Saturday morning, on his return from Topeka, Col. S. called, Gov. R., in showing the partiality of the Government, illustrated it among other things by their treatment. The Colonel was shocked to learn that Capt. Walker had been ordered to read before allowing letters to go into the camp—though he had never done so. He removed these restrictions on his own responsibility, and told Capt. W. that hereafter he should report immediately whenever, in his judgment, improper commands were given him as jailor. The camp had been removed on Tuesday nearer Leecompton, as the prisoners believe, to protect that town from an attack by the free State men, which they had no thought of making. "The wicked flee when no man pursueth," and they know their deserts. They also expected an attempt to rescue the prisoners on the night of the fourth—equally groundless. Capt. Walker very bravely put the seven men and two women into one small room without a window, and would have locked the door but for remonstrances decidedly unsubmitive. He barricaded all the entrances with wagon-bodies filled with corn-boxes, pulled out the chinking from another room, making a fortress with portholes, and, in case of an encounter, was to have the log house the prisoners occupied knocked down over their heads! But I am happy to assure you that he is superseded in his charge by a far better man. The soldiers have endeared themselves to the prisoners, and they are loath to part with them.

Some pro-slavery men say it is a part of the programme that Robinson and Brown are to be hung; and they made themselves merry over a paragraph to that effect in the paper yesterday. Mr. Deitzler says, "I'll go up with you, Gov. and cut the rope every time." But that they have their serious thoughts I have proof enough. They are beginning to give up the hope of being sued out. Some think no attempt will be made to bring them to trial. If tried here, they themselves think it probable that they will be convicted, and if convicted, kept in close and cruel confinement, with an Argus eye toward the free State men. If their oppressors know when they are at peace, they will let no harm befall them. But their conduct is so suicidal, they can't be trusted with their own interests even.

**WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENCE OF THE ATLAS.**  
WASHINGTON, July 25, 1856.

It is hoped that the proviso put on the Army bill in Committee of the Whole yesterday, can be kept on after the bill is reported to the House. If the friends of Kansas are strong enough to carry the proviso they will adhere to it at all hazards. The proviso declares the whole body of the bogus laws in Kansas to be null and void, and prohibits the employment of the army of the United States to enforce them.

Two remarkable declarations have been made on this subject, by high Democratic authorities.

1. In the House debate yesterday, Mr. Stephens of Georgia, declared that the President's authority over the army, as Commander-in-Chief, is absolute and cannot be restrained, fettered, or regulated by Congress. If this doctrine is true, the power of the President is despotic.

2. The Union of this morning authoritatively declares that the Senate, rather than submit to the proviso proposed in the House, will defeat the Army bill altogether, or any other appropriation bill to which a similar proviso may be attached. This is tantamount to saying, that the armed enforcement of the bogus laws of Kansas is the great, paramount and absorbing object of the party now in power, and that rather than yield it to the opinions of the House, the wheels of the government shall be stopped. This traitorous and revolutionary language of the Union should be noticed and rebuked by the country.

It is an express provision of the Constitution, that no appropriation for the support of the army shall be in force for a longer time than two years. The obvious design of this provision, is to insure to the legislative branch at frequently recurring intervals, that complete control of the use of the military arm, which is involved in the power of voting supplies. It is the plain and indisputable prerogative of the House, to prescribe the terms on which it will appropriate money for the army, and it is fundamental to the liberties of the country that this prerogative should be upheld in all its force. Let us hope that no threats of the executive organ, and no factious course on the part of the Senate, will deter the majority of the House from the full performance of their duties.

**NEW YORK HERALD.**  
NEW YORK, July 25, 1856.

The Anti-Slavery at Yale College.  
CORRESPONDENCE.  
NEW HAVEN, July 25, 1856.

The note which Prof. Sullivan took in the notice of the meeting, held in New Haven, respecting the case of Brother Becker, is so misapprehended, that it is necessary to state that it has been misapprehended in the columns of the college. Prof. Sullivan, at that time, was not actually present at the college, and his attendance at that meeting was an individual matter. He did not represent the college there, in any capacity, and though his opinions on Kansas affairs, when given to the public, are entitled to consideration and respect, they should not be taken as the political manifesto of Yale College. The meeting was an unfortunate affair for Yale; and if Brother Becker had kept a few more of his rifles at home, the treasury of Yale College would probably this day be in a much better and more satisfactory condition.

**The Semi-Weekly Times.**  
July 25, 1856.

**Kansas and the Missouri River—Camp of Chivalry—Efforts to Remove the Postmaster at Lawrence—Kansas Funds—Congress and the State Organization of Kansas.**  
Correspondence of the New-York Daily Times.  
LAWRENCE, Kansas, Wednesday, July 16, 1856.

Kansas, except at Leavenworth and other towns along the river, seems quiet now. We hear now and then of horses being stolen and of men shot at in this neighborhood, but such rumors are so common that they excite little attention. At Leavenworth, immediately under the eyes of Gen. SMITH and Col. SUMNER, the Regulators still search and plunder the trunks and chests of the "Abolitionists," and after robbing them, under guard, send them down the river. At Independence, Liberty and Lexington, in Missouri, cannon are placed on the bank of the river; every boat passing up is compelled to stop and submit to a rigid search for Sharpe's rifles and Northern emigrants. No Northern man if coming to the Territory can expect to get up the river without molestation unless he announces himself a Pro-Slavery man—or which is the same thing, a Buchanan Democrat. If a man represents himself as from the South—as a Pro-Slavery man—or as an Administration Democrat, and puts on the "airs" of the class he assumes to represent, he will insure a kind and cordial welcome from these river pirates and receive every protection from their hands.

The pirates who were stationed at Leavenworth were under the command of COLEMAN, the murderer of Dow and of SAMUEL SALTERS, Deputy Sheriff of Douglas County. Persons from Kansas City represent the trade as very dull there; its merchants and tradesmen begin to discover that an enlistment in the "subduing" posse of Douglas does not pay. They propose building a road direct from Kansas City to Lawrence, saving the necessity of travel through the ruffian town of Westport—thus making the route much more direct. Their overtures, however, meet with but little favor. If the citizens of Kansas City have not been so active as the citizens of other border-towns in the war against the Free-State men of the Territory, it is not because they do not possess the disposition, but because they would lose money by the operation.

The most of our merchants have done their business at Leavenworth lately. This town is some ten or fifteen miles nearer to us than Kansas City, and the road to it much better. Two-thirds of the population of Leavenworth are reported to be favorable to the Free-State organization. Being situated directly on the Border and subject at any time to border incursions, its Free-State men, with some exceptions, have become timid and cautious, and are extremely careful in the expression of their opinions. It bids fair to be the first town in the Territory, and emigrants in search of a good trading point would do well to visit it. The Free-State Party should have a paper established there, and once established, they should be prepared to defend it.

Persons in from Ossawatimie, report the assemblage of a party of one hundred and fifty Georgians and Alabamians within one mile of that town. They profess to be locating a town site. A few days ago they robbed a person of his horse and revolver.

We have reliable information of another camp of the "Southern chivalry" on the Big Blue, near the Nebraska line. It is said they have four pieces of cannon with them. Their object undoubtedly is to stop and plunder emigrants from the Free States, coming overland into the Territory. From certain indications, slightly apparent, these fellows upon the Big Blue may have an opportunity to try "their hand" on persons coming from another way.

For some time the Pro-Slavery men in and about Lecompton, have been determined to secure the removal of C. W. BABCOCK, our Postmaster here, and the appointment of some one more palatable to them in his stead. It is reported that a petition praying for the removal of the office to a place three and a half miles from town, and the appointment of a Mr. SPICER for Postmaster, was in circulation at Tecumseh, a town nineteen miles west from us, and that the petition had the signatures of nearly two hundred persons, all of whom purported to be residents of Lawrence.

Our citizens do not relish the idea of having to be at the mercy of the Pro-Slavery men of Franklin, Lecompton, and Tecumseh for Postmaster, and have got up a counter petition to prevent it. In order that we may aid the Postmaster General in deciding the matter, we beg leave to inform him that Mr. BABCOCK, up to the time of the destruction of the hotel and printing presses by the posse of the Administration's Marshal, was an Administration man. Although ambitious and "bound to shine," yet his conservative regard for the Post Office has prevented him from taking any active part in favor of our State organization. He is popular now with our people for the following reasons—reasons which we fear will disqualify him with the Department.

He is a good and faithful Postmaster—he has never refused to receive and distribute any publications denounced by the Territorial laws as incendiary—and he is favorable to the election of FREMONT and DAYTON. Lest the last reason should have too important effect upon the mind of the Postmaster General, we think it our duty to assure him that Mr. BABCOCK is somewhat timid in his professions of favor for the Republican nominees.

Dr. J. V. C. SMITH, who was here not long since, we notice, has been trying to build up a reputation by writing about Kansas affairs and Kansas funds. The Doctor intimates that there has been fraud somewhere, and calls upon those who contributed to sift the matter to the bottom. Had the Doctor been a little less timid while here, and pushed his inquiries further, he would have found that the Safety Committee who had charge of the funds sent, were prepared to show full and accurate accounts of every dollar received and expended. If money has been raised in the East and not sent here, we presume the people of Kansas or their Committee are not to be blamed for it.

We notice that the Boston Post seizes hold of this "mare's nest" of the Doctor's and cries: "Let all those who have contributed sift this matter to the bottom."

The settlers of Kansas are profoundly grateful to the conductors of that Border-Ruffian Journal for the suggestion. The conductors of that print, with accustomed generosity, must have given largely of their wealth to alleviate the sufferings of the people of Kansas. Their contributions have not reached us. We entreat them to "sift the matter to the bottom."

The action of Congress upon our affairs excites the deepest interest. If the House will stand firm to its position we are safe, if not, Kansas is doomed. If DOUGLAS' bill passes the House, Kansas will immediately swarm with emigrants from Missouri, who will emigrate for no other purpose than to settle the question in favor of Slavery and then return. This is their intention, and if you will examine the testimony given before the Committee of Investigation you will find that they boldly avow it. The citizens of Kansas, who are more deeply interested in this question than all others, and whose experience and interest should, at least, be entitled to respectful consideration, earnestly implore the House to remain firm to its position. Let this be done and Kansas will be Free!

**Affairs in Northern Kansas—Disturbed Condition of the Territory—Pro-Slavery Vigilance.**

Correspondence of the New-York Daily Times.

BIG NEMAH, Thursday, July 17, 1856.

Your special correspondent is now in the Northernmost portion of Kansas Territory. I have, been traveling over this region to learn from actual observation the true state of affairs and the prospects of the two parties up here where comparative quiet has hitherto reigned. By visiting the settlers and talking with them alone can you get at the real history of what is going on.

I have been through within the past ten days most of Kansas, north of the river, and have seen and conversed with many leading men of both parties. The Free-State men say they are largely in the majority, but it should be remembered that in this section not so many Free-State men have been driven out as south of the river where the troubles have existed. When I crossed this river—the Nemaha—I met a Pro-Slavery scout who inquired where I was from and my destination, &c. Wanted to know if I belonged to LANE's party that was coming through as he had heard. I afterwards learned that this man was stationed at this crossing to gather information in regard to Free-State emigrants and communicate the same to head quarters. He seemed to think no Free-State parties of emigrants would be allowed to go down into the Territory.

Our friends are up to the fighting pinch in anticipation of trouble on the line, and thus much may be relied upon that they will fight if any attempt is made by Pro-Slavery ruffians to hinder or prevent the free ingress of emigrants from the North through Nebraska into the Territory by this route. Now that the Missouri River is closed to Free-State men and as large numbers have been turned back who attempted to come through Missouri by land, if this Northern route which is just being opened is to be blocked, then it is time to fight.

On passing through the Southern portion of Nebraska very recently I found a strong Pro-Slavery feeling existing. Little or no timber is to be found in that section except on the Missouri River, and this was mostly taken up by Missourians immediately upon the passage of the Kansas bill. So one must not be surprised to hear stout assertions made by numbers of the settlers of southern Nebraska that they hoped Kansas would be slave, and meant to make Nebraska so also.

The scenery at the crossing of the Big Nemaha at this point (called the Fall's Crossing) where much of northern emigration must pass, is the most lovely and enchanting of anything of the kind I have ever seen in Kansas. Most of our rivers have a turbid appearance, and roll a lazy stream, but the Nemaha is clear and sparkling, reminding one of a New-England stream.

From all I can gather at this place, I judge the scene of trouble will soon be transferred from the Lawrence side of the Territory to the northern portion of it. Some here tell me that our party—and it numbers some twenty-five—will not get to Lawrence without molestation, but we have made up our minds to try, and shall meet our foe with our faces towards the unfortunate city.

LAWRENCE, K. T., Saturday, July 19, 1856.

By date you will see that your correspondent has arrived in Lawrence. On our way down from the Big Nemaha, a party of some twenty ruffians was put on our track by some spy, but raised us by about six miles, as we afterwards learned. At Grasshopper Falls—a flourishing Free-State town—I learned that a company of upwards of eighty Missourians had passed the night before westward

into the Territory, and that they said they expected a bill would pass Congress calling upon us to elect members of a Convention to form a Constitution, and they were going in to be ready to vote. I have to-night positive information that a colonizing scheme is now on foot in Western Missouri to pour hundreds in upon us, anticipating the passage of the Douglas bill or some one of kindred import. These men are actually now coming in, and say they come so as to be here to vote, should such a bill pass. Witness the workings of that measure in advance, and see how completely it will cheat us out of our rights. Pass it, and Kansas must be slave. Hundreds of our men are to-day out of the Territory, and dare not return now for their lives, and hundreds more are waiting to come and settle with us, only for the reign of peace; and the Ruffian Party, in the North as well as in the South, will know this, and hence the new plan to enslave us. Admit Kansas under her present Constitution, or let us wait awhile; but do not seal our doom by disfranchising one-half our bona fide citizens.

A few weeks ago I was in Illinois and Iowa, and I met almost in every town a man who had been driven by force out of Kansas, but who intended to return just as soon as it would be prudent. Men who lived here last year and have valuable claims with good improvements, are now in exile literally, and to debar them from having a voice in moulding our future institutions, would be only a continuation of those outrages and insults heaped upon us hitherto by the General Government.

THURSDAY EVENING, 10 o'clock.

By special messengers I learn that a force of upwards of 100 Ruffians, fully armed and having four pieces of cannon, have assembled on the Big Blue, some 80 miles northwest of this city, where it is supposed Free-State emigrants will have to pass coming the Iowa route, and they avow their determination to stop them and turn them back. This is what we expected, and the news causes great excitement here. Measures are on foot to collect a body of Free-State men to repair to the contemplated scene of action and help in the adjustment of so vital a question as the exclusion of free immigration into our Territory. This news only confirms what I said in my letter dated Big Nemaha, the 15th inst.

I cannot learn that Col. SUMNER is about to disperse these ruffians, but probably, as in most other instances, the U. S. troops will not get there till afterwards. Do not be surprised if another campaign in Kansas warfare should soon open. The passions of our men are thoroughly aroused, and after being dispersed on the 4th inst. at the point of the bayonet, as the people's representatives at Topeka were, they will not wait long before action.

Yesterday I visited the Camp where the Free-State prisoners are confined, and talked at length with Gov. ROBINSON. He said he soon expected an outbreak. The troops could afford but partial relief, and there would be a popular uprising to clear out these bands of Ruffians making ready to hinder immigration and to plunder actual settlers. The Governor bears his confinement as well as could be expected, sometimes getting wrathful, but on the whole calm and cool. His wife is his partner in trial, and remains in tent with him. They are all in tents and guarded by United States troops. It is a sad comment on our institutions to go there and see our men held in custody for no crime, and watched over by the sleepless sentinels, of our Federal Government.

TRIMMER.

**New-York Daily Times.**

NEW-YORK, MONDAY, JULY 28, 1856.

**Democratic Republican Address.**

The following is the Address, adopted by the late Democratic Republican Convention at Syracuse, and written by Hon. DAVID DUDLEY FIELD, of New York:

FELLOW DEMOCRATS: The time has come for Democrats to declare their independence of those packed Conventions which have lately assumed to dictate the measures and the candidates of the Democracy. That party of glorious memory, which once spoke and acted for Freedom, has fallen into the hands of office-holders and political adventurers, serving as the tools of a Slaveholding oligarchy. For more than ten years the measures of the General Government have been directed to the increase of Slave States. One measure has followed upon another, each bolder than the last, until we have violence ruling in the Territories. For the consummation of each measure, the vernal have been purchased, the timid frightened by threats of disunion, the peace-loving soothed by promises of future quietness, and the reluctant and resisting silenced by the clamor and force of

party. Each success has led to a new aggression, and at last the weak man now at the head of the Government, stimulated by a Senator from Illinois, in a rivalry for a Presidential nomination, and believing the best means of reaching it was to secure the entire Southern vote, and the best means of obtaining that, a new sacrifice to Slavery, attempted to force through Congress the repeal of an existing law, by which a Compromise had been effected by our fathers, more than a third of a century past. These rival demagogues succeeded in effecting the repeal, though they lost their reward. By this act of crime, unparalleled even in our day of political crimes, one of the fairest regions of our country, and indeed in the world, has been converted into a field of battle, where citizens of a common country are fighting with each other for the introduction or exclusion of human servitude. Such another spectacle the world does not present. And the end of it is dependent upon the event of a Presidential election.

To excuse themselves, the authors of the measure put forth the plea that the people of the Territories had the right to govern themselves. If this were true, it would not have justified the Kansas-Nebraska act, for that was a mere abandonment of Congressional interposition in favor of Presidential interposition, leaving the law-making power to the people, but reserving the Executive and Judicial to the President or his nominees. It was an abdication by Congress of its legislative functions in favor of the Executive. But the plea was as untrue in fact as it was unworthy in motive. They who put it forth have already abandoned it. The Senate has passed a bill proposing to annul some of the most obnoxious acts of these law-makers, and the authors of the mischief, shrinking from the consequences of their own acts, and forgetting that others will remember their tergiversation, attempt to escape some of the condemnation by undoing a part of the evil.

If the people of the Territories have the right to govern themselves, they will make their Governors and Judges, as well as their legislators. If they have not the right, Congress has it; and if Congress has it, it must be exercised according to the judgment and conscience of the country. The true question, therefore, is, what legislation on the subject of Slavery in the Territories do the judgment and conscience of the country require?

The present question is, indeed, narrower than that, for it relates merely to the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska. These, the legislation of Congress—perfected in 1820 by the votes of the North and South, chiefly South—solemnly and forever set apart as free soil. That dedication of the soil to liberty the degeneracy of the present day has annulled. And the legislation which is now required is that which is necessary, whatever it may be, to make Kansas free.

This is demanded alike and by every consideration, past, present and future. If Kansas, which the past made free, is now to be changed to slave, there must be an end of compromises, and of conciliatory legislation: the faith which prompts one legislature or one generation to respect the engagements of another must disappear; and how long a government can be carried on, without that faith and confidence, without something more than written Constitutions, worked by mere majorities, regardless of everything but their own strength and will, they who have read history can answer. If the present struggle is to end, as the Illinois Senator has boasted, in the subjugation of those who opposed his mischievous bill, then, indeed, is the spirit of evil let loose, intimidation and violence are in the ascendant, the real opinion of the country is a thing to be despised, conscience may be laughed at, and is of no importance to the President or Congress, and the people of the North may think, if the South can be secured with the Northern office-holders and purchasable members of Congress, any measure may be safely carried and maintained. How such a state of things commends itself to the spirit or self-respect of Northern electors, we ask them to answer.

But what shall we say of the future? Kansas lost to freedom and as a home for the oppressed of all nations. Free Labor driven across her borders, and that noble domain of the New World, broader and fairer than many a realm of the Old, made, not prosperous and rich, like Wisconsin and Iowa, but half-barbarous, like Western Missouri.

That, however, is not the worst consequence. The same spirit which contrived the Kansas conspiracy, already hints that the prohibition of the slave-trade is an unjust discrimination against the South. And why not? If Slavery be so evil, or if a Federal legislator may not legislate on the idea that it is an evil, why should he make it piracy to bring a Slave into the country? Why not let each man buy, according to his own conscience, what he finds to be property, or, which is the same thing, what he finds anywhere to be salable? The same principle which justifies the Kansas act must justify the slave-trade, and condemn, as an infringement upon the equal right of the South, the exclusion of the foreign traffic. That step being taken, and it is the next if the present succeeds, then Slavery is virtually established in all our States; for, according to the high Federal, or as the phrase is, the National doctrine of some of our courts, whatever Congress authorizes to be imported may be sold, any law of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

No, Fellow-Democrats, our only safety is to stop where we are—to make Kansas a Free-State—to punish the authors of the present agitation, and in

that way, for that is the only way in which it can be done, put an end to the Slavery agitation.

How is this to be accomplished? By rejecting the Cincinnati Convention and its nominees, for they are inseparable. That Convention met while they were in the country, or at least all but the Southern part of it, stood grieved and shocked by the violence and lawlessness in Washington and in Kansas. But not a word of disapprobation did the Convention utter. They resolved upon certain truisms which nobody has ever disputed, passed a resolution against a Bank of the United States, as if anybody had dreamed of such a thing for years—a subject just as pertinent to our present circumstances as the Virginia or Kentucky resolutions; and then gravely resolved that every new State must form its own institutions, by imputation denying both to Congress and to the Territorial Legislature, the right to exclude Slavery. It must also be borne in mind, that the author of the Kansas act and the nominees of the Cincinnati Convention, have, to this day, declined to say that the people of the Territories have the right to exclude Slavery.

Who does not know that no Free State has ever yet been admitted into the Union, into which, as a Territory, Slavery was admitted? Who does not know that Slavery will go wherever a Slaveholder goes, if he is permitted to take it with him; that Slavery exists in Kentucky, in a higher latitude than some counties of Ohio and Indiana, and in Missouri, several hundred miles further North than the Southern limits of the Free State of Illinois; that it is an institution easily planted in the infancy of settlements, and most difficult to be eradicated in their maturity?

But why not let the people of the country decide the question for themselves? say these new professors of "Squatter Sovereignty," or at least said so before they introduced fire and sword into Kansas, to disarm the squatters in violation of "the right of the people to bear arms"—to break up their meetings in violation of their "right peaceably to assemble and petition for a redress of grievances"—to disperse their assemblies gathered to make their own laws—to burn their houses, built with their toils and sacrifices in the midst of the prairies—to hunt their wives and children into the wilderness, their only refuge from the fury of these guardians of squatter's rights. Why not let them decide the question for themselves? If they who decide were only deciding for themselves, there might be some plausibility in the question. But they decide for themselves and for all future inhabitants of the Territory. They who come into a Territory after Slavery is introduced, have not a free choice in the matter. At the very least, wait until there is a sufficient population to make a State before you let Slavery come in. Was it ever heard that when a ship's company is making up for a voyage, the first ten passengers who put their feet on board may make rules for the ninety who follow—rules that shall be unalterable until the ship shall have been a hundred days at sea? And was it any better to enact a law that the few squatters who entered Kansas before October, 1855, should make laws which could not be altered for two years, even though the population should, in the next year, increase an hundred fold?

Then it is asked what interest is it to us whether the people of Kansas have Slavery or not? Is it of no interest to the people of this generation that Virginia is a Slave State? If she had been free, what would now have been her population, her wealth, her resources? Her rivers, white with sails, her ships all over the globe, her lands cultivated like a garden. If it had fallen to the lot of any statesman of a past generation to decide whether that Commonwealth should be free or slave, and he had, for any motives, allowed it to become slave, how would his memory have been cursed by every true Virginian of our day? Who, that looks now at Missouri, does not see the bitter fruits of that weakness or facility of temper which led a few Northern men to unite with the South in yielding it up to Slavery? And hereafter, when we who are now in life are passing into the grave, will it not be a stain upon our names and a shadow upon our consciences, if, having the power to prevent it, we should permit Kansas to be slave—another marauding Missouri, instead of a peaceful Iowa, or even a Virginia, instead of a New-York or Pennsylvania?

Mr. Buchanan, the candidate of the Cincinnati Convention, stands pledged to make the resolutions of that Convention his rule of faith and practice. If we are to take his own declaration, he is to be rather an automaton than a free agent. The Convention which nominated him—that motley and noisy crowd which nobody would have allowed to decide a matter of business of the smallest importance for himself—has done the thinking of the President for the next four years, if Mr. BUCHANAN should happen to be that President. Such a candidate, under such circumstances, we cannot support.

Shall we then throw away our votes? That we cannot do for two reasons; one, that we shall thus indirectly contribute to Mr. BUCHANAN's election; the other, that there is a choice. Mr. FREMONT, who has been nominated by the Republicans, is an acceptable candidate. His professions and his antecedents are all Democratic, and strongly in his favor. He is known to be a man of great capacity, energy, probity, and honor. In his hands the Presidential office will be vigorously and justly administered. We have, therefore, nominated him for the Presidency, and his associate, Mr. DAYTON for

the Vice-Presidency; and we ask you, Democrats of New-York, to ratify this nomination.

We make no attack upon the South. We remember that the Southern people are our brethren, and brethren we mean them to continue. But they shall not interfere with our rights, nor introduce their institutions into our States, nor fasten them upon the Territories before these Territories are mature enough to be States, and, as such, to determine their own institutions. We know well how many noble men and women there are in all the South; and we believe that many of them agree with us in respect to the extension of Slavery. It is the Southern politician and the Northern traitor who have done the mischief, and whom we wish to restrain.

We mean no attack and we make none upon State rights. We do not believe in the right of the people of one State to interfere with Slavery in another. We no more believe in the right of New-York to unmake a slave in Georgia than the right of Georgia to make a slave in New-York. The laws of New-York and of Georgia must equally determine the personal relations of all within their respective limits. But, believing that the Territories are under the jurisdiction and subject to the legislation of the Union—conceding that there can be no peace in any Territory bordering on a Slave State but by an act of Congress declaring the personal relations of its inhabitants, without which civil war is inevitable, and believing, moreover, that as is the Territory so will the State be, we are firmly and unalterably opposed to the introduction of Slavery into any Territory of the United States.

Such is the disordered state of affairs, under the control of the General Government, as to demand of every citizen the most vigilant scrutiny and the gravest deliberation. Each elector throughout the United States has an important office to perform at the coming election; and any neglect to exercise that invaluable right, or any indifference as to the manner in which it shall be exercised at a crisis like this, is guilty not only of an ordinary omission of a known duty, but of gross negligence, approaching criminality.

How has it happened that the sham Legislature of Kansas, elected by the combined influence of fraud and force, has dared to do any act bearing even the name of law? How dared such a body so abuse the civilization of this age as to expel some of its members for no cause whatever, and pass a code of enactments which would disgrace a council of savages? Why has the property of the peaceable citizens of that Territory been destroyed, their liberty invaded, and their lives wantonly sacrificed? Why the gangs of marauders from the adjoining State pervading this Territory? Why the interruption of and abuse to settlers on their way thither, and the tone of arrogant defiance and abuse of ATCHISON, SPRINGFELLOW, and their associates, to the Free-State men of Kansas? All this has been done under the pledge, express or implied, of the National Administration, that every measure tending to the establishment of Slavery there, and the exclusion of Freedom, should have the hearty cooperation of that Administration? Many other pledges of this Administration have been broken, but that pledge has been kept to the letter.

Why has Judge KANE held that Slavery so far exists in the Free States, as to allow parties of pleasure and others to invade the Free States with their retinue of slaves, and there hold them in the yoke of servitude? Surely it must be to tutor the Free North into acquiescence or subservency to the institution of Slavery. Why has the Slave-trade sprung up in such alarming strength, and been carried on by traders residing in the City of New-York during the past year? Why have Mr. BUCHANAN and his associates, at the Ostend Conference, unblushingly claimed the right in our Government to take Cuba by force, if it could not be gained by purchase? Why has the Cincinnati Convention followed up the Ostend manifesto with the more startling announcement of the duty of this Government to exercise a protectorate over the whole country bordering on the Gulf of Mexico? Why have DOUGLAS, PRICE and BUCHANAN, in succession, become converts to the new doctrine that the General Government has no power to control the Territories? Why have the arms of the nation been turned to oppress our own citizens? Why the subject of Slavery agitated by the tremors of Mr. FREMONT; their disparagement of Freedom and enlargement of Slavery; their abandonment of every Democratic principle, and their devotion to the most odious of all oligarchies, must shake the confidence of the electors in that party, and make the party itself as desperate in its fortunes as it is corrupt in its means for attaining success.

If the spirit of hostility to our free institutions, manifested by the supporters of Mr. BUCHANAN, was done as violent during the days of WASHINGTON, JEFFERSON and MADISON as it now is, those patriots would have been driven from their native State for their love of liberty, and compelled to seek protection where sentiments in unison with their own were held sacred.

The attempts of the Buchanan presses generally to misrepresent the true condition of the affairs in Kansas—their desire to make light of the deprivations committed by the National Administration party against life, liberty and property—the open applause or silent acquiescence of the same party, in appeals to brute force, exhibited at the Capitol of the nation during the present session of Congress—their efforts to induce Congress to pass the bill concocted by Senators FOOMBS and DOUGLAS, containing an ingenious but effective guarantee of

slaver, to Kansas, though persevered in with most clamorous assurance and dictatorial air strongly characteristic of gross wrong—must and shall be thoroughly canvassed and exposed. The people will not fail to stamp such duplicity with merited condemnation.

The series of measures terminating in the repeal of the Missouri compromise, has proved disastrous to the political prospects of the originators and promoters of the scheme, and subversive of public tranquility. Mr. BUCHANAN is a fresh recruit to this service. He has surrendered his principles to the dictation of others. His antecedents are strongly against him. He is not a sound representative of the true Democracy of the nation. With his tendency to foreign aggression and domestic strife and discord, he is eminently fitted by nature and position, to carry out the policy of President PIERCE in all its parts. The one has introduced civil strife among our people as the most noticeable feature of his Administration—the other, if elected, seems likely to adopt the same feature in his domestic policy, and also to embark in foreign wars for the purpose of conquest. This Convention is prepared to stamp both of these projects with unreserved and unalterable condemnation.

President PIERCE promised the Democracy of the nation an economical Administration of the Government. In this, also, his pledges have been broken. No Administration has been more profligate than his. The time which he should have devoted to retrenchment and reform, has been lavished in fruitless efforts to secure his own re-election and reelection. The dupe of the Cushing and Davises, his treachery to principle was paid off at Cincinnati with a cheap recompense—THE VOTE OF AN INSINCERE AND HEARTLESS MINORITY. We trust that the defeat of Mr. BUCHANAN in November next will save him from a similar fate. If Mr. BUCHANAN is elected, Kansas is Slave. Mr. FREMONT is elected, Kansas is Free. We think, we shall labor against the one and for the other. And we earnestly ask our fellow Democrats to aid us in the work.

[From the Alton (Ill.) Daily Courier, July 29.]

**The Origin of the Kansas Troubles.**

The following letter was written to a citizen of Alton, and was not designed for publication. The writer consented, after urgent request, to allow us to publish it. The Rev. Mr. Robbins knows from personal observation whereof he affirms, and his statements explode the silly pretense of Douglas and his followers, that but for the movements of the Emigrant Aid Company, there would have been no trouble in Kansas. The pioneers of the Methodist Church in Kansas and Western Missouri, are well posted in reference to the Pro Slavery policy toward the Territory covered by the Missouri Compromise, even while the Compromise remained, their observation and bitter experience extending back to 1848—eight years since. We ask for this letter, not written for the public eye, but all important to the terrible issues before the country, a careful and candid perusal, and then if honest men can ignore the Kansas troubles we shall be compelled to acknowledge that this is an age of fiction, and fearful facts are not equal to the work of moving the public mind to action.

Rev. Mr. Robbins is at the present time the officiating minister for the Methodist Church at Upper Alton, and is widely known among his denomination:

UPPER ALTON, July 16, 1856.

Dear Sir: At your request, I sit down to state a few facts of the truth of which I became fully satisfied during a residence of three years on the "border" and scene of the recent Kansas troubles. In doing this, I have no desire to become a gladiator on the political arena; but facts are facts, and when desired to do so by my friends, I feel at perfect liberty to give them.

The Missouri Compromise "was a grief of mind" to the slavery propagandists of Western Missouri, long before its repeal was spoken of in Congress. Of the bitter enemies of this slavery restriction, we will be believed when we say, David R. Atchison was the leader. Availing himself of a courtesy long practised at the "White House" (which is to consult those members of Congress respecting the appointment of Government agents, who are to act in the vicinity of said members or their constituents,) he has, for a long time, secured the appointment of Pro Slavery men only to all the Indian agencies bordering on Missouri. These Pro-Slavery agents, sound in the faith themselves, were ready to carry out the wishes of their patron, and do what they could to introduce slavery into Nebraska Territory, the law notwithstanding.

Hence the agents who reside in the Territory carried their slaves with them, and held them as such, and one at least, who did not reside in the Territory, took his slaves there and set them to work. As you can easily imagine, these agents were exceedingly jealous of the existence of any Free Soil influence, and whenever discovered in the Territory, stood ready to smother it, if in their power. Hence, when in 1845 the Methodist Episcopal Church divided on the subject of Slavery, as soon as it was discovered that the Indians connected with the Methodist missions in the Territory did not generally favor the notion of going into the Southern organization, IMMEDIATELY, all the Church property was secured to the use of a Pro-Slavery ministry, and the Indians given to understand that they must go into the Church South, or have no missionaries at all bearing the name of Methodist. But a large portion of the Indian membership, with a majority of their native preachers, proved to be made of material too stern to be coaxed by missionaries or driven by Government agents into an organization they did not sanction.

These continued for three years to petition to be served by missionaries from the Methodist Church, or as some style it, the Church North. In May, 1849, their prayer was granted by the authorities of said church, and in the fall of that year, Rev. Mr. Gurley was sent to serve the Wyandottes, and Rev. Dr. Still of Missouri, aided by native preachers, undertook to supply other portions of the Territory with the word of life, and the ordinances of religion, occasionally. But now a new crusade began. Mr. Gurley had scarcely commenced his labors among the Wyandottes till he was arrested and placed under guard, like a thief, and sent out of the country. Dr. Still was also ordered to leave on pain of severe treatment should he have the temerity to disobey.

The agent who figured in this affair was a certain Dr. Hewet. Our Indian friends not disheartened by all that had occurred, in the fall of 1849, sent a delegation to the Missouri Conference at its session in St. Louis, consisting of John M. Armstrong and Esquire Greeyes, who bore petitions from portions of the Wyandotte, Shawnee, Delaware and Kickapoo tribes, asking to have missionaries sent them from that Conference. Bishop James presided at the Conference, and before he would take any step in the premises, he, in company with the Indian delegation, waited on Col. D. B. Mitchell, Superintendent of Indian affairs, and obtained a written permission for missionaries to enter and labor in the Territory among any of the tribes of Indians who might desire them to do so. For one year after this the missionaries were not molested.

But this state of things could not last. Colonel Benton passed along the border, and addressed the people in justification of himself, in disregarding the instructions of the Missouri Legislature, as contained in the famous Jackson resolutions. In his speeches he attempted to prove (and

did it, too,) that Congress had the control of slavery in the Territories, and proved from the history of that country that Congress had acted on that doctrine since 1820, as well as before. He also spoke of slavery as an evil, that he would gladly rid his State of it if in his power. This was too bad. Something must be done. Accordingly, Rev. Mr. Markham was ordered to leave the Shawnee nation early in the winter of 1850, and in the following February I was stopped on the road in sight of an appointment which I had in the Shawnee county, and sent out of the Territory. Col. Luke Lea was the agent who officiated on this occasion.

Before taking leave of him I showed him the petition of the Shawnee people, asking our pastoral care, likewise our authority to labor in the country, signed by Col. Mitchell, but all to no purpose. Said he, "you are suspected of being abolitionists and therefore you and your brethren are considered disturbers here. We left, but our case was laid before the President. We were reinstated by a special order to the Indian Agents, a copy of which was kindly furnished us. But when we returned, every effort was employed to frighten us out of the Territory, and every indignity heaped upon us they dared, at the time, to impose; and, as they would acknowledge, because they supposed we were tainted with Abolitionism. On the other hand, a Missourian or any man in government employ, who would enter the country with a slave, would be sure to be protected and caressed.

Major Mosely, agent at Wyandotte, in conversation with a gentleman, is represented to have said, "We intend to have this country for slavery, peacefully if we can, but if not peacefully we intend to have it any way," exhibiting a pistol as he closed the sentence. While the Commissioners were treating with the Wyandotte Indians, they said to the Indians, "You are to keep still on the subject of slavery, but you may be sure this country will be slave Territory." The same spirit was exhibited in the State as in the Territory, wherever sympathy with Atchison was found. How, sir, in view of these facts, and others like them, every one of which could be substantiated if necessary, what becomes of the truth of that assertion made in and out of Congress.

"If it had not been for Eastern Emigrant Aid Societies Kansas would have been free to day." I know not what impression the facts here narrated may make on other minds, but they have long since fixed the conviction on my own, that there has been on the border a body of men, ever since 1848 at least, of whom David R. Atchison is the soul, who have been determined to make Kansas a Slave State, regardless of the cost. For this their lives and fortunes are pledged. Kansas and Slavery have been their motto. Unless Slavery is in the ascendant, the dissolution of the Union, with Atchison, is a consummation most devoutly to be wished.

The repeal of the Missouri Compromise only gave a larger liberty to do what would have been done had it not been disturbed. The party intended aided as they expected to be by other Southerners, to fight Kansas into a Slave State, though it might cost a dissolution of the Union. If I had not had such convictions it is probable I should have been in Kansas to day. But I said to Mr. Wheelock of Shipman, in November, 1853, "If there is an attempt to make Kansas a Free State, blood will be shed." this he would remember.

The only thing that held the ruffians back from an indiscriminate slaughter of Free State men so long, was the want of the color of the law. This they could not obtain so soon as they desired, because Governor Reeder delayed the legislative election. So soon as the opportunity occurred, they hurried over and made a legislature to pass laws they well knew no Free State man would obey. This would furnish a pretext for persecution to the death, until worn out, they (Free State men) would leave, as they are now doing. Things have been bad enough, but I fear the end is not yet. Respectfully yours,

GEO. W. ROBBINS.

**DAILY TRIBUNE.**

DETROIT: TUESDAY EVENING, JULY 29, 1856.

**Southern Sentiment.**

The Free Press denies that Southern locofocos are for disunion in case they fail in their designs to extend slavery, and the pro-slavery press at the North generally, claim that the South is entirely loyal to the Union and has no undue desire to seize upon new territory in order to spread the "peculiar institution." We propose to let the people of the South speak for themselves upon this point rather than take the lying assertions of their servile and irresponsible toadies at the North.

Southern papers, Southern speeches in Congress, Southern resolutions and Southern toasts, all speak in one voice and proclaim one sentiment in preference to the extension of Slavery and the perpetuation of the Union. That sentiment is this: Slavery must be extended or the Un-

which comes up to us from all the South, through every channel which conveys public opinion.— We give below a number of patriotic Southern toasts, called out at the celebration of the recent anniversary of our Independence in that section of the Union :

The 4th of July was celebrated at Grahamville, S. C., 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.

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 following volunteer toasts were drunk at Healing Springs, near Blackville, S. C.

By Cornelius Hartzoy—

**MASSACHUSETTS**: We have always beaten her in the debates of the Union. We have whipped her in Kansas, and we have caned her in the Senate Hall.

By Rutherford Oakman—

**THE HON. P. S. BROOKS**: May the cause of Southern Brooks ever flourish over the growth of Northern Freesoil.

By Thomas H. Kirkland—

**FRANKLIN PIERCE**: He has arrayed himself against his own section and State, in defense of the Constitution and the South; and has exhibited an example of moral fortitude and devotion to principle unparalleled in the history of the country.

By Darling Hall—

**KANSAS**: The battle ground upon which is to be decided the fate of Southern Rights under the Union.

By Wm. P. Walker—

**GEN. ARCHISON**: Hoping that he may live to see Kansas a Slave State in the Union, or out of the Union.

By J. B. Steadman—

**THE BATTLE OF FORT MOULTRIE**: The first engagement which discovered to the world that the sons of Carolina, armed in Carolina's cause, can well maintain the honesty and integrity of Carolina's soil.

By Dr. S. Bannister—

**THE HON. P. S. BROOKS**: He has nobly shown that not even Senators, sheltering themselves under Senatorial privileges, can insult with impunity Carolina's name or her sons.

By R. E. Odom—

**THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY**: It is purified of free-soilism, true to the Constitution, and eminently deserves the confidence of South Carolina.

It will be seen that Mr. Preston S. Brooks is duly honored in these patriotic outpourings. He did not miscalculate, it seems, when he stole upon his victim in the Senate Chamber, upon the amount of enthusiasm which his cowardly deed would inspire in the South. He said truly in his impudent defence before the House of Representatives, that the blows which he struck upon the head of the prostrate Sumner were struck in the cause of the South. That cause is Slavery.

Here are two more toasts on Mr. Brooks' account in which a great lesson is sought to be drawn from his valorous conduct.

**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**.—Traunt to the sacred compact she has signed; recant 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 burning and sacking of Lawrence was celebrated in a very becoming manner by the citizens of Missouri, on the borders of Kansas. 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 following are among the toasts drunk on the interesting occasion :

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 that 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.

**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 resign, 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 second edition of what the abolitionists call "Border Ruffians"—that is, the determination of honorable minds to resent injury and insult from a mouth-piece of fanaticism, coming from what quarter it may.

**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 Colonel R. S. Kelley, three cheers were given for the Squatter Sovereign. In sitting down, Col. Kelley offered the following:

**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." [This toast was drunk standing.]

After reading such sentiments as these in their Southern exchanges, Northern doughface editors write homilies on "Northern fanaticism," and extol the patient, forbearing, Union-loving South! As an offset to such sentiments, the Locofoco press point us to the speeches and resolves of Garrison abolitionists. The latter err, in our opinion, through too much zeal for Liberty; the Southern fanatics sin through a devotion to Slavery, fairly devilish. The former comprise but a very small proportion of the people of the North, and never vote at all, while the latter constitute the dominant and all-pervading influence in their section of the Union, and vote, almost unanimously, for the so-called Democratic ticket. Here is the difference between Northern fanaticism and Southern fanaticism.

## Buffalo Commercial Advertiser.

Tuesday Evening, July 29, 1856.

HON. MR. WHITNEY'S CIRCULAR.

HIS VIEWS OF THE SECTIONAL AGITATION AND THE TOPEKA BILL.—Mr. Whitney, of New York, has addressed an exceedingly strong and manly circular letter to his constituents, in which he handles the sectional agitators with gloves off, and exposes the "false pretext" of the Topeka bill with great severity and success. Mr. Whitney belongs to the national American party, but he abhors any relationship to the black republicans. Speaking of the House Topeka bill, he says:

"And I have been charged with 'voting against the freedom of Kansas,' and with leaving her in the hands of 'border ruffians,' because I voted against that bill—a bill which I pronounce to be, not only a mockery of the needs of the Territory, but a fraud, a wilful and designed fraud, upon the honest sentiment of the North. It was never designed as a means of introducing Kansas into the Union, and it were no less than an insult to the plain common sense of senators and representatives to assert that any one of them ever supposed it could by any possibility become a law. The sentiments of the northern States demands that Kansas shall be admitted as a free State. This bill could not effect that object, and it may, therefore, be justly denominated an act of false pretence. Had its projectors been candid, they would have entitled it thus:

"A bill to promote the election of John C. Fremont to the Presidency, by throwing dust in the eyes of the people of the free States."

All fair-minded men seem to be of opinion that the bill for remedying the difficulties in Kansas, which, which has been proposed by Mr. Haven, is superior to all its competitors not only in fairness, but what is equally important, in practicability. The Boston *Advertiser* a paper which has taken ground against the support of Mr. Fillmore, and is bitterly hostile to the American party, and which cannot, therefore, be suspected of any partiality in its favor, concedes its merits, and considers it the last hope of doing anything for Kansas during the present session of Congress. It says:

"The certainty that neither branch would recede from the positions already assumed, so far as these bills are concerned, seemed to make it clear that nothing could be effected for the good of Kansas at the present session of Congress.— A gleam of light, however, has recently appeared in an unexpected quarter, which seems to render it possible that this deplorable result may be averted, and that a bill may pass the ordeal of both houses of Congress at the present session, which shall effect a genuine substantial advantage to the suffering people of Kansas, and which shall present an opportunity for righting their wrongs, in a legitimate and speedy manner."

In a subsequent part of its article, the *Advertiser* says of Haven's bill, that "it has the advantage of originating with neither of the extreme sides of the House—and the eagerness of the democrats to get the Kansas question out of the way may induce them to give it their support; while, if its provisions be truly such as they are represented, treating the people of Kansas with fairness and justice, we may expect that it will also receive a generous support from the republican members. A bill for the adjustment of this vexed and difficult question, which should thus be approved by members of all three parties, would be heartily welcomed by the country."

The *Advertiser* expresses its opinion of the merits and defects of Mr. Haven's bill somewhat at length, as follows:

We print in this morning's paper the debate in which Mr. Haven unfolded his views. We have not yet seen a copy of the bill itself, and accordingly form our judgment from the description given by the author in the course of his remarks. Its main feature appears to be this, viz.: to secure to the people of Kansas relief from their present grievances by abrogating the whole existing territorial government, which is nothing more or less than a tyranny imposed upon them by external invasion;—and by establishing in its stead a new territorial government designed to represent the true sense of the people; honestly ascertained at a new election to be conducted independently of outside interference. It proposes to postpone the admission of Kansas as a State until the population shall have reached the regular representative number, 93,000, at which time the legislature being fairly chosen and truly representing the wishes of the people, will provide for a Convention to form a State Constitution and ask admission into the Union.

Some features of this bill are liable to the same objections which lie against the Senate bill. The registry of voters and the conduct of the election is entrusted to four commissioners appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. It would be preferable, we think, to leave the appointment of these commissioners to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House: it might be provided that each of these officers should have the right to name one of the commissioners, absolutely, and that they should agree upon the others concurrently.

There is this manifest advantage, however, in Mr. Haven's bill, viz.: that the functions of the commissioners are practically less vast than in the Senate bill, and there is accordingly less danger of an abuse of their powers. By the Senate bill this single election is to determine at once and forever the destiny of Kansas—the act is exhaustive, and provides for every step without further authority from Congress, until the State is admitted into the Union; and there is thus a powerful temptation to the commissioners to use their power to secure the result they desire. But under Mr. Haven's bill the consequences of the election are more remote. A legislature is to be elected, whose first care it will be to give to the people the protection of a genuine government—and the Convention for the formation of the Constitution will be elected afterwards under the provisions of laws enacted by this legislature. With the eyes of the whole



... upon them, it would be difficult for the commissioners to control the legislative election as to secure the perpetuation of fraud at the subsequent constitutional election.

# The Daily Democrat.

ROCHESTER, N. Y.

TUESDAY MORNING, JULY 30, 1856.

**"CHAPTER OF OUTRAGES."**—The Daily Advertiser goes the full length of the most rabid pro-Slavery organs of Atchison and Stringfellow. A few days since it copied from the "Leocompton Union" a string of charges against the New England Emigrant Aid Society. It is charged that the arrival of large numbers of "voters" from New England, was an "outrage" No. 3. The next one was the formation of societies to counteract the Missouri Blue Lodges. "Outrage" No. 5 consisted in building a Hotel at Lawrence. No. 6 was the possession of arms by the Free State men—a right guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States; but still an "outrage" against Slavery. "Outrage" No. 7 was the holding of a peaceable Free State Convention. No. 9 was the election of Gov. REEDER to Congress, and delegates to form a State Constitution. And there are many other "outrages" of a similar nature. We wonder that the list of "outrages" was limited to something like a dozen and a half.—Every Free State man in the Territory can no doubt truly be charged with the "outrage" of denouncing the laws of the bogus Legislature elected by Missourians, and of declaring them invalid.

Of course all the falsehoods of the Atchison and Border Ruffian bands figure in the list, while the long schedule of murders, robberies, conflagrations, illegal arrests, and other brutalities, perpetrated by the ragamuffins from Missouri, Alabama and South Carolina, are carefully suppressed.



TUESDAY EVENING, JULY 29, 1856.

## Kansas.

The following placard is said to be extensively posted throughout Western Missouri:—  
**KANSAS TO BE MADE A SLAVE STATE.**  
MISSOURIANS, DO YOUR DUTY.

It may be regarded as certain that the bill to organize a State Constitution in Kansas will, if it has not already, become a law; it has passed the Senate, and will pass the House!

By this bill all who are residents of Kansas on the 1st of August will be entitled to vote at the election on the 1st Monday in November, when the destiny of Kansas will be fixed forever!

Every Abolitionist that can be hired will be there. Will Missourians be there to meet them?

It is your duty to move at once—make yourselves settlers—get the right to vote—and you will thus secure to all honest men the right to live in Kansas or Missouri!

If Abolitionists from spite, without any personal interest at stake, can come from Boston, will not Missourians, who have their all at stake, be willing to change their neighborhood, for this is all you do in moving in Kansas! Who will hesitate?

You have the right to go; it is your duty to go—your interests prompts you to go—your very necessity compels you to go!

Go then at once—be there as settlers—be there to be enrolled—be there to vote, and thus save yourselves and your country!

We are glad to see all around us preparing to move! Knowing that the day for the final struggle has come, they do not hold back. Let others do their duty and we are saved!

From the Washington Star of Friday.

**STOPPING THE WHEELS OF GOVERNMENT.**—The action of the Committee of the Whole on the State of the Union yesterday, in amending the Army Appropriation bill by adding a clause repealing all the legislation of the Kansas Legislature, if finally insisted upon by the House, will be equivalent to a refusal to appropriate a dollar for the support of the army of the United States for the current fiscal year. This will be playing plump into the hands of the (so called) Border Ruffians, who only ask a fair field in Kansas and no interference whatever on the part of the Government. We are satisfied that might have prevented the forcible expulsion from the Territory of all who had joined the Abolitionist cause there, which but for that would have been consummated a month ago or more. If the President, for want of the means of paying the troops, shall be compelled to withdraw them, Abolitionism in the Territory will "see sights," the reader may rely on it.

They quite mistake as well the temper as the power of the Free State men of Kansas, who suppose they have any fear of the "Border Ruffians." Whatever of hesitation has appeared in their conduct has arisen from no fear of the cowardly wretches who murder in the dark, but from an inherent reluctance to place themselves in apparent conflict with laws recognized by the General Government. If any timidity has been evinced, this is the cause of it.

But let the laws of the bogus Legislature be declared, as they are, null and void by Congress, and let the government of the Territory be left to the people thereof, by the withdrawal of the U. S. troops, and this seeming timidity would very soon disappear—and the Border Ruffians also, if they should attempt to re-enact the scenes of the first election.

The Free State men in Kansas are no cowards. They are prepared, if the alternative is presented them, to take care of themselves; and they will do so. They have been driven away from the Polls once; but they never will be driven away again. There is not power enough in the Border Ruffian army, to "forcibly expel" them from the Territory. Like Bully Brooks, they may be, and doubtless are, very valiant while their victims are unprepared. But like him, also, they will show the white feather when, as will be the case, they are invited to a hand to hand and face to face contest.

Whatever "sights" may be seen by the Free State men in the event of the withdrawal of the troops, will be seen, in doublets, by the "Border Ruffians." We trust Congress may not hesitate in the course which appears to have been marked out by any such stuff as this sent out by the Washington Star.

# The Courant.

HARTFORD:  
TUESDAY MORNING, JULY 29, 1856.

FRED. DOUGLASS, Lloyd Garrison, and the Hartford Times, are greatly exercised, because this paper wants to see Kansas settled by WHITE MEN rather than by negroes. Who are the "nigger worshippers?" The Times is fond of hurling the elegant epithet—it suits themselves better than us. We claim that Kansas is consecrated to the white man—they want to devote it to negroes. Black toes dies of the South—what do they care for the white man?

**NAMES AND THINGS.**—So fully embodied in the mental constitution of Americans is the idea of Democracy, that in the State and United States governments this attribute meets the hearty approval of the masses. They connect with it the idea of Freedom; of self-government; the right to think and act, politically and religiously, as their own individual judgment shall dictate.

In this country, three-fourths of a century ago, this doctrine was contested more or less strongly by men in power, and parties took sides in a protracted controversy.

One party contended for the centralization of power in the hands of the few, and the other 157 the diffusion of it among the many.

At the head, as leader of the centralization of power, or Federal party, was Alexander Hamilton; and the leader of the Democratic party was Thomas Jefferson. At that time, the views of each party were defined with much clearness, as will be seen by consulting the writings and records of those times. But the Democratic party has passed through various transformations since that day, and the word or name Democracy and Democrat has now wholly lost its definite political meaning as understood fifty and seventy-five years ago.

The party called Democratic is now come to be fully identified with the system of American Slavery the oppression of the free settlers of Kansas, and the present death-struggle to centralize the whole political power of the nation in the hands of the President and Senate of the United States. This mis-named Democratic party now oppose with all their strength and cunning the Democratic sentiment that the people shall rule. Hence, while the people through their representatives in Congress have said by their major vote that Kansas shall be received into the Union as a free State under the Constitution adopted by a majority of the actual settlers in the Territory, the Administration, with the Senate, declare that Kansas shall not be received into the Union as a free State under a constitution framed by the people, and all the power of the Federal Executive and the Senate is put in requisition, backed by the slave power in Missouri and the South, to destroy the substance and to banish the free population of Kansas.

That noble man, Gov. Robinson, elected by the suffrages of the free citizens of Kansas as their Governor under the constitution of their own framing, is now held by the mercenary troops of the central power at Washington, in a tent upon a prairie, guarded like a convict, and under an indictment by an unjust judge and a packed jury, for high treason against the United States. And for what crime is Gov. Robinson indicted for high treason? Simply because he is in favor of the true Democratic principle that the people shall govern, and because the major vote of these free citizens have made him Governor under the constitution which the House of Representatives of the United States have recognized as the supreme law of that land.

Thus the Democratic principle is wantonly discarded in the action of the central government at Washington, and this central power of the Federal Government is wielded to crush out and destroy the Democratic element. Yet this same tyrannical and oppressive government claim to be the head of the Democratic party; and too many of the people, lured by the name of Democracy, and cajoled by doughfaced demagogues, are led on like sheep to the slaughter, pleased with their chains, and exultant in their own degradation.

Thinking men, who look at the state of parties as they are really constituted, cannot fail to see that the Democratic party, so-called, have nothing left of the attributes or action of the old Democratic party but the name. What the sage of Monticello greatly feared has come to pass through the abuse of the name and power of the very party which he inaugurated.



NEW HAVEN:

TUESDAY, JULY 29, 1856.

**A Private Letter from the South—Slavery in Georgia—Negro Auctions—Southern Feeling for Slaves, and Treatment—State of Society—Slave "Marriage"—Slave and Free Labor—Kansas—The South won't Dissolve.**

The following letter to a young gentleman in this city was lately received from a friend in Augusta, Ga., who has seen the practical operations of Slavery. Its graphic portraiture may be depended upon as true.—EDS. PALLADIUM.

AUGUSTA, Ga., July, 1856.

COUSIN F.—It was my intention to have written to you long ago, but circumstances have rendered it inconvenient till the present time. Your kind favor of June 24th is now before me, and it is with pleasure that I respond to it. The Institution which you referred to, that is peculiar to this climate and section of the country, viz; Slavery, I have examined with a great deal of interest, and am now satisfied that no one can enlighten me further upon it. In my opinion, it is one of the *greatest evils that ever beset our country*—

There is but *one view that can be taken of Slavery, and that is a most deplorable one*. We have in Augusta a population of 17,000. Half, I should judge are slaves, and a more ignorant, simple set, I never beheld. They cannot read or write and consequently live in blissful ignorance of the terrible excitement which they are the cause of. Most of those living in cities have trades. The carpenter and joiner, and blacksmith trades, contain the largest number. They either work for their masters or are hired out by the day to others, at the rate of 75 cents per day. The women who are not wanted by their masters are hired out at 37½ cents per day, to do housework, hoe cotton, &c.

The first Tuesday in every month there is held a public auction, and men women and children are sold off the block like other beasts. When in Savannah, I attended a slave auction; after selling a lot of truck belonging to a grocery store, the thing placed upon the block a woman. She was about 30 years of age, light complexion, and medium height. The auctioneer commenced with—"what am I offered for this *likely woman*?"—and pursued the same strain that auctioneers generally do. She was bid off for \$600. Another one was then produced of similar appearance, who upon looking around at the gaping crowd, covered her face with her hands and burst into tears. I turned away from that sight, thankful that my lot was cast in a land where such scenes never occur. A number of other women, men, and boys were sold at prices, varying from \$450, to \$700; one young fellow, about my size brought \$1,250.

The separation of husband wife and children is an every day occurrence. The majority of the Southerners do not regard the feelings of the poor slave any more than the brute. Of course there is an exception to every general rule. Occasionally you will find a slave that is thought highly of by his master, but such cases are rare. Very often they are unmercifully whipped. I have witnessed a few whipping scenes and have seen the poor slave fast in the stocks [for some slight offence] and almost starved. It is as you justly remarked, the Northern folks know nothing about the practical workings of the institution. If they did, you would not now find three parties at the North, but one party there would be, and their motto—FREEDOM AND FREEDOM FOREVER!

The state of society is very bad here. White slaves are almost as numerous as black ones. There are a number of young men and women slaves I know, who are as light complexioned as myself, and the girls far exceed in beauty their own masters' daughters. I know of men selling their own children on the block, and chuckling over the profits gained thereby. I am now telling you what I know, and not what I've read. And this state of things exists in the land of the "free and the home of the brave." Public opinion does not censure such acts, for the very reason that nearly all are guilty of them.

There is very little marrying among the slaves. They select their partners and live with each other so long as they can agree, and when they fall out,

choose another. Those that belong to the church have a short ceremony, but many of them do not regard it. The children belong to the woman's master, and, at his option, are taken from the mother and sent where he will.

I might live here a hundred thousand years,—still I do not think I could view this curse of curses in a different light. Unless a mechanic has an extra offer here, he had better remain North, for, as you remarked, labor is disreputable in this section. The slaves are learned to do almost every kind of manual labor. In every work-shop throughout this city, at least two-thirds of the workmen are slaves. A few white men are always employed, to give character to the concern. In reference to Kansas, there is a tremendous excitement exists here. Northerners are cursed up hill and down, which of course is very unpleasant many times. Companies are forming weekly for that country. A short time since a company of forty from South Carolina stopped at the planters' hotel in this city, en route for Kansas.

But I believe that territory is bound to be free, and the Union never will be dissolved till the North dissolves it, either. The Southerners know better than to move in this matter. If they do, every inlet in the Delaware Bay, every spot of land along the northern border of Maryland, would be a resting place for the fugitive, and the Ohio would be but a narrow strait to keep back those free spirits who sometimes choose to think for themselves whether or no freedom is the inalienable right of man. No, F., the South may bluster and blow, but they never will dissolve the Union.

Situated as I am, this is a singular letter for me to write. I don't know what my Southern friends would say if they should read it, as they believe in the free expression of thought and speech only in the abstract. I did not come down here to war against their institutions, neither do I. I seldom speak of slavery except when questioned,—then I give them to understand that I am a Northerner, and love Northern institutions, perfectly natural you know. Yours, &c., H.

## The Republican.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

TUESDAY MORNING, JULY 29, 1856.

### The Third Governor Appointed for Kansas.

The president has nominated to the Senate, John W. Geary of Pennsylvania to be governor of Kansas, in place of Shannon, removed. Mr Geary, for many years a civil engineer, was elected colonel of the second Pennsylvania regiment in the Mexican war. He was appointed by president Polk in 1840 to proceed to California as postmaster of San Francisco. He was subsequently appointed by Gen Riley, a judge or alcade. He was the first mayor of San Francisco under the city charter, and was appointed by the California legislature a member of the board of commissioners for the funded debt. He is represented as being 40 years of age and admirably fitted for the discharge of the duties of the office to which he is now appointed—that is, he will serve the border ruffian cause with more decency of manner than poor Shannon has done.

### Act as You Pray.

(From the Boston Congregationalist.)

This is a good Christian motto for politics. It is all a delusion of the devil, that Christians must leave their religion at home when they go to the caucus, or the ratification meeting, or the polls. You might as well say that a bank officer should leave his honesty at home when he goes to the bank. That is the very place where he needs it, and must have it. And so political matters are the very matters of all matters of a secular nature, in which religion is needed. What makes the difference between Massachusetts and Austria—as a good place to live in? Religion makes it. If our religion is banished from all participation in, and influence over political affairs, there is nothing to hinder the horrible oppression of the House of Hapsburg from crushing out our liberties. It may not come from over sea; but it matters not whether Francis Joseph turns the screw, or whether it is turned by the platform which is now run for the presidency by the party of which the slave oligarchy have gained absolute control. A screw is a screw. And whoever turns it, it squeezes hard and holds it fast.

Act as you pray. Take the platform of the frank pro-slavery party, and see if you can kneel down and sincerely ask God's blessing upon it, and God's aid to further it! See if you can invoke the power of the God of just-ice, in aid of its filibuster's features—in which the right of seizing anybody's territory, the possession of whi-

is important to secure the extension and perpetuation of slavery among us, is boldly asserted. See if you can pray God to help you further its iniquitous acquiescence in the Kansas villainy, and the concentrated wickedness of the Nebraska act. See if you can invoke the puissance of the God of truth, for the help of its complicated and astounding double-dealing, in the matter of internal improvements and of slavery agitation. We know of but one man—and he the pastor, as he informs us, of a "small society" (Unitarian) in Groton, who imagines that such a tissue of all manner of political iniquity can bear the judgment of truth, or pass the scrutiny of an enlightened conscience: But, whether a man can pray this platform or not, we hold to the great principle that a Christian has no right to vote but as he prays. If any of our readers can devoutly ask God to prosper the wicked measures of the present administration, endorsed in all its essential features by the "democratic" party, and the "democratic" nominees—let him pray so and vote so.

Let those who cannot, vote and act as they can pray.

## The Atlas.

TUESDAY MORNING, JULY 29, 1856.

The cause of freedom yesterday achieved another substantial victory in Congress, by the adoption of Mr. Barbour's amendment to the Army Appropriation bill. The amendment was as follows:

"But Congress, hereby disapproving of the code of alleged laws officially communicated to them by the President, and which are represented to have been enacted by a body claiming to be the territorial legislature of Kansas; and also disapproving of the manner in which said alleged laws have been enforced by the authorities of said Territory, expressly declare that until these alleged laws shall have been affirmed by the Senate and House of Representatives as having been enacted by a legal legislature, chosen in conformity with the organic law by the people of Kansas, no part of the military force of the United States shall be employed in aid of their enforcement; nor shall any citizen of Kansas be required, under their provisions, to act as a part of the *posse comitatus* of any officer acting as marshal or sheriff in said territory."

On motion of Mr. Wakeman, of New York, the amendment was amended by adding the following words:

"Said laws, and every part and parcel thereof, being declared null and void."

Mr. Barbour's amendment, as amended, was then adopted by a vote of 72 to 57, the largest majority yet cast by the opposition.

The significance of this vote is not confined merely to its bearing upon the administration policy in Kansas, but is much more comprehensive. It is the third great victory which has been achieved in the present Congress over the slave oligarchy, and each succeeding one with less difficulty than its predecessor. The first was achieved in the election of Speaker. That battle was fought desperately for two whole months, because the pro-slavery interest felt that a single check to their progress would be fatal. So it proved. That victory organized the Republican party, and offered it with the ablest and most influential men in the northern States. The Philadelphia Convention was one of its fruits; the perfect submergence of Buchanan in all the free States by the overwhelming enthusiasm for Fremont was another.

Then came the question upon the admission of Kansas with a free State constitution. This, too, was carried, though, had the bill been introduced at the commencement of the session, or before the backbone of the nullification interest had been broken by the election of Banks, it could easily have been defeated. But the forces of the enemy were dispirited, and it passed by one majority. Within a fortnight that victory is followed up by another, still more significant—the adoption of the amendment to the Army bill, to which we have already called attention, by a majority of fifteen.

We beg those, who, like Col. Benton, think we ought not to attempt to do anything more for freedom in Kansas because the Senate is against us, and nothing unacceptable to the South can pass that body, to note these facts and symptoms; how the cause of freedom grows by what it feeds on, and how the resistance to the great principles of truth and justice, upon which republicanism rests, grows feebler and feebler. Let Fremont be elected this fall, and we have no doubt that any measure in behalf of free territories which his friends might support, would pass the Senate by a handsome majority. That body abounds with such men as Cass and Bright, whose pro-slavery energies would wilt like a young cabbage plant, under the rays of a freesoil administration, and who would desert the South as readily, and with as little shame as they did the North, when they discover that the country is now in earnest about keeping slavery within its constitutional limits.—N. Y. Evening Post.

BOSTON, TUESDAY, JULY 29, 1856.

**CONGRESS—Repeal of the Border Ruffian Laws.**  
Our readers will be glad to see that the House of Representatives shows a strong disposition to insist upon some practical and immediate legislation in favor of Kansas. They have attached to the Army Appropriation Bill an amendment providing that no part of the military force shall be employed to aid in the enforcement of the laws of the Ruffian Assembly, until Congress has passed upon the validity of such laws; and making it the President's duty to use the military force for the protection of the people, instead of for their enslavement, as it has been heretofore used.

This attempt to obtain justice for Kansas will be met,—it is already met,—with shrieks about revolution, disorganization, and all that sort of thing. When an amendment to this same bill was adopted some day ago, declaring null and void the Ruffian laws, the Washington Union said:

"It is understood that the same process will be resorted to for the defeat of the other appropriation bills. This would be practical revolution, and the consequences so disastrous that we will not assume that black republicanism is prepared to persist in such a mad course, and therefore we await the result before indulging in further comments."

Practical revolution! and if it is practical revolution, who is responsible for it? We take it that the House has a right to perfect its own bills, and if the Senate rejects them because it is determined that Border Ruffianism shall be sustained, then the Senate is responsible. An amendment which prohibits the use of the army in the enforcement of the laws of the Bogus Legislature, is certainly germane to the objects of the Army Bill, and we hope the House will stick to it to the last. The people will sustain them in doing so.

The violent opposition of the Union to the amendment which proposes to abrogate the Border Ruffian laws of Kansas exhibits in a clear light the fraud and hypocrisy of the pretense that those laws are abolished by the Toombs-Kansas bill. Every Buchanan paper in the North is making this pretense. There is no truth whatever in it. The Toombs-Kansas bill does not abolish these laws. Its pretense of abolishing them is a sham and a cheat, as was fully shown in the Senate by Mr. Hale, Mr. Collamer, and others, and by the vote upon amendments offered by Gen. Wilson and Mr. Foster of Connecticut. An attempt was made directly to repeal these acts, and the whole Border Ruffian force resisted it. And now we see that revolution is threatened by the Washington Union, on the part of the Senate, if the House insists on a real and substantial repeal, instead of a sham repeal.

The fact is the Administration and the Slave Power do not mean to have these laws repealed. They are determined to stop the wheels of Government and prevent the passage of the usual appropriation bills rather than to meddle with them. Let the House adhere to its action, and then we shall see whether the Senate will revolutionize.

**A NEW GOVERNOR OF KANSAS—Shannon Resigned.** A dispatch from Washington dated July 28, says:

"The President has nominated to the Senate, John W. Geary of Pa., to be Governor of Kansas, in place of Shannon, removed. Mr. Geary, for many years a Civil Engineer, was elected Colonel of the Second Pennsylvania Regiment in the Mexican war. He was appointed by President Polk in 1849, to proceed to California as Post-Master of San Francisco. He was subsequently appointed by Gen. Riley as Judge or Alcalde. He was the first Mayor of San Francisco, under the city charter, and was appointed by the State Legislature a member of the Board of Commissioners for the funded debt. He is represented as being forty years of age, and admirably fitted for the discharge of the duties of the office, to which the President has appointed him."

Mr. Geary will be known by his fruits. Reeder was removed from the Governorship because he was considered unfitted for his duties; his unfitness consisting of his indisposition to be the instrument of Atchison & Co., for the enslavement of the free State settlers. Shannon was appointed and confirmed, his fitness consisting entirely in

his willingness to do the work of Border Ruffians. He is probably removed for lack of capacity more than of disposition, to do their work. Being drunk three quarters of the time and three quarters of the other quarter, he is not quite so serviceable a tool as it was hoped he would be. Confidence in the good intentions of the Pierce Administration towards Kansas, is a plant of very slow growth indeed, and needs careful nurture and watering to make it amount to anything. We shall wait and see what Mr. Geary does before we endorse his reported admirable fitness for the duties of the office.

**THE ENSLAVEMENT OF KANSAS—A Specimen of the Machinery Used.** The writer of the following letter is the Clerk of the Free State Legislature in Kansas. The chain accompanying the letter is six feet long and about the size of a common trace chain. At each end is a large padlock used to fasten the chain round the ankles of the victim. In the middle is a leather strap which was held in the hand of the prisoner while walking to prevent the fetter from getting entangled between his legs.

This symbol of popular sovereignty in Kansas is now at the Republican Head Quarters, 251, Washington street, where any one who chooses can see it.

Boston, July 28, 1856.

Seth Webb, Jr., Esq.:

Dear Sir:—I herewith send you a chain which was fastened upon the ankles of a Free State man in Kansas, and worn by him for nearly four weeks.

The facts are these. About the 25th of May last, John Brown, Jason Brown, H. H. Williams, a Mr. Nesbit and two or three others were arrested by the U. S. Marshal, near O-awatomie, and placed in the custody of a company of U. S. Dragoons, under the command of Capt. Long and L. A. Iverson (both pro-slavery men.) Iron chains were fastened upon them, and in that condition they were held as prisoners in camp for nearly four weeks. They were then driven by a company of mounted men with the fetters still upon their feet, for a distance of thirty miles, under a blazing sun and without food, when some Free State men furnished them with teams on the road to Tecumseh. They were then taken before Judge Cate and all of them except John Brown and H. H. Williams were discharged nothing having been found against them. Against these two, an indictment for high treason was found, on the ground that they were members of the State Legislature of Kansas, and they are now confined with Gov. Robinson in camp near Leecompton.

This chain was worn by Jason Brown of Penn.; and you can show it to any one as an illustration of the means by which the people of Kansas are being subdued.

Yours for Freedom and Fr. Mont.

SAM. F. TAPPAN.

**KANSAS AID MEETING IN MIDDLESEX COUNTY.** A Kansas Aid meeting was held at Lowell on Saturday, the 26th, at which B. R. Gleason, Esq., presided. E. Whitney, Esq., of Stow, F. B. Sanborn and G. P. Lowry, addressed the meeting, and a Kansas song, written for the occasion, was sung by Edwin Morton, Jr. of Plymouth. A subscription was begun and \$60 raised on the spot; and a committee was chosen to canvass the town.

At Acton on Sunday night, a similar meeting was held which was addressed by Messrs. Patterson, Sanborn, Lowry and Morton, and by Hon. John S. Keyes and Hon. Simon Brown of Concord. In both these towns much interest is shown for the cause of Kansas, and a liberal contribution is expected.

## Boston Journal.

TUESDAY MORNING, JULY 29, 1856.

**LEGAL VOTING IN KANSAS.** THE FOLLOWING is a letter in reply to one addressed through our columns to Senator Collamer, inquiring whether there is any legal method of punishing illegal voting in Kansas:

SENATE CHAMBER,  
Washington, July 22, 1856.

Dear Sir:—In answer to yours of the 7th inst. I say there is, in the act of Congress organizing the Territory of Kansas, no provision for the punishment of illegal voting or disturbing elections. I know of no statute of the United States under which the violence and fraud exercised by the people of Missouri in the Kansas elections of March, 1855, can be punished.

You inquire whether, if there be no such statute, the United States Courts have any common law jurisdiction of such an offence.

In answer, I say the Supreme Court, in the case *United States vs. Hudson and Goodwin*, (7 Cranch Rep., p. 32) decided that the United States Courts have no common law jurisdiction in criminal cases.

Respectfully your humble servant,

J. COLLAMER.

LUTHER ADAMS, Esq., North Chester, Vt.

### HOUSE.

The House passed the bill appropriating \$200,000 for continuing the improvement of Des Moines Rapids in the Mississippi. The vote stood 71 to 40.

Mr. Dunn moved to take up the Senate bill, providing for the admission of Kansas into the Union; his intention being to offer a substitute, re-organizing the Territory, restoring the Missouri Compromise, and dismissing indictments for treason, etc. The motion was negatived by a vote of 103 against 72—not two-thirds.

Mr. Denver, from the select committee, moved a suspension of the rules, in order to enable him to make a report on the Pacific Railroad bill. Motion negatived by 77 against 87.

The House then went into Committee of the Whole on the Army Appropriation bill.

Mr. Sherman offered an amendment that no part of the military force of the United States shall be employed to aid in the enforcement of the alleged laws of the Legislative Assembly convened at Shawnee Mission, until Congress declares whether those laws were passed by the Legislature chosen in conformity with the organic law; and until Congress so declares, that it shall be the duty of the President to use the military forces to preserve peace, suppress insurrection, repel invasion, and protect persons and property of the citizens of the Territory on the highways of Missouri and elsewhere against unlawful search and seizure, and that the President disarm the present militia, recall all U. S. arms, and prevent armed men from going into the Territory to disturb the public peace or enforce real or pretended laws.

The chairman, Mr. Leiter, decided the amendment out of order, but was overruled by a majority of two.

Mr. Sherman said his amendment was just, fair, and honest, and would do more for the settlement of the Kansas difficulty than all the bills for that purpose put together.

Mr. Stephens contended that Congress had no right to decide on the validity of the laws of Kansas. That was a question for the Judiciary. He was for the people of the Territory governing themselves.

Mr. Grow insisted that it was the bounden duty of Congress to protect the citizens in all their rights guaranteed them in the organic act. They were controlled by despotism and usurpation, and he was not willing that the Federal troops should coerce them after they had been trampled down by marauders.

Mr. Stephens, replying, said he believed that the Nebraska Kansas bill was a proper one, and would have admirably answered the purposes for which it was designed, had its operation not been obstructed by those who opposed in the beginning, and clamored against it throughout.

Mr. Phelps remarked that Mr. Sherman's amendment was violative of the Constitution.

Mr. Giddings was opposed to giving the Executive funds to support despotism and usurpation.

Mr. Smith of Virginia wished the country to know that a party in the House designed to stop the wheels of Government, and force the Senate into co-operation with a measure not practicable, and the only effect of which would be revolution.

Mr. Davidson of La. said the Representatives proposed attaching to this bill an objectionable feature, to which they knew the Senate could not and dared not agree. It was treason thus to pass appropriation bills. Let them stand on their merits.

Mr. Warren of Ia. maintained that there was no power in Congress to pass on the validity of the laws of Kansas; that it was for the judiciary to do so.

Mr. Sherman's amendment was adopted by 88 against 40, when the Committee rose.

Ten thousand extra copies of the report of the Pacific Railroad were ordered to be printed.

The House then took a recess until 7 P. M.

### EVENING SESSION.

Mr. Whitney entered into an argument to show that the Roman hierarchy claim supremacy over the civil laws of every country; and yet for this there are no apologists and advocates in Congress.

Mr. Craig asked what practical legislation the American party proposed against the Catholics.

Mr. Whitney replied—None at present; but they wish to amend the naturalization laws, which, to a great extent, would reach the evil.

He contended that the Papal power opposes civil and religious liberty, and the spread of intelligence. It, therefore, ought not to be encouraged as a political element.

Mr. Burnett said, in his judgment the Republican party was purely sectional; and if successful, the result would be the destruction of the Constitution and the Union. On the heads of members who formed the Congressional Aid Society, including Messrs. Banks and Mace, rests the responsibility of all acts of outrage in Kansas.

## Lawrence Courier.

LAWRENCE, JULY 29, 1856.

**THE DEMOCRATIC RATIFICATION MEETING.**—This affair come off as advertised at City Hall, on Saturday evening last. BENJ. BOARDMAN Esq., acted as President and there some half dozen Vice Presidents. The audience was not so large as to render it Frank for seats at all necessary. BENJ. FRANK WATSON, Esq., "Postmaster," was the principal speaker. He indorsed the principles of his party with a zeal worthy of better cause. Even the administration o

Frank Pierce was particularly holy in his eyes. He did not claim for it the glory of the Japan expedition—the expedition to the Arctic regions nor the expedition to the Rocky Mountains under Col. Fremont, but he did rob Capt. INGRAHAM of the glory of his famous exploit and lay it most unblushingly at the feet of the President.

In alluding to the Brooks assault he said that had he been in the Senate at the time the assault was made he would have shot Brooks dead on the spot. In the very next breath he asserted that *Sumner did not receive at the hands of Brooks a thousandth part of the punishment he deserved!* The entire effort of Mr. Watson was on a par with this part of his speech—one breath contradicting what its predecessor had uttered. After talking a full hour he announced to the audience that he had not said a ten millionth part of what he had intended to say on coming into the hall. We mention this simply to show how loosely Mr. W., is inclined to let his tongue run on. In the time he had been talking he had probably delivered words enough to fill 30 octavo pages of 1000 ems each. This multiplied by 10,000,000, would give 300,000,000 pages, equal to 1,000,000 volumes of 300 pages each, and suppose him to talk ten hours per day at the same rate, he would get through in just about 300 years. The probability is that in all his life he has never seen a mass of printed matter one half equal to this. He urged upon his audience the necessity of reading the *Sentinel* of which he is the proprietor (or, to use his own words the *democratic papers*) in order to get correct news from Kansas!—This we consider decidedly the most *cheerful* part of his speech. We take several democratic papers, and have yet to find any thing in allusion to Kansas, that does not pervert the truth—truths which come from democrats in regard to outrages perpetrated in Kansas by the border ruffians, and to cast odium upon the free state men and the emigrant aid society. We ourselves have been remiss in detailing these outrages, many of which are so revolting as to sicken the heart. Admitting that they are exaggerated in many, or if you please, in every instance, there is yet enough of substantial truth in these reports to justify much of the harshness which is *threatened—threatened*, but never executed by the “fighting men” who never fight—who have started for Kansas from the north, after having cast out of their vocabulary those important words in all seasons of trouble—“prudence”—“discretion” and “valor.—We have now before us two accounts of recent outrages in Kansas from which Mr. Watson may abate one half for exaggeration and there will still be sufficient left to warrant and justify almost any resistance in human power. We subjoin them in hopes that he may give them a place in his paper.

The first is extracted from a letter dated at Topeka, July 8, 1856. *Richardson*

The name of the man was Laban Parker, and he was from Cleveland.

In his search after something against the administration of Franklin Pierce, Mr. Watson might have tarried in Kansas a portion of the 300 years he proposed to talk. There he would have found enough to satisfy any reasonable man. On this point we would not ask that Mr. Pierce take sides with his own kindred from the Free States who are

now in Kansas. All we would ask at his hands is that he assume the authority legitimately belonging to him as the head of the government, and throwing this broad ægis over both parties, proclaim that each must be protected and that neither should be tolerated in the work of blood, which has been carried on there. This, only this, he could have done and should have done,—and only this would have saved even his reputation as an honest, if indeed it would not have retrieved his character as a brave man.

Mr. Watson's speech is commented upon at considerable length by a correspondent, or we should devote more space to it on our part. In conclusion, to-day, we will say that by just such speeches in defence of just such a Democracy as Mr. Watson advocates, has the Democratic party been cast down during the past four years, and all that we wish, as a sincere opponent of the leading topics of his discourse, is that every intelligent voter in the country could listen to just such a speech. The result, if any doubt existed previously, would be rendered certain beyond all contingencies.

There was one feature at the meeting which may as well be looked at squarely first as last; the strength of the Democratic party in Lawrence lays mainly in the Irish vote. The loudest plaudits of the most diabolical parts of Mr. Watson's speech came from this class of our fellow citizens. We were sorry to see it. On this point we would not be misunderstood. We were sorry to see it. Our reason is not that we would obstruct by even the ashes of a straw the exercise of the largest liberty of thought and conscience in this respect by any man or body of men.—But looking *beyond* this there are *results* the end of which it is difficult to foretell. One clan always begets an opposing clan, and while one is sustained and fostered and banded together no one need expect the opposing one to be abandoned. The existence of the one is a guarantee of the existence of the other. And even beyond this there are *results! RESULTS!* And who can doubt their issue?

The election committee in the case of the Kansas contested election have reported that neither REEDER nor Whitefield were legally elected—but recommended that Reeder be admitted to a seat until a legal election can be held.

### Modern “Democracy” the Ally of Slavery.

#### SPEECH OF HON. M. W. TAPPAN, OF NEW HAMPSHIRE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, JULY 29TH, 1856.

The House being in the Committee of the Whole, on the state of the Union, Mr. TAPPAN said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN:—I desire, in the brief time that is allotted me, to discuss the great question of slavery extension, which is now presented to the American people for their decision, and to examine some of the new and, as it seems to me, alarming phases, which the party, calling itself “Democratic,” has recently assumed, on this subject.

For the first time in the history of this Government, the issue is fairly made up between the power of slavery on the one hand, and the principles of liberty on the other. One or the other must yield. Nor do I regret that the issue has come. From the alarming stride which the slave power has made—

from the vaunting pretensions it has put forth, it is but too apparent, that this question has got some time to be met and settled. It may as well be done now, in the coming campaign, as ever. The longer it is postponed, the more difficult its solution becomes, the more slavery is strengthened, the less qualified will the people of the free States find themselves to grapple with a power that is undermining the foundations of liberty and the Constitution. The “Democracy” have flung their slavery standard to the breeze, and proclaimed that the presidential battle is to be fought on the policy of the Nebraska bill, and the new doctrine of the “equality of the States”—which means simply, as I shall endeavor to show, the right of slave-owners to go where they please with their human chattels, carrying with them the sanction and protection of law. For one, I am ready to meet them on this issue, and fight the battle on their chosen ground. I believe the people of the free States, driven to the wall as they have been, are at last aroused, and ready to accept the issue thus tendered.

To adopt the language of the Union newspaper, a day or two since, I, too, say, “Let it come, and let it come now!”

Mr. WRIGHT, of Mississippi, (interrupting.) The gentleman says, if I understand him correctly, that the Democracy of this Government has inaugurated a new doctrine—the equality of States. I desire, in the first place, to ask the gentleman whether or not, at the time of the foundation of the Federal Constitution, each State did come into the Union as equal?

Mr. TAPPAN. I think I shall answer that question as I go along.

Mr. WRIGHT. Well, I desire to ask another question. The gentleman states, that the great issues now, not only within the limits of the United States, but the great issues to be presented to the enlightened world, were, whether or not the institution of slavery was to be maintained in this Government, or whether the arm of the Government was to be leveled against the institution of slavery.

Mr. TAPPAN. No; I stated the issue to be whether slavery should be extended into territory now free. That is the great question.

Mr. WRIGHT. Whether it shall be extended?

Mr. TAPPAN. Yes; but I do not like to be interrupted unless it be absolutely necessary.

Mr. WRIGHT. I do not wish to interrupt the gentleman, but I wanted to understand him.

Mr. TAPPAN. It is quite time that the free people of this country understand whether the policy of this Government is to be that of unholding, strengthening, and extending, a system condemned by the entire civilized world, or whether it is to return to the earlier and better policy of the fathers of the Republic—whether the original idea of LIBERTY, which animated its founders, is to be carried out, or whether the slave oligarchy is forever to rule and control the destinies of this nation. It is full time that it were ascertained whether the experiment of a Republic, founded in the hopes and prayers, and sealed with the blood of wise and good men—having its early inception in the principles of human freedom, and in the equal rights of all men, is to continue a beacon for the guidance of other nations, struggling to be free; or whether the luster of its example is to be dimmed by presenting to the world a government controlled by the single idea of finding “room” for a system which converts men and women into property, and separates children from their parents at the auction block! I repeat it, sir, let the issue be fairly met. The course which every true lover of his country should take in such a crisis, ought not to be a matter of hesitation; nor, in my judgement, can the result be doubtful; for, I believe, with Mr. Jefferson, that the “Almighty has no attribute which can take sides with slavery in such a contest!” As little do I apprehend any of those dreadful consequences to the Union so flippantly predicted by a certain class of politicians, when the policy which was of the free States con-

and for shall ultimately triumph. Sir, the people of the free States do not seek to invade or trench upon any of the reserved rights of the South, or to interfere with the institution of slavery any further than is warranted by the Constitution. On the Constitution we take our stand; and believing that under that instrument we have the power and the right to prevent its further spread and extension, we intend, by all lawful and proper means, to bring about that result. The constitutional right to prohibit slavery in the Territories has been exercised too long—sanctioned as it has been by a long course of practice under every Administration of the Government from Washington to Polk—to now be questioned. Therefore, when we assert our intention to adhere to this time-honored policy, and say to slavery, "thus far, but no further," we intend neither to dissolve the Union ourselves, nor suffer it to be dissolved by others.

Sir, what is the history of slavery prohibition in the Territories? I can barely glance at its rise and progress, as I pass on to other matters. Mr. Jefferson himself is the author of this legislation. And if the doctrine we now contend for be treason, then was Mr. Jefferson a traitor! On the 1st day of March, 1784, a committee, consisting of Mr. Jefferson, of Virginia, Mr. Chase, of Maryland, and Mr. Howell, of Rhode Island, submitted to Congress a plan for the government of "the territory ceded, or to be ceded, by individual States to the United States," embracing all the territory between the thirty-first degree of north latitude, which was then the southern boundary of the United States, and the northern line of the United States, extending westwardly to the Mississippi river. This plan provided, among other things, that said territory should be divided into nine States, designating them by name, and defining the particular boundaries of each. It also contained the following provision, which has been the basis of all the subsequent anti-slavery legislation in regard to the Territories:

"That after the year 1800 of the Christian era, there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the said States, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted to have been personally guilty."

On a motion to strike out this provision, sixteen, among whom was Mr. Jefferson, voted to retain it; and seven voted against it. It lacked one vote of the requisite number—the full vote of seven States being required to retain it. Three years later, however, it was incorporated into the celebrated ordinance of 1787, which applied to the Territories northwest of the Ohio. It is a remarkable fact, Mr. Chairman, as will be seen by a glance at the map, that if the far-seeing and sagacious policy of Mr. Jefferson, contained in this provision, had prevailed in 1784, under its operation the States of Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, and Kentucky, would now have been free States! That the policy thus initiated would have been advantageous to the States just named, a comparison between the thrift, enterprise, and prosperity of those States, and the great free States of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, formed out of the Northwest Territory under the anti-slavery ordinance of 1787, will conclusively establish. That it would have been better for the destiny of the Republic, let the fierce struggle between the antagonistic principles of liberty and slavery, which now convulses the country, bear witness!

Mr. Chairman, the Fremont party to-day, are only contending for the application of the same principle to Kansas, which Mr. Jefferson proposed for all the Territories in the United States, in 1784!

That Mr. Jefferson retained his anti-slavery sentiments down to the period of his death, is apparent from a letter which he wrote a short time previous to that event, to James Heaton, of Ohio, in reply to one from that gentleman, making inquiries as to his views on the subject of slavery. The letter bears date May 20, 1826, and Mr. Jefferson died on the 4th of July of the same year. The original letter, in the handwriting of Mr. Jefferson, is now in the possession of my friend from Ohio, [Mr. CAMPBELL]. It will be seen from the letter, a copy of which is subjoined, that Mr. Jefferson refers to his

opinions dating as far back as this plan of 1784:

MONTICELLO, May 20th, 1826.

Dear Sir:—Persuasion, perseverance, and patience, are the best advocates on questions depending upon the will of others. The revolution in public opinion, which this case requires, is not to be expected in a day, or perhaps in an age; but time, which outlives all things, will outlive an age; and I, repeated times have been forty years before this evil. My sentiments have been forty years before the people. Had I repeated them forty times, they would have only become more stale and thread-bare. Al- though I shall not live to see their consummation, they will not die with me; but living or dying, they will ever be in my most fervent prayers. This is written for yourself, and not for the public, in compliance with your request for two lines of sentiment on the subject.

Accept the assurance of my good will and respect,  
THOS. JEFFERSON.

But to return to the history of this legislation. On the 13th of July, 1787, Congress passed the celebrated ordinance of '87, containing, as we have seen, substantially the same provision. This ordinance passed almost unanimously—receiving the vote of all the members of every southern State represented in that Congress, as it did the vote of every free State member, with but one exception from the State of New York.

The very first Congress under the Constitution, in the year 1789, recognized and confirmed this ordinance of 1787. This doctrine, as I have said, has been sanctioned and approved by every President from Washington down to the administration of Franklin Pierce, under whose disastrous reign a new and false light seems suddenly to have burst upon the country.

The act of 1789 was approved by Washington. In the year 1800, Congress established a territorial government over the Territory of Indiana, which was approved by John Adams. In 1805, over the Territory of Michigan; in 1809, over the Territory of Illinois—both approved by Thomas Jefferson. In 1834, the jurisdiction of Michigan was extended over Wisconsin and Iowa, and the act was approved by Andrew Jackson. In 1836, a territorial government was established over Wisconsin, and, in 1838, over the Territory of Iowa, both approved by President Van Buren. In 1848, over the Territory of Oregon, approved by James K. Polk. Mr. Buchanan himself being a member of his Cabinet; and in March, 1853, over the Territory of Washington, approved by Millard Fillmore. In all the above acts the anti-slavery provision of the ordinance of '87 was incorporated, and slavery expressly prohibited.

Sir, this Government, instead of following on in the path of liberty prescribed by its founders, is completely controlled by the slave power; and this, too, under the guise, and in the hallowed name, of "Democracy!" At the commencement, a little cloud, scarcely bigger than a man's hand, deplored by all the great men of our early history as an evil only to be tolerated for a brief time, until measures could be taken for its extinction—acknowledged as a crime against humanity—slavery, to-day, has grown to such dimensions as to become the supreme power in the State, and contends for the mastery over the very principles which called this Government into being! And the question to-day is, not whether slavery shall some time be abolished; but whether there is to be any such thing as freedom in any portion of our country? The inquiry has been repeatedly made by southern gentlemen, during the present session of Congress, as to what is meant by the "slave power?" as though it was something that existed merely in the dis-tempered imaginations of northern men. Sir, I will attempt to answer this question, and show what I understand by the "slave power."

And in the first place, let me say, that I do not mean the southern States, as States; nor the entire people of the South. I know that gentlemen are in the habit, when speaking upon this question, to talk about the "South," and what the "South" will, or will not, do in certain contingencies. I know, too, the power which the slave-owners exercise over public opinion in the southern States; but I question the right of those who represent slavery merely, to speak for the entire people of the South; for I am well aware that there are vast numbers of people in the southern portion of the Union—mod-

who have no sympathy with the ultra schemes of the slavery propaganda. But this class of men, slaveholders though some of them may be, have no weight now in the South. They are completely overborne by the governing class there. The despotism exercised over all those who doubt the divinity of slavery, and over the entire portion of non-slaveholding whites in that section, is as complete as that of the master over his slave! If such an one goes into a northern State even, and openly avows opinions hostile to slavery, so soon as this becomes known at home, he is a marked, if not a doomed, man, and, in many instances, is obliged to quit the State of his birth, and seek a home elsewhere. It needs but a change of the Administration from the hands of the slave-Democracy to those of one less "sectional"—having an eye to the welfare of the whole Union, in-tead of the advancement of the interests of a favored class, to call into action the latent conservative public sentiment of the southern States. When this is done, it will be found that the North and the South are not as wide apart as many people now imagine.

But, sir, by the "slave power," I mean the power wielded by three hundred and forty-seven thousand slave-owners representing a moneyed interest, amounting, according to the estimate of the honorable gentleman from Alabama, [Mr. SNOTER ] in a recent speech on this floor, to two thousand million of dollars! Mr. Clay, some years ago, estimated the value of property in slaves at \$1,200,000,000; and I suppose that the estimate of the gentleman from Alabama cannot, at the present time, be very far from correct. In ascertaining the number of slave-owners, however, who constitute the "slave power," large deductions should be made from the whole number set down in the last census as owning property of this description. The actual number of slave owners, as shown by the census, is three hundred and forty-seven thousand five hundred and twenty-five. Of these, sixty-eight thousand eight hundred and twenty own but a single slave; and one hundred and five thousand six hundred and eighty-three own less than five. Of these is included, also, all those who hire slaves; and it is safe to assert that those who own, as house servants and other domestics, no more than five slaves, have no particular interest in the perpetuation of the system. Deduction should always be made for slaves owned by women and minors; so that the entire slave oligarchy at the South, on the most liberal calculation, cannot exceed the number of about two hundred thousand? and yet, as I shall show, this comparatively insignificant number of men completely rule and govern twenty millions of people. The following table, prepared from the census returns, showing the number of slaveholders, and the whole amount of white population in each of the southern States, will exhibit the proportion between the two classes:

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Florida,	3,520	47,203
Georgia,	38,453	521,392
Kentucky,	38,985	731,413
Louisiana,	20,670	255,401
Maryland,	23,116	394,718
Mississippi,	19,189	692,006
Missouri,	28,393	555,028
North Carolina,	25,596	274,563
South Carolina,	23,864	756,836
Tennessee,	7,747	154,654
Texas,	55,963	894,800
Virginia,		
Total,	347,525	6,222,318

From this it will be seen that there is not a slaveholding State in the Union in which the slaveholders constitute one tenth part of the aggregate free white population, and in some of them not one thirtieth part! And yet, in every one of these States the slaveholders wield the whole political power; set up, and pull down, whomsoever they please; make just such laws as their "peculiar" interests require; and hold the great body of non-slaveholding whites in complete subservency to their despotic rule! Ay, sir, they not only reign supreme at home, but they dictate the entire policy of the Union!

We have a great deal to say in this country

Frank Pierce was particularly holy in his eyes. He did not claim for it the glory of the Japan expedition—the expedition to the Arctic regions nor the expedition to the Rocky Mountains under Col. Fremont, but he did rob Capt. INGKAHAM of the glory of his famous exploit and lay it most unblushingly at the feet of the President.

In alluding to the Brooks assault he said that had he been in the Senate at the time the assault was made he would have shot Brooks dead on the spot. In the very next breath he asserted that *Sumner did not receive at the hands of Brooks a thousandth part of the punishment he deserved!* The entire effort of Mr. Watson was on a par with this part of his speech—one breath contradicting what its predecessor had uttered. After talking a full hour he announced to the audience that he had not said a ten millionth part of what he had intended to say on coming into the hall. We mention this simply to show how loosely Mr. W., is inclined to let his tongue run on. In the time he had been talking he had probably delivered words enough to fill 30 octavo pages of 1000 ems each. This multiplied by 10,000,000 would give 300,000,000 pages, equal to 1,000,000 volumes of 300 pages each, and suppose him to talk ten hours per day at the same rate, he would get through in just about 300 years. The probability is that in all his life he has never seen a mass of printed matter one half equal to this. He urged upon his audience the necessity of reading the Sentinel of which he is the proprietor (or, to use his own words the *democratic papers*) in order to get correct news from Kansas!—This we consider decidedly the most cheeky part of his speech. We take several democratic papers, and have yet to find any thing in allusion to Kansas, that does not pervert the truth—truths which come from democrats in regard to outrages perpetrated in Kansas by the border ruffians, and to cast odium upon the free state men and the emigrant aid society. We ourselves have been remiss in detailing these outrages, many of which are so revolting as to sicken the heart. Admitting that they are exaggerated in many, or if you please, in every instance, there is yet enough of substantial truth in these reports to justify much of the harshness which is threatened—threatened, but never executed by the “fighting men” who never fight—who have started for Kansas from the north, after having cast out of their vocabulary those important words in all seasons of trouble—“prudence”—“discretion” and “valor.” We have now before us two accounts of recent outrages in Kansas from which Mr. Watson may abate one half for exaggeration and there will still be sufficient left to warrant and justify almost any resistance in human power. We subjoin them in hopes that he may give them a place in his paper.

The first is extracted from a letter dated at Topeka, July 8, 1856.

The name of the man was Laban Parker, and he was from Cleveland.

In his search after something against the administration of Franklin Pierce, Mr. Watson might have tarried in Kansas a portion of the 300 years he proposed to talk. There he would have found enough to satisfy any reasonable man. On this point we would not ask that Mr. Pierce take sides with his own kindred from the Free States who are

now in Kansas. All we would ask at his hands is that he assume the authority legitimately belonging to him as the head of the government, and throwing this broad ægis over both parties, proclaim that each must be protected and that neither should be tolerated in the work of blood, which has been carried on there. This, only this, he could have done and should have done,—and only this would have saved even his reputation as an honest, if indeed it would not have retrieved his character as a brave man.

Mr. Watson's speech is commented upon at considerable length by a correspondent, or we should devote more space to it on our part. In conclusion, to-day, we will say that by just such speeches in defence of just such a Democracy as Mr. Watson advocates, has the Democratic party been cast down during the past four years, and all that we wish, as a sincere opponent of the leading topics of his discourse, is that every intelligent voter in the country could listen to just such a speech. The result, if any doubt existed previously, would be rendered certain beyond all contingencies.

There was one feature at the meeting which may as well be looked at squarely first as last; the strength of the Democratic party in Lawrence lays mainly in the Irish vote. The loudest plaudits of the most diabolical parts of Mr. Watson's speech came from this class of our fellow citizens. We were sorry to see it. On this point we would not be misunderstood. We were sorry to see it. Our reason is not that we would obstruct by even the ashes of a straw the exercise of the largest liberty of thought and conscience in this respect by any man or body of men.—But looking beyond this there are results the end of which it is difficult to foretell. One clan always begets an opposing clan, and while one is sustained and fostered and banded together no one need expect the opposing one to be abandoned. The existence of the one is a guarantee of the existence of the other. And even beyond this there are results! RESULTS! And who can doubt their issue?

The election committee in the case of the Kansas contested election have reported that neither REEDER nor Whitefield were legally elected—but recommended that Reeder be admitted to a seat until a legal election can be held.

### Modern “Democracy” the Ally of Slavery.

SPEECH OF HON. M. W. TAPPAN,  
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, JULY  
29TH, 1856.

The House being in the Committee of the Whole, on the state of the Union,  
Mr. TAPPAN said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN:—I desire, in the brief time that is allotted me, to discuss the great question of slavery extension, which is now presented to the American people for their decision, and to examine some of the new and, as it seems to me, alarming phases, which the party, calling itself “Democratic,” has recently assumed, on this subject.

For the first time in the history of this Government, the issue is fairly made up between the power of slavery on the one hand, and the principles of liberty on the other. One or the other must yield. Nor do I regret that the issue has come. From the alarming strides which the slave power has made—

from the vaunting pretensions it throws forth, it is but too apparent, that this question has got some time to be met and settled. It may as well be done now, in the coming campaign, as ever. The longer it is postponed, the more difficult its solution becomes, the more slavery is strengthened, the less qualified will the people of the free States find themselves to grapple with a power that is undermining the foundations of liberty and the Constitution. The “Democracy” have flung their slavery standard to the breeze, and proclaimed that the presidential battle is to be fought on the policy of the Nebraska bill, and the new doctrine of the “equality of the States”—which means simply, as I shall endeavor to show, the right of slave-owners to go where they please with their human chattels, carrying with them the sanction and protection of law. For one, I am ready to meet them on this issue, and fight the battle on their chosen ground, I believe the people of the free States, driven to the wall as they have been, are at last aroused, and ready to accept the issue thus tendered.

To adopt the language of the Union newspaper, a day or two since, I, too, say, “Let it come, and let it come now!”

Mr. WRIGHT, of Mississippi, (interrupting.) The gentleman says, if I understand him correctly, that the Democracy of this Government has inaugurated a new doctrine—the equality of States. I desire, in the first place, to ask the gentleman whether or not, at the time of the foundation of the Federal Constitution, each State did come into the Union as equal?

Mr. TAPPAN. I think I shall answer that question as I go along.

Mr. WRIGHT. Well, I desire to ask another question. The gentleman states, that the great issues now, not only within the limits of the United States, but the great issues to be presented to the enlightened world, were, whether or not the institution of slavery was to be maintained in this Government, or whether the arm of the Government was to be leveled against the institution of slavery.

Mr. TAPPAN. No; I stated the issue to be whether slavery should be extended into territory now free. That is the great question.

Mr. WRIGHT. Whether it shall be extended?

Mr. TAPPAN. Yes; but I do not like to be interrupted unless it be absolutely necessary.

Mr. WRIGHT. I do not wish to interrupt the gentleman, but I wanted to understand him.

Mr. TAPPAN. It is quite time that the free people of this country understood whether the policy of this Government is to be that of unbolting, strengthening, and extending, a system condemned by the entire civilized world, or whether it is to return to the earlier and better policy of the fathers of the Republic—whether the original idea of LIBERTY, which animated its founders, is to be carried out, or whether the slave oligarchy is forever to rule and control the destinies of this nation. It is full time that it were ascertained whether the experiment of a Republic, founded in the hopes and prayers, and sealed with the blood of wise and good men—having its early inception in the principles of human freedom, and in the equal rights of all men, is to continue a beacon for the guidance of other nations, struggling to be free; or whether the luster of its example is to be dimmed by presenting to the world a government controlled by the single idea of finding “room” for a system which converts men and women into property, and separates children from their parents at the auction block! I repeat it, sir, let the issue be fairly met. The course which every true lover of his country should take in such a crisis, ought not to be a matter of hesitation; nor, in my judgement, can the result be doubtful; for, I believe, with Mr. Jefferson, that the “Almighty has no attribute which can take sides with slavery in such a contest!” As little do I apprehend any of those dreadful consequences to the Union so flippantly predicted by a certain class of politicians, when the policy which we of the free States con-

and for shall ultimately triumph. Sir, the people of the free States do not seek to invade or trench upon any of the reserved rights of the South, or to interfere with the institution of slavery any further than is warranted by the Constitution. On the Constitution we take our stand; and believing that under that instrument we have the power and the right to prevent its further spread and extension, we intend, by all lawful and proper means, to bring about that result. The constitutional right to prohibit slavery in the Territories has been exercised too long—sanctioned as it has been by a long course of practice under every Administration of the Government from Washington to Polk—to now be questioned. Therefore, when we assert our intention to adhere to this time-honored policy, and say to slavery, "thus far, but no further," we intend neither to dissolve the Union ourselves, nor suffer it to be dissolved by others.

Sir, what is the history of slavery prohibition in the Territories? I can barely glance at its rise and progress, as I pass on to other matters. Mr. Jefferson himself is the author of this legislation. And if the doctrine we now contend for be treason, then was Mr. Jefferson a traitor! On the 1st day of March, 1784, a committee, consisting of Mr. Jefferson, of Virginia, Mr. Chase, of Maryland, and Mr. Howell, of Rhode Island, submitted to Congress a plan for the government of "the territory ceded, or to be ceded, by individual States to the United States," embracing all the territory between the thirty-first degree of north latitude, which was then the southern boundary of the United States, and the northern line of the United States, extending westerly to the Mississippi river. This plan provided, among other things, that said territory should be divided into nine States, designating them by name, and defining the particular boundaries of each. It also contained the following provision, which has been the basis of all the subsequent anti-slavery legislation in regard to the Territories:

"That after the year 1800 of the Christian era, there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the said States, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted to have been personally guilty."

On a motion to strike out this provision, sixteen, among whom was Mr. Jefferson, voted to retain it; and seven voted against it. It lacked one vote of the requisite number—the full vote of seven States being required to retain it. Three years later, however, it was incorporated into the celebrated ordinance of 1787, which applied to the Territories northwest of the Ohio. It is a remarkable fact, Mr. Chairman, as will be seen by a glance at the map, that if the far-seeing and sagacious policy of Mr. Jefferson, contained in this provision, had prevailed in 1784, under its operation the States of Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, and Kentucky, would now have been free States! That the policy thus initiated would have been advantageous to the States just named, a comparison between the thrift, enterprise, and prosperity of those States, and the great free States of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, formed out of the Northwest Territory under the anti-slavery ordinance of 1787, will conclusively establish. That it would have been better for the destiny of the Republic, let the fierce struggle between the antagonistic principles of liberty and slavery, which now convulses the country, bear witness!

Mr. Chairman, the Fremont party to-day, are only contending for the application of the same principle to Kansas, which Mr. Jefferson proposed for all the Territories in the United States, in 1784!

That Mr. Jefferson retained his anti-slavery sentiments down to the period of his death, is apparent from a letter which he wrote a short time previous to that event, to James Heaton, of Ohio, in reply to one from that gentleman, making inquiries as to his views on the subject of slavery. The letter bears date May 20, 1826, and Mr. Jefferson died on the 4th of July of the same year. The original letter, in the handwriting of Mr. Jefferson, is now in the possession of my friend from Ohio, [Mr. CAMPBELL]. It will be seen from the letter, a copy of which is appended, that Mr. Jefferson refers to his

opinions dating as far back as this plan of 1784:

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Dear Sir:—Persuasion, perseverance, and patience, are the best advocates on questions depending upon the will of others. The revolution in public opinion, which this case requires, is not to be expected in a day, or perhaps in an age; but time, which outlives all things, will outlive this evil also. My sentiments have been forty years, they were the people. Had I repeated them forty times, they would have only become more stale and thread-bare. Although I shall not live to see their consummation, they will be in my most fervent prayers. This is written for yourself, and not for the public, in compliance with your request for two lines of sentiment on the subject.

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Now, Mr. Chairman, who stands the so-called "Democratic" party in reference to this great question? It is leagued with the slave power against the interests of freedom. It has been when the word "Democracy" meant something. The Democratic party came into existence, the sworn foe of all non-complices, and of all systems that looked to the aggrandizement of one class at the expense of another. It took the side of the people as against the power of capital. Its peculiar boast was that it went for the rights of man, rather than that of money. But to-day it is the champion of the worst monopoly that ever cursed the earth, and the ally of a system that tramples upon the rights of human nature, and crushes and degrades the free labor of the land. Guided by the counsels of men who were not long ago its bitterest enemies, renegades from the ranks of its life-long opponents, and shorn of its strength by the natural alliance of its old leaders, at whose

in favor of Mr. Buchanan for the Presidency, to show what the real issue before the country now is, and how that issue is understood at the South. I quote from a recent article in the Richmond *Examiner*.—"THE TRUE ISSUE.—The Democrats of the South, in the present canvass cannot rely on the old grounds of defense and excuse for slavery; for they seek not merely to retain it where it is, but to extend it into regions where it is unknown. Much less can they rely on the constitutional guarantees of slavery, for such reliance is pregnant with the admission that slavery is wrong, and that the Constitution should be abolished. This constitutes the argument for slavery, standing alone, fully justifies the Abolitionists. "Nor will it avail us aught to show that the negro is the most happy and best situated in the condition of slavery. If we stop there we weaken our cause by the very argument intended to advance it; for we propose to introduce into new territory human beings whom we assert to be unfit for liberty, self-government, and equal association with other men. It must go a step further. We must show that African slavery is a moral, religious, natural, and, probably, in the general, a necessary institution of society. This is the only line of argument that will enable southern Democrats to maintain the doctrines of State equality, and Slavery extension. "For if slavery be not a legitimate, useful, moral and excellent institution we cannot, without renoual of con-

ed for the same doctrine which the party now denounce by them as 'Black Republicans.' In course of the present campaign. In 1817—'48—'49, and '50, the Democratic party in the free States stood upon the ground of the Wilmot proviso. The prohibition of slavery in the Territories was then a prominent article in the Democratic creed. Even Mr. Buchanan at that time admitted the power of Congress to legislate upon the subject of slavery in the Territories. In his letter to Mr. Sanford, dated August 21, 1848, he says: "Having urged the adoption of the Missouri Compromise, the inference is irresistible, that Congress, in my opinion, possesses the power to legislate upon the subject of slavery in the Territories." The right to legislate upon the subject at it is now denied by the party whose platform Mr. Buchanan claims to be the embodiment. I shall not attempt at this time, Mr. Chairman, to quote from Democratic resolutions passed in nearly or quite all the northern States; but content myself with giving a few extracts from those adopted by the

and falsely charged upon the people of the free States, there has always been a *disunion party at the South!* The threats of dissolution, over and over again repeated in the halls of Congress during the present session, have all come from men residing in that section of country. And it is a significant fact that all, or nearly all the Calhoun men, Secessionists, Fillibusters and Disunionists, are now found, shoulder to shoulder, in the ranks of modern "Democracy." The compromise measures were passed.—The "bleeding wounds" of the country were healed. The whole question was finally settled; and thereupon there was to be nothing but quiet and " repose," on the pending subject of slavery agitation. The Democratic party resolved, at Baltimore, that they would " resist," whether in Congress, or out of Congress, all attempts to renew that agitation! General Pierce, in his first message, solemnly assured the country that by no act of his should this repose receive any shock during his term, if it was in his power to do so. How, then, has it been in-

try legislation of 1854, [the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, which the chairman of the Committee on Territories, Mr. Fremont, indignantly denominated a "conspiracy against freedom." But this is not all the gentleman says. I give one further extract:—"These examples, which might be multiplied, suffice to show the incoherencies of the great reasoning of those who would have it legal, is, therefore, necessarily rightful in a moral or religious point of view, and of the reasoning in particular of those who, concerning the Missouri question, have a tendency to be fanatical, assume that such exclusion is, therefore, necessarily rightful. "Including my remarks I hope to show that such total exclusion would not only be IMMORAL AND UNJUST, but would likewise, in a legal sense, be unconstitutional. "Sir, this is modern "Democracy" with a vengeance! Here we have the distinct avowal of a prominent "Democratic" leader from the North—as from a *Pennsylvania* "Democrat," and as I understand, an intimate personal friend of Mr. Buchanan—that the purpose of repealing the Missouri prohibition was to give the slave States access to *Kansas with their slaves*; and this he calls the "praiseworthy legislation of 1854." Ay, sir, this Democraticism is the owner of the doctrine goes further than that, and proclaims this monstrous doctrine, that the total exclusion of slavery from the free Territories is not only unconstitutional, but that it is "immoral and unjust!" "Sir, I thank the gentleman for the boldness with which he has avowed the slavery creed of his party. And I call upon the people of the free States to mark the declaration, and to see whether modern Democracy would lead them. Sir, it has not always been the case that northern Democratic leaders have had the courage to come out squarely and acknowledge their real purpose, and the effect of their principles upon this slavery question. But "Whom the gods seek to destroy, they first make mad," and I rejoice that, for once, they intend to meet the issue fairly and boldly. If this is done, I have no fears of the result. Let the people of the free portion of this Union, but especially the Democrats, mark the platform, as it is understood and expounded by the leaders and press of that party, especially at the South, and it will require affidavits in every free State of this Union to show that Mr. Buchanan has ever been a candidate for the Presidency. "But this is not the only Democratic leader from the North who adopts and sanctions this new and alarming doctrine. Another honorable gentleman from the State of Pennsylvania, [Mr. GLAXY JONES], the particular friend and champion of Mr. Buchanan on this floor, occupies similar ground. He says:—"In my opinion the Constitution limits the power of Congress to the extent of prohibiting them either from establishing slavery in the Territories, or admitting that view to be correct, I suppose it follows, as a matter of course, that the Constitution of the United States contains no provision which grants or disposes any man of his right to property, whether he be slave or any other property. And therefore, the Legislature of the United States has no right to legislate upon the disposal and protection of property, have no right to so administer those laws as to establish or abolish the right to hold that property."

of the whole. The soundness and orthodoxy of New Hampshire Democracy, I suppose, will not be questioned, especially as it was under the lead of the present President of the United States during the whole time to which I shall refer. In 1847, the Legislature of that State, being strongly Democratic, passed the following resolutions:—"Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Court convened, That we regard the institution of slavery as a moral, social, and political evil, and, as such, so deeply rooted in existence, and so long to endure in all reasonable and constitutional measures that may wish to its removal. Resolved, That in all territories which may hereafter be added or acquired to the United States, where slavery does not exist at the time of such addition or acquisition, neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except for the punishment of crime, whereof the party had been duly convicted, shall ever exist, but that no slave should ever remain in any such territory; and that we also approve in favor of our Senators and Representatives in Congress in favor of the Wilmot proviso. Resolved, That our Senators be instructed, and our Representatives be resolved, by all excellent and constitutional means and measures, to sustain the principles herein set forth. MOSES NORRIS, Jr., Speaker of the House of Representatives. HARRY HIBBARD, President of the Senate. JARED W. WILLIAMS, Governor.

In 1848, with an overwhelming majority in the Legislature, the New Hampshire Democracy again:—"Resolved, That we are in favor of the passage of a law by Congress forever prohibiting slavery in New Mexico and California, and in all other Territories now acquired, or hereafter to be acquired, by the United States, in which slavery does not exist at the time of such acquisition. Resolved, That events have recently occurred, and are now transpiring at the seat of the General Government, elsewhere, which seem to make necessary a renewed expression of our views upon this subject. Resolved, That our Senators be instructed, and our Representatives requested to urge the passage of such a law in relation to New Mexico and California; and that we approve, as we have always heretofore done, of any such votes already given in favor of such a law, or in favor of the same. Resolved, That the Secretary of State be directed to forward a copy of the foregoing resolutions to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress. SAMUEL H. AYER, Speaker of the House of Representatives. HARRY HIBBARD, President of the Senate. JARED W. WILLIAMS, Governor.

When these resolutions were under consideration in the Senate, Hon. Harry Hibbard, (a gentleman from our State who had something to do, I believe, with the passage of the Nebraska bill,) then President of the Senate, left the chair, and made a strong and earnest speech in their favor, from which I extract the following:—"He said he was ready at all times and places to sustain the principle of that amendment, (one since that time above, offered by Mr. Preston,) and believed—this was the position of his political friends generally, not only in the Legislature, but throughout the State and the North. While they were disposed to abide by the provisions of the Constitution, and do not seek to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States, while they were desirous of the desirable acquisitions of territory where slavery already existed for that reason alone, in the face of overwhelming considerations to the contrary, as in the case of Louisiana and Texas, they would oppose, by all constitutional means, the extension of slavery over territory now free, as in the case of California and New Mexico. Such has been the Democratic faith from the days of Jefferson to the present time. "This is the same gentleman, who, when the Nebraska bill was under discussion in this House, in the exuberance of his zeal to break down the barrier against the encroachments of slavery, exclaimed to the patriotic men who were resisting the wicked act:—"Bring in your couches, gentlemen; we are prepared to give you a long sitting!" But he has his reward! The *New Hampshire Patriot*, then, as now, the home organ of General Pierce, in commenting on these resolutions, used the following emphatic language in their favor:—"We need not say that these resolutions meet our hearty approbation; for our readers are aware that they contain the sentiments which we have continued for some time to have been connected with this paper—the sentiments which the Democracy of this State has supported ever since the question of the extension of slavery came

and the Missouri compromise, the long train of calamities which have followed that measure, and the excited state of the country at the present time, answer. The object and purpose of this repeal was not only openly avowed at the time, although it was perfectly apparent that the extension of slavery over the vast domain from which it was forever excluded by a solemn compact, was the real design of its instigators. It would not answer to give the real and true reason for which its repeal was desired. But, by dint of party drill, it was put through upon the false and fraudulent pretext that it was to inaugurate the great idea of "squatter sovereignty." The country was deluded with the cry of "Let the people rule;" for, in virtue of the provisions of the bill, it was said that the people of the Territories were to be left "perfectly free" to form their own institutions in their own way. Mr. Chairman, I shall not dwell upon the wrongs and outrages perpetrated upon the unoffending people of Kansas. The repeated invasions of the Territory by ruffian marauders; the trampling down of the dearest right of American freemen—the right to have a voice in the making of their own laws—by armed force; the enactment of a bogus and bloody code, that would disgrace the hotbeds of Southern Africa; the driving of *long files* of men from their claims; the dispersion of assemblies of peaceful citizens by United States troops; the sack of cities, and the driving from their homes of men, women and children—compelling them to flee to the forests by their burning dwellings; the cruel imprisonment of the leading men of the Territory on the trumped up charge of "conspiratorial treason;" the wanton destruction of property; the thefts, and the cold-blooded murders; and all for the crime of seeking liberty better than slavery—will constitute one of the blackest pages in our country's history, and form a damning comment upon the "perfect freedom" which was granted to the people of Kansas, to mould their own institutions in their own way. But, sir, the flimsy veil of "squatter sovereignty, with which the "true intent and meaning" of the Nebraska bill was sought to be disguised, is now thrown aside, and the real object of making Kansas a slave State, out of which three or four additional slave States can be carved if necessary, is openly avowed by leading Democrats in Congress, and by Democratic presses in different parts of the country. That it may be seen that I have not misrepresented in this matter, I shall produce extracts from various sources, in proof of the position I have assumed. In the first place, I quote from the letter of a Mr. John Townsend, to a meeting held in Charleston, South Carolina, in March last, for the purpose of taking measures to forward emigration to Kansas from the South, from which it will be seen why the slave power is so anxious to obtain possession of Kansas:—"In gaining Kansas, we shut out an enemy from our side; we weaken Missouri immensely on our outside on that important frontier; and with her we not only secure Missouri to our ranks, but the Indian Territory, which is large ground for two or three States, will cease to be debated ground, as it now is, and will be certain for the South. "Kansas, is the *Marathon* fortress, the taking of which will decide our victory in this battle with Abolitionism in this quarrel—a battle in which from three to five States are to be prizes to be won or lost to the South and her cherished institutions. "But this does not rest upon the testimony of letter-writers, or of the southern press merely. The same purpose was avowed on the 22d day of June last, on the floor of the Senate, by Hon. JOSEPH EVANS, of South Carolina. I give an extract from his speech on that occasion:—"I have the honor to

speech of the honorable gentleman from Georgia, [Mr. WARREN] scarcely goes further in his speech on the subject of slavery in the Territories which has been so often quoted, than do these expounders of Buchanan "Democracy" from the State of Pennsylvania.—For the purpose of bringing out still more distinctly this new article of Democratic faith, I subjoin some extracts from the speech of the honorable gentleman from Georgia:—"I shall maintain, and endeavor to establish, that the title of my constituents to their slave property is not based upon any positive law of the State, but that it rests for its foundation upon the common law, which recognized slaves as property, before, and at the time of the adoption of the Constitution. That before, and at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, the people of the State of Georgia—the same being a sovereign, independent State—had the undoubted right, according to the well established principles of the common law, to take their slave property into any foreign Territory, provided there was no law in that foreign Territory prohibiting its introduction. That the law of the land which forbids foreign Territory—that the law of nations was adopted as a part of the common law in the original thirteen States, constituting a part of the law of the land, and at the time of the adoption of the Federal Constitution. "It has been asserted here and elsewhere that slavery exists in the States by force of positive law, and that whenever the owner takes his slave property beyond the territorial limits of such States, he is liable to that property ceases to be valid and operative for the protection of that property. I controvert this assumed proposition. "Again he says:—"Those great fundamental rights which I have been discussing belonged to the people of the States, before, and at the time of the adoption of the Constitution. They entered into, and constituted an essential element of their title to their slave property, just as much as if I had not having delineated them in the Constitution, they have then now, and it is by virtue of these pre-existing rights that my constituents claim to be entitled to take their slave property into any foreign Territory, and to have it protected there. "But I will make one more extract from the speech of the honorable gentleman from Georgia, [Mr. WARREN] which I commend to the careful consideration of the people of the free States. It discloses the following:—"I

**PERSONAL.**—Hbn. E. M. Thurston of Kansas, formerly of Charleston in this county well known as our former efficient Secretary of the Board of Education, arrived in this city on Saturday evening, and will leave for Charleston to-day. Mr. Thurston is only a week from Kansas; and he is now in a feeble bodily condition, having but recently recovered from a severe attack of bilious fever. As soon as he recovers his strength, however, he is determined to take the field for the cause of Freedom and Free Kansas, and to bear witness as one who knows whereof he speaks, of the cruel oppressions and infernal outrages, to which the freemen of that Territory have been subjected. Mr. Thurston declares that the Federal authorities have been the real robbers and murderers—as the people could have protected themselves had not the Federal Government interposed.

Mr. Thurston says that the pro-slavery men in Missouri are preventing all free State emigrants from going to Kansas through the State of Missouri; and that the only chance of getting there is round to the northward through Illinois and Iowa.

Mr. Thurston, when he went to Kansas was an old line democrat. He now returns a strong Republican, and will devote all the energies which God has given him to the advancement of the cause of freedom.

It is expected that Mr. T. will speak at the Republican District Convention at Exeter on the 19th of August.

But I will take one more extract from the speech of the honorable gentleman from Georgia, [Mr. Warner,] which I commend to the careful consideration of the people of the free States. It discloses the reason why the slave power is so insatiate and aggressive, and, like the daughters of the horse-leech, constantly crying, "Give! give!"

"But, sir, we have been told by those who advocate this line of policy, that they do not desire to interfere with slavery in the States where it exists; and yet it is their intention to prevent the extension of slavery by excluding it from the common Territory—to surround the slave States with a cordon of free Territory, and compel slavery, like a serpent, to sting itself to death! Now, it matters but little with me, whether a man takes my property outright, or restricts me in the enjoyment of it, so to render it of but little or no value to me. It is an interference with my rights in either case; the interference is one of the degree only. Any restraint upon the full enjoyment of my property in as full and ample manner as I might otherwise do, but for the restriction is an interference with it. There is not a slaveholder in this House, or out of it, but who knows perfectly well that, whenever slavery is confined within certain peculiar limits, its future existence is doomed; it is only a question of time as to its final destruction. You may take any single slaveholding county in the Southern States, in which the greater part of the cotton and sugar are cultivated to any extent, and confine the present slave population within the limits of that county. Such is the rapid, natural increase of the slaves, and the rapid exhaustion of the soil in the cultivation of those crops, (which add so much to the commercial wealth of the country,) that in few years it would be impossible to support them within the limits of such county. Both master and slave would be starved out; and what would be the practical effect? In any one county, the same result would happen to all the slaveholding States. Slavery cannot be confined within certain specified limits without producing the destruction of both master and slave; it requires fresh lands, plenty of wood and water, not only for the comfort and happiness of the slave, but for the benefit of the owner."

Slavery, according to the honorable gentleman, in order to prevent being "starved out," constantly requires "fresh lands, and plenty of wood and water." It is frequently said at the North, that we can do nothing there towards ridding the country of the evils of slavery. But here it is admitted, by one who knows, that if the system were restricted within its present limits, it would die of itself. Suppose, by so restricting it the people of the States where it now exists should be compelled to find some mode for its complete abolition, and the substitution of free labor in its place: where would be the great sin in all this? But no modern "Democracy" says: "Break down the barrier that for thirty-four years has been erected against this giant curse which exhausts the soil, and at whose touch every green thing withers; and give it 'fresh lands, and plenty of wood and water,' until these also are exhausted, and other 'fresh lands' are demanded to satisfy the cravings of its rapacious appetite!" But this doctrine of the honorable gentleman goes further than this. If it be wrong to restrict slavery within its present limits, be-

cause, if so confined, it will "sting itself to death," there is no reason why its expansion should be limited to the Territories. When these are used up, or for any cause, in order to insure its vitality, it wants more "room," why not spread itself into the free States? The carrying out of this doctrine would lead to the practical establishment of slavery there. It needs but one more triumph of the slave power, in the coming election, to have the doctrine of Jude Kane confirmed by the Supreme Court, and slavery is virtually established in every free State of the Union.

But, Mr. Chairman, I desire to give a few more extracts from leading Democrats to illustrate further this doctrine of "State equality," and to show the utter abandonment by the Democratic party, of the doctrine of "popular sovereignty," which was used with such effect to bewilder and delude the people.

I give an extract from the speech of a distinguished Democratic Senator, the honorable A. G. Brown of Mississippi, delivered in the Senate April 23, 1856:

"The advocates of State rights have always held that the Territories are the common property of the States; and that one State has the same interest in them as another; and that a citizen of one State has the same right to go to them as the citizen of any other State. The corollary therefore has been, that a citizen of any one State has the same right as a citizen of any other State to go into the Territories and take with him whatever is recognized as property in the State from which he goes. Thus, if a citizen from Massachusetts may go and take a barrel of goods, a citizen of Tennessee may go and take a barrel of whiskey; and if a citizen of New York may go and take a horse, a citizen of Mississippi may go and take a slave. It must be so or else the equality of the parties is destroyed. Tennessee becomes inferior to Massachusetts, and the rights of a Mississippian are inferior to those of a New Yorker.

This doctrine finds opposition in many quarters. It is opposed by Free Soilers and by advocates of that uncertain theory which some call territorial sovereignty, and others popular sovereignty; and others, again, seatter sovereignty; a theory which the author of this bill so well combats in the declaration that 'the sovereignty of a Territory remains in abeyance, suspended in the United States in trust for the people until they shall be admitted to the Union as a State.' To this declaration I give my assent."

If any further proof were necessary to show that this talk about popular sovereignty, which will still be harped upon in the North as the great principle for which the "Democracy" are contending, is repudiated as an exploded humbug by those who pull the wires in this campaign, it is to be found in the fact that the following amendment to Mr. Douglas's new bill to make Kansas a slave State, proposed by Senator Trumbull of Illinois, to test the sincerity of those who profess so much reverence for popular sovereignty, was, on the morning of the 3d of the present month, voted down in the Senate, thirty-four Senators, including Mr. Douglas and all the Democratic Senators voting against it, with only nine in its favor:

"Sec. — And be it further enacted, That it was the true intent and meaning of the Act to organize the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas, not to legislate slavery into Kansas, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free, through their Territorial Legislature, to regulate the institution of slavery in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States; and that, until the Territorial Legislature acts upon the subject, the owner of a slave in one of the States has the right or authority to take such slave into the Territory of Kansas and there hold him as a slave; but every slave taken into the Territory of Kansas by his owner for the purpose of settlement, is hereby declared to be free, unless there is some valid act of a duly constituted Legislative Assembly of said Territory, under and by virtue of which he may be held as a slave."

The Democratic party were required to repudiate this doctrine of popular sovereignty, in the Cincinnati platform; and it was done. Hear what Mr. Keitt of South Carolina, said on this subject before the Cincinnati Convention was held:

"The South shall establish in the platform the principle that the right of a Southern man to his property is equal in its length and breadth, to the right of a Northern man to his horse. She should make the recognition of the right full, complete and indisputable."

I give, also, an extract from the Richmond Enquirer, on the same subject:

"We must, in the Cincinnati platform, repudiate squatter sovereignty and expressly assert State equality. We must declare that it is the duty of the General Government to see that no invidious or injurious distinctions are made between the people or property of different sections in the Territories. We do not mean to dictate. It may be that the assertion in the platform of the abstract proposition of State equality, may suffice to carry along with it the consequences which we desire. But it is often charged that the Kansas Nebraska bill contains the doctrine of squatter sovereignty, and that squatter sovereignty is the most efficient agent of Free Soilsism. Some Northern Democrats have maintained this ground. Now this ground must be spiked. It must appear from our platform that we maintain practical State equality and repudiate that construction of the Kansas Nebraska act which would defeat it. The South only demands equality of right. The more clearly it appears that the Northern

"That the slave power got at Cincinnati all it demanded, will be seen from what was said by the same paper soon after the nomination of Mr. Buchanan. I read again from the Richmond Enquirer:

"With the utmost possible precision and emphasis of language, these resolutions affirm the great vital principles, first of the guarantees of slavery; and secondly, of the equality of the States, in respect to their sovereign dignity and political rights. In equally clear and conclusive terms the doctrine of popular sovereignty is repudiated by the platform of the Democratic party."

On this platform Mr. Buchanan made haste to plant himself—and in his ecstasy of delight at the principles embraced in it, he is willing to lose his own personal identity, and become wholly absorbed in the platform. He is no longer simply James Buchanan, but the embodiment of the new "Democratic" creed.— This is the language he uses in his address to the Key Stone Club, at Wheatland, in Pennsylvania:

"I have been placed upon a platform of which I most heartily approve, and that can speak for me. Being the representative of the great Democratic party, and not simply James Buchanan, I must square my conduct according to the platform of that party, and insert no new plank nor take one from it."

Whatever Mr. Buchanan's followers may attempt to say of him in the free States, such is the slavery-extension platform on which he is placed! And that there need be no possible mistake; as to his soundness in regard to it, I have only to make one further extract from Hon. Preston S. Brooks of South Carolina, which puts his orthodoxy beyond question.— Hear Mr. Brooks:

"Mr. Buchanan was neither my first nor second choice for the Presidency; but, as the representative of a type of principles, and standing boldly as he does upon the Baltimore platform, upon which Gen. Pierce was carried into power—enlarged, improved and strengthened as it has been by the supplemental resolutions, our principles, as practically applied to the Territory of Kansas, have been reinforced by the American Democracy, and by their nominee—I could not be unfaithful to the man without treachery to the principles he represents."

I have thus, sir, shown the true position now occupied by the Democratic party before the country. I have shown what is understood by the leading principles of its platform. The ground taken is, a bold one, and should be met by freemen with equal boldness and determination. The slave power which now acts through the Democratic organization, makes no further apologies for slavery. It admits no longer that it is in any sense an evil; but with a bravery worthy a better cause, it defiantly proclaims it to be right—a blessing both to the master and the slave, and claims the right to go anywhere with its property in human flesh upon the same terms of equality which we of the free States possess, to go with what is everywhere regarded as property by the general sense and judgment of mankind! Sir, what is his right which the slave power, with such show of indignation at its denial, claims to have put upon the same footing with property in the free States? It is the right, if I may be allowed the solecism, to perpetrate a wrong. It is the right to plant upon the free soil of this great Republic a system which makes of man an article of merchandise, and stamps him with the seal of perpetual degradation; and this, too, in violation of plighted faith, of the long established doctrines of the common law, and of the Constitution of the United States. It is the right to subject to slavery there, not merely the negro, but it claims that the hateful badge should not be confined to race or color. For proof of this, I quote once more from the Richmond Enquirer:

"Until recently, the defense of slavery has labored under great difficulties, because its defenders have taken half way grounds. They confine the defense of slavery to mere negro slavery, thereby giving up the slavery principles, admitting other forms to be wrong, and yielding up the authority of the Bible, and practice, and experience of mankind. Human experience, showing the universal success of slave society, and the universal failure of free society, was unavailable to them, because they were precluded from employing it by admitting slavery to be wrong, and necessary. But now the line of defence is changed. The South now maintains that slavery is right, natural and necessary. Whilst it is far more obvious that negroes should be slaves than whites, for they are only fit to labor, to reverse this argument, they would seem that all the labor is only fit for slaves, yet the principle of slavery is in itself right, and does not depend on difference of complexion. Difference of race tends to render the institution more natural and durable."

Sir, I represent a constituency of Northern laborers—men who deem it no disgrace that they earn their subsistence, and lay up a competence for support in after life, by their daily labor. So far as social position is concerned, they are the peers of any man on this floor,

North or South. And I will resist, by all the power that God has given me, the extension of a system into their Territory which degrades them to the level of the negro slave, and which holds that all who labor, whether black or white are fit only to be slaves themselves!

Sir, the abstract proposition contended for by the slave power, to wit: that they have the same right to go into the Territories with their property that we of the free States have with ours, has, at first blush, some show of speciousness. But it rests upon the false assumption that, by the general law of nature and of nations, there is, or can be, such a thing as property in human beings. The premises being thus assumed, the conclusion follows as a matter of course. But this is not true. Beyond the limits of the local law, there is no such thing as property in man. It is but recently that this proposition has been denied. Until recently, liberty was always considered the rule, and slavery the exception; and it was generally conceded that slavery could only exist where it was established by positive law. But now, according to the doctrine proclaimed the other day by the honorable gentleman from Georgia, [Mr. Stephens] slavery exists wherever it is not expressly prohibited—thereby completely reversing the generally received opinion upon this subject. Thus one after another the old land-marks of freedom are removed. The repeal of the Missouri restriction only made way for the abrogation of the universal rule, that slavery is the creature of local law, and confined to the States where it unfortunately exists. This doctrine is, as I have said, familiar and well-established. It has been recognized as the doctrine of the common law from the time of the decision in the Somerset case in England, not merely by decisions there and in other foreign jurisdictions but by the courts in slave, as well as in free States of this Union. This beneficent feature of the common law is beautifully expressed by one of the great English poets:

"Slaves cannot breathe in England; if their lungs  
Perceive our air, that moment they are free,  
They touch our country and their shackles fall!"

Such is the law of this country; and it has been over and over again decided that slaves, taken voluntarily beyond the States where slavery exists, at once become free. I will not consume time in citing authorities. They are to be found in the reports of the United States courts, in the decisions of the courts of Mississippi, Louisiana and Kentucky, and of many of the free States. But nothing is too sacred for slavery to call in question—nothing so well established as to interpose any barrier to its onward and deadly march! It could not go to Kansas in safety until it was first established that slaves could be held beyond the range of the local law, and at once the judicial barrier which confine them to the States where slavery exists by such law, was attacked and repudiated!

If, then, as has been shown, slavery has no legal existence beyond the municipal law of the State where it is established, it follows that slaves cannot be taken into the Territories and there held as slaves, except in violation of

the Constitution. The Constitution nowhere regards slaves as property; but in every instance where they are referred to they are treated as persons. To show that I am right in this, I quote from the decision of the court in the case of Jones vs. Van Zandt, 2 McLean's United States Circuit Court Reports, as follows:

"The Constitution treats slaves as persons. The view of Mr. Madison, who thought it wrong to admit in the Constitution the idea, that there could be property in men, seems to have been carried out in that most important instrument. Whether slaves are referred to in it as the basis of representation, as migrating, or being imported, or as fugitives from labor, they are spoken of as persons."

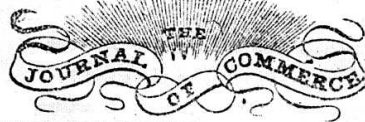
So that, if slaves are taken into the Territories they go as persons; and by the 5th article of the amendments of the Constitution, which provides that no person "shall be deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law," they ought at once to be set free. But the slave power scorns this doctrine; denies that there is any power in the people of the Territories to prohibit slavery therein—and contends that, by virtue of the provisions of this very Constitution, slavery is established there the moment a slaveholder sets his foot upon the soil with his slaves! It is understood

that a majority of the judges of the Supreme Court of the United States are ready with an opinion, confirming the slavery side of this question.

There is, then, Mr. Chairman, but one hope left for freedom in Kansas, and that the people of this country are about to avail themselves of. It is to wrest from the hands of the slave Democracy the power they have abused, and vest it in those who will bring back the administration of the Government to the early policy of its founders!

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, let me say that we seek no quarrel with our brethren of the South. This is an issue which they have forced upon us, and, with God's blessing, we will meet it as becomes worthy descendants of patriot sires! You sometimes tell us all you want is to be let alone. That is precisely what we intend to do. We will interfere with none of your rights. Whatever is "nominated in the bond," that we will yield. In turn, is it too much for us to make the same request of you—that you will let us alone? If slavery be a blessing, to you shall inure all its benefits. If it be a curse, do not seek to plant it upon our soil—to involve us in its guilt. We desire to cultivate the relations of peace and of fraternal kindness with the people of the South. And we say to them, in the language of one of New England's most gifted poets:

"All that sister States should do, all that FREE States may,  
Heart, hand, purse we proffer as in our early day:  
But this one, dark, loathsome burden ye must struggle  
with ALONE,  
And reap the bitter harvest which ye yourselves have sown."



NEW YORK, TUESDAY, JULY 29, 1856.

THE LONDON TIMES ON THE "PRESENT STATE OF KANSAS."—At the commencement of the present session of Congress, the oracle of Printing House Square took occasion to lecture us on our tardiness in re-electing a Speaker of the House of Representatives, and in the course of an article intended to be exceedingly severe and satirical, illustrated its argument by a facetious allusion to the feebly supported claims to the Speakership of Mr. Scatterling! When the election was made, and "Mr. Banks, Black Republican," was announced as the successful candidate, other European journals congratulated us on the result, and noticed the fact of our having chosen a "colored individual" to preside over the deliberations of one branch of our legislature, as a good omen for the ultimate triumph of Abolitionism. We have since been abused for many things,—amongst others, for our uncouth manners, as evidenced by Professor Mahan's ignorance of the prescribed color of the vest and necktie necessary to qualify the wearer to be presented to Royalty; and now the London Times undertakes to enlighten its readers as to the "present state of Kansas," seasoning its information with occasional denunciations of our sins as a nation, and with a detail of the punishment we must receive "by the natural order of events." The article we refer to, was published in the London Times of the 27th June. It contains many wise saws, such as the "Slavery question is the great difficulty of the United States,"—"complete harmony is, we are aware, impossible,"—"one half of the population of the United States thinks the other half foes to humanity and monsters in human shape,"—"a nation must expect to pay for setting itself against light, and harboring unclean things," &c., &c. And after telling us what "the light of reason dictates," and what "constitutes a sense of justice and right," it proceeds to explain, in the "I am Sir Oracle, and when I speak let no dog bark" style, the causes of "the terrible sore and ulcer preying on the body politic of the United States."

"The newly formed State of Kansas, on the extreme West, which takes its name from the river Kansas, one of the tributaries of the Missouri, was at its incorporation a free, or non-slave, State. This is the tenderest question which attaches to the first incorporation of a State—"Shall it be a free or a slave State?" The eastern border neighbors of Kansas, the people of Missouri, took umbrage at the decision in the case of Kansas, and an armed force crossing the border took possession of the Government, and putting down the Kansas Legislature, re-established the State on the basis of a slave State. The

Kansas people resisted, and refused to submit to the jurisdiction of the new courts and officers. This state of confusion and anarchy continued six months—the United States, as Mr. Crittenden complained in the Senate, quietly looking on, and waiting to see which side prevailed."

This remarkable description of Kansas, its geography, institutions, and social and political mistortunes and vicissitudes, might be supposed to have emanated from the same source which supplied the information as to the vaulting ambition of Mr. Scatterling, and the ultimate choice of a negro Speaker by the House of Representatives, did not the Times tell us that it derives its information from the New York journals, "who give the news from Kansas as they would from any theatre of war, with flaming headings," making particular mention of the New York Herald, which journal the Times doubts not, "represents considerable mass of opinion." The Times concludes its notice of "the newly formed State of Kansas," with a long extract from the Herald, wherein "the nigger-drivers with their niggers, and the nigger worshippers without," "the Governor, of every goal and his prisoners,"—"a tenth part of our politicians (only a tenth?), a good squad of our political parsons, with Henry Ward Beecher at their head and Theodore Parker at their tail," together with "the people that the South can best spare—its editors for instance"—are advised to go to Kansas, and when they get there, "to fight it out" after the manner of the Kilkenny cats. This course is strenuously recommended as "a radical solution of the Slavery difficulty."

The Times recently remarked that few even educated persons were aware of Great Britain's claim to Rautan. It would appear that still fewer are aware of "the present state of Kansas," and of many other things connected with this country, and that the editors of the London Times are not of the number; else they would have known that Kansas is neither a free nor a slave State; that its Legislature is of such a complexion that the people of Missouri do not wish to put it down; that at any rate they have not attempted to put it down; and that the New York Herald does not "represent a considerable mass of opinion."

[The annexed article, which we wrote and published about a year since, so exactly fits the market at the present moment, that we repeat it for the benefit of whom it may concern.]

"THE EXTENSION OF SLAVERY."—This clap trap expression is commonly used by the Fusionists as synonymous with the principle of popular sovereignty embodied in the Kansas-Nebraska Law. "Surely you are not in favor of the extension of slavery!" says a political parson to a plain, honest Democrat who knows that if the people cannot safely be trusted to manage their own affairs, the whole theory of a republican government is a farce and a humbug. "Don't you see that this infamous Nebraska Law extends slavery over a territory large enough for a mighty empire, from which it was excluded by that sacred compact, the Missouri Compromise? Surely you are too good a man to sanction such an outrage against God and humanity!" The poor fellow is puzzled by this sophistry, and awed by the anathema implied in the appeal. And so he surrenders his judgment to his spiritual adviser, and becomes a Fusionist. There are thousands of just such cases, we have no doubt.

Now the fact is, that popular sovereignty is the grand safeguard of freedom, and the grand opponent of slavery. It has banished slavery from Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Iowa,—is fast banishing it from Delaware,—and will ultimately do the same for Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, and other slave-holding States. Why is Virginia to-day a slave-holding community? Because the principle of the Kansas-Nebraska Law was not permitted to operate there, but was overthrown and trampled under foot by the British Government. It is a matter of historical record, and will not be denied by any intelligent man, that slaves were forced upon Virginia against her will,—nay, against her earnest remonstrances,—by the parent government; and thus a slave-holding interest was created which eventually over-matched the anti-slavery feeling, and the result is, what we now witness. The famous "Ordinance of 1787" is continually in the mouths of anti-slavery men, as an infallible antidote against the "extension of slavery," and they mourn and lament that the same prohibition cannot be applied by Congress to all the national territories not yet organized into States. Look now at the practical effect of that Ordinance, compared with the principle of the Nebraska Law. Under the Ordinance of 1787, slavery was introduced into Indiana and Illinois, and continued to increase there, until by the erection of those Territories into States the principle of the Nebraska Law was embodied in their Constitutions, after

which, it gradually diminished, and is now extinct.

To be more particular: In 1790, three years after the passage of the Ordinance of 1787, there were no slaves in Indiana, then comprising what is now Indiana and Illinois. In 1800, the number was 135. In 1809, Illinois was set off into a separate Territory. In 1810 the number of slaves in Indiana, thus curtailed, had increased to 237, while in Illinois the number was 168. Indiana was erected into a State in 1816, and Illinois in 1818. By that change, popular sovereignty took the place of the Ordinance of 1787. What was the consequence? Why this: that the number of slaves in Indiana, four years after the change, to wit, in 1820, was reduced to 190—in 1830 to 3, and in 1850 to 0. And this also: that the number of slaves in Illinois, which in 1820 (two years after the change) was 917, was in 1830 reduced to 747, in 1840 to 331, and in 1850 to 0. Such is the operation of popular sovereignty upon the system of slavery, contrasted with the prohibitory Ordinance of 1787. Popular sovereignty is the leading principle of the Nebraska Law,—the Ordinance of 1787 is the same as the Wilmot Proviso. Which do you prefer, reader?

What made California a free State? The principle of the Nebraska Law, *alias* popular sovereignty. Nothing else. Congress had no hand in the business. California formed a State Constitution, such as her people approved, and it prohibited Slavery.

A great fuss was made by the "friends of freedom" as they call themselves, because Utah and New Mexico on being organized into Territories in 1850, were authorized to have slavery, or not, as they pleased. But what harm has it done? How many slaves are there in either Territory? or in both of them together? Probably not 50; and these will be set free a long time sooner than if they had remained in the States from which they came.

A still greater uproar was made because Kansas and Nebraska were erected into Territories on the same basis as Utah and New Mexico. Barrels of sermons, we have no doubt, have been preached against the measure, and its mover and supporters have been denounced, uphill and down. But what harm has it done? Does any body *now* believe that either of those Territories are to become slave-holding States? Very few certainly. The only danger of such a result, has been occasioned by the Abolition Emigrant Societies; which, by putting forth "great swelling words of vanity," started up a counter movement in Missouri, of a violent and disgraceful character, whereas, if they had been content to trust the people, and the free working of the Nebraska Law, the Missourians, we have no doubt, would have done so too. We may therefore sum up the achievements of popular sovereignty, as embodied in the Nebraska Law, within the last six years, in the following manner:

	Square Miles.
State of California.....	155,980
Territory of Utah.....	269,170
New Mexico.....	207,007
Kansas.....	114,798
Nebraska.....	335,882

Total.....1,082,837 sq. m.  
Thus a territory more than 200,000 square miles larger than all the States East of the Mississippi put together has been secured to freedom by the much abused principle of popular sovereignty. What more could the Wilmot Proviso have done?—or the Ordinance of 1787?

IMPROVEMENT.

From all this the inference is unavoidable, that those clergymen and others, who represent the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and the substitution thereof of the principle of popular sovereignty, as synonymous with "the extension of slavery," commit a fraud upon their hearers, for which and the consequences of which they are responsible before God and man.

SLAVERY AMONG THE BORDER-RUFFIANS.

*My evening Post July 29*  
A Methodist Preacher Taired and Feathered.

From the Binghamton Daily Republican, July 29.  
Mr. Stuart: Will you have the kindness to publish the following letter, received by me from Isaac K. Fay, lately of Rochester, Andrew county, Mo. Mr. Fay was a resident and owned property in that place, but he loved freedom too much for his own safety, and left the state to reside where he could freely utter his sentiments. His letter shows the state of society where slavery is permitted to exist—shall it be extended over our free territory?  
Yours truly, WM. WHITNEY.

ELGIN, Ill., July 7, 1856.

William Whitney, Esq.:  
Dear Sir: I have just arrived at this place, and I take the first opportunity to fulfill my promise to give you some account of certain transactions which took place at Rochester, Andrew county, Mo., and mentioned by me while we were on the boat together, but which you know we could not then safely talk about. On the last day of May certain citizens of

Rochester and vicinity held a pro-slavery meeting and adopted resolutions, which were signed by nineteen of the most influential and wealthy citizens. One of those resolutions referred to two brothers by the name of Jones, who had returned from Kansas, and were said to have had something to do with the free-soil legislature of that territory. This resolution required of them to leave Andrew county within ten days, or they would be driven out by force or killed.

Immediately after the free soilers (for there are two parties in the county) held a meeting, and passed a resolution that no man should be compelled to leave the place unless by process of law. On the 26th of June, being the last of the ten days given to the Jones brothers to leave the county, pro-slavery men to the number of one hundred and fifty assembled at Rochester; but, as the two brothers had left the day before, the crowd could only give vent to their feelings in outcries against the free soilers and their proceedings, and in threats of killing them and burning their property. About this time a slave owned by a farmer near Rochester had committed some offence, and was sentenced by his master to receive a thousand lashes. After the infliction of the punishment he ran away, was pursued and brought back.

The slave told his master (as the master alleged) that one Silens, a northern Methodist minister, had advised him to run away, and where to go. Now, this Mr. Silens had before been accused in the Galitan paper of aiding slaves to obtain their freedom, but there had been no proof of it. The pro-slavery men immediately held another meeting to consider the matter, and passed a resolution that Silens should not preach again in Rochester. He preached regularly one Saturday and Sunday in each month. June 14th and 15th were the days on which Mr. Silens was to preach in Rochester, and he was in town on Friday, the day before. Some of the best citizens advised him not to try to preach on those days, as, under the circumstances, he could do no good, and might endanger his own life and the lives of others. Finally, he consented to leave town, and stayed overnight with a Mr. Holland, about four miles out.

This Mr. Holland was a class-leader in the Northern Methodist Church of Rochester, an old man, and respected by all who knew him. He told Silens that if he would return to town he would accompany him, and he thought he could influence the pro-slavery men not to commit any injury or disturb his preaching. So they returned on Saturday morning, and, on arriving, went into the store of a Mr. Strook. While there, some of the mob entered, and were forcing Silens out of the store, when Mr. Holland made an effort to reason with them on the propriety of permitting Silens to preach. He had scarcely commenced speaking, when one of the mob shot him through the neck, and he died immediately. They then took Silens, tarred his head, placed him on his horse, and told him never to come back there to preach again. I heard threats from the mob that they would kill him if he did not leave the state or stop preaching. Silens says that he has done nothing to merit such treatment, and that he will preach there as long as his life is spared. I know him. He is a young man, a scholar and a Christian. No one was arrested, although it is known who shot Mr. Holland.

June 11th, Mable's circus showed in Rochester. In the morning some were drunk and some drinking, and many threats were uttered against the free-soilers. A man by the name of McCormick, while partly drunk, said that he would kill a Mr. Colwell, (free-soiler) who owned a flouring mill in the place, and started for the mill, saying that some one must be killed; but just as he started his pistol went off, and the ball passed through his leg. In the afternoon of the same day, Mr. Hardesty, (free-soiler,) while walking in the street was attacked by a pro-slavery man named Simons, with a cane. Hardesty, in self-defence, shot Simons, and immediately delivered himself up to the sheriff, saying that he committed the act in self-defence. The mob gathered about, exclaiming, "Hang him! shoot him! kill him!" &c., and declared that they would hang any man who would do the like. The sheriff managed to protect him, with the aid of others.

Simons lived about a week. Hardesty had his examination in a few days, and was sent to the Saratoga jail. The free-soilers said that fairness was not shown, and the pro-slavery men said there was. But you can see what a distinction is made, whether a free soiler or pro-slavery man is killed. In Rochester, the pro-slavery and anti-slavery parties are about equal. I was an eye-witness of part of the facts here stated, and the rest was told to me by eye-witnesses whom I know. You can see what is getting to be the condition of society where slavery exists. It is growing worse, and I have left, unwilling to live in such a state. The mob hold the power, and there is no safety to life or property.

I am, truly, your friend, ISAAC K. FAY.

New-York Daily Times.

NEW-YORK, TUESDAY, JULY 23 1856.

Capt. Pate's account of his own Surrender at the Terrible Battle of Black Jack.

From the *Charleston* (S. C.) *Mercury*.

The *Petersburg Express* gives an account of a Kansas meeting in Petersburg, which was addressed by Mr. JONES, (one of the editors of the *Lecompton Union*), and Capt. PATE, formerly of Boone County, Va. Capt. PATE, says the *Express*, in a witty vein, gave an account of the battle of "Black

Jack," between his squad of twenty men and an abolition force of a hundred and fifty; in which, through Northern papers, it was reported that he "unconditionally surrendered;" which report had been copied in Southern papers. He said that a portion of the latter party surprised him, while camping at this immortal Black Jack, but not in such a manner as to prevent him from giving them a very good reception. Although his men, just waking up from their slumbers, were thrown into much confusion upon being apprised of their approach, they managed to pitch into them and make them run. But he soon perceived that there were more, and that he was indeed almost surrounded by them. Wishing to spare as much human blood as possible, he sent over to the opposite party, and requested an interview with their captain. It was granted, when the two met under a flag of truce. But the said "captain" would hear to nothing but an "unconditional surrender," and even ignored the authority of Capt. P., who was under government orders. Capt. P. refused; nor did he flinch from his determination. Rifles were aimed at him, and his moments numbered; and it was only to save his life, that his men, of their own accord, willing to bear the blame and the shame, surrendered themselves.

Sharpe's Rifles vs. Plows.

To the Editor of the *New-York Daily Times*:

While I know it to be idle to attempt a refutation of a title of the calumnies heaped upon the suffering citizens of Kansas by the Pro-Slavery press in the North, I still am anxious, as a citizen of Kansas, to correct one misapprehension which seems to have been produced in the minds of many honest men.

It is often stated, and more frequently insinuated, that the original Free-State settlers of Kansas went to that Territory to court a physical contest with the South, and not as genuine emigrants to secure homes. It is charged that they went armed with Sharpe's rifles, instead of supplying themselves with the necessary implements of labor. They are often taunted with the error they committed, in not going in as peaceful settlers, careful to avoid any preparation which could irritate their "Southern brethren" by a suspicion that they had rights which they intended to defend.

Now, Sir, it curiously enough happens that this ideally correct course, so feelingly approved by the enemies of equal rights in the North, was the one actually pursued by the first emigrants to Kansas from the Free States! I speak from my own knowledge when I say that the great mass of the Northern settlers went to Kansas destitute of arms and an indisputable proof of this is the fact that they are destitute still! I am intimately acquainted with the character of these men, and a more thoroughly peaceful, industrious, and law-respecting community, cannot be found on the Continent. It was not till after the invasion of the polls in 1854—till after the election of the 30th of March, 1855, in which Missouri voters, by the aid of rifles, and bowie-knives, and revolvers, and *canons*, imposed a spurious Legislature upon an unsuspecting and unarmed people—till after the Legislature, by enactments which I have no words at command justly to characterize, sought to reduce the freemen of Kansas to a condition of vassalage as humiliating as Slavery itself—it was not till after all this, and till every demonstration of physical violence had been made by the Pro-Slavery Party, that the Free-State men began seriously to think of providing themselves with the means of defence. And even then, so tardy was the action, those means were provided only for the few in the vicinity of Lawrence, the point most threatened; and, notwithstanding that later emigrants have gone out partially armed, the fact is that the people, as a mass, are not in a condition to-day successfully to oppose the *guerrilla militia* let loose upon them by a Democratic Administration, and each of whom carries at least a bowie-knife, revolver, and *United States musket*!

It is greatly to be desired that such Northern patriots as feel constrained to construe everything to the disadvantage of Freedom and its friends, should spend a short time, as private citizens, among their "Southern brethren" on the frontier of Kansas; for, after being robbed of their personal effects, and forced once or twice, at the end of a halter, to protest their soundness on the "goose," they might be enabled to render justice to their outraged Northern "brethren" (whose brotherhood they now ignore) and refrain from adding insult to injuries already well nigh insupportable.

NEW-YORK, July 28, 1856. J. M. W.

Father and I went to the Park,  
One night to hear the cannon,  
There was a 'tarnal smell of tar,  
And talk about Buchanan.

Yankee Doodle keep it up,  
It's all as clear as figgers,  
Buchanan is the candidate  
To raise the price of niggers.

One Douglas made a raving speech,  
And told us all about it;  
He sent them all to Jericho,  
If they should dare to doubt it.  
Yankee Doodle, &c.

The Old Dominion once raised men,  
But she is not a fool, sir,  
No more she toasts of Washington,  
But raises Wise and wool, sir.  
Yankee Doodle, &c.

And so you see it's all arranged—  
Virginia commands us,  
And we must bow to her decree  
From Kennebec to Kansas.  
Yankee Doodle, &c.

Buchanan is for Slavery,  
And we are hungry rats, sir,  
So mind and let us go it strong,  
Like real Democrats, sir.  
Yankee Doodle, &c.

Beware, my boys, of Freedom's claims—  
'Tis Slavery we want, sirs,  
Buchanan is its chosen chief—  
Leave Freedom to Fremont, sirs!  
Yankee Doodle, &c.

A bachelor-Buchanan is,  
And dearly loves flirtation—  
Old Federalism he courted once,  
But soon he changed his station.  
Yankee Doodle, &c.

Democracy he courted next,  
But this was all a rig, sirs,  
He smiled and smirked and ran away—  
He didn't care a fig, sirs!  
Yankee Doodle, &c.

But now he's courting mighty fame,  
A bride of high connexion,  
Pro-Slavery is her Christian name—  
And dark is her complexion.  
Yankee Doodle, &c.

Come, Democrats, as thick as rats,  
Buchanan is our pride, sirs,  
We'll put him in as President,  
And then we'll kiss the bride, sirs.  
Yankee Doodle, &c.

Come all ye Irish, German, Swiss—  
Free labor is your hope, sirs,  
Just cut its throat, for Slavery  
Demands it like a Pope, sirs.  
Yankee Doodle, &c.

Don't stop to think, my hearty boys,  
For then you might not go it—  
Just vote the ticket, as you're told,  
Altho' it smells like tophet.  
Yankee Doodle, &c.

Dan Sickles, Saunders, Herbert, Brooks,  
They all will be upon it—  
Just shut your eyes and gulp it down,  
And mind you do not vomit.  
Yankee Doodle, &c.

'Tis all you know, for Slavery—  
We are its tools and slaves, sirs,  
Let's go it blind and show ourselves  
A pack of fools and knaves, sirs.  
Yankee Doodle, &c.

Come, Democrats, as thick as rats,  
Buchanan is our pride, sirs,  
We'll put him in as President,  
And then we'll kiss the bride, sirs.  
Yankee Doodle keep it up,  
It's all as clear as figgers  
Buchanan is the candidate  
To raise the price of nigg

...noting candidates for the Legislature and County Officers, to stand upon the broad platform of the "Union and the Constitution," and subject to no distinction whatsoever from that place of Abolitionists, ARNOLD KREKEL, the man who, upon the floor of the Convention at Cottleville, held on the 12th inst., publicly asserted and declared that

"David R. Atchison was a murderer, and the principal instigator of all the blood shed in Kansas."  
"That the people of Missouri were accessories, and equally guilty, by having nominated for the Senate a man who voted for D. R. Atchison for the Vice-Presidency of the United States."

"That the abolition of the Missouri Compromise and its repeal, together with the late proceedings in Kansas, was the work of Missourians, and that, sooner than vote for such a man or his friends, he would suffer his right arm to drop from his body."

"Missourians, remember, you have been branded as 'murderers' and 'assassins' as men devoid of common honesty in the political affairs of your common country. You have been derided with scorn and contempt by a man who, charging upon you all the crimes of murder and bloodshed perpetrated in Kansas, has virtuously upheld and applauded the 'Emigrant Aid Society and its act, by failing to condemn them, either publicly or privately, for the very enormities of which you are accused. Are you willing to stand such treatment of contempt from one who has thus virtuously sold himself soul and body, to the Abolitionists of the North? No! Then down with the GUZZO DYNASTY! Rally to the Convention, and prove to the world that you will no longer be led subserviently to ruin and destruction by this 'Traitor prince of Abolition rule.'"  
"MANY CITIZENS."

THE FREMONT TRAIN.

Verse—'Old Dan Tooter.'

The Fremont train has got along,  
Just jump aboard, ye foes of wrong!  
Our train is bound for Washington;  
It carries Freedom's bravest son.

Clear the track, filibusters!

Now's no time for threats and blusters!

Clear the track! or, ere you dream on't!

You'll be 'neath the train of Fremont!

Now, down in Washington, they say,  
The Border Ruffians have their way;  
And loud they talk of "Buck and Breck,"  
For making Kansas all a wreck.

Clear the track, &c.

But they've got up no such big team  
As this of ours, that goes by steam;  
And arguments, we've not a few,  
To bring in men just such as you.

Clear the track, &c.

They tell us, though, that Washington's  
A dangerous place for Freedom's sons,  
For canes are cheap, and laws are scarce,  
And murder trials all a farce!

Clear the track, &c.

But what care we for ruffian might,  
When we are on the side of right?  
And soon we'll let them feel the pains,  
That votes can cause as well as canes!

Clear the track, &c.

And don't you see we've just the man  
To meet the foe—for he who can  
Brave torrents wild and mountain snows,  
Will fear no Brooks nor Southern blows.

Clear the track, &c.

Then jump aboard the Fremont train,  
And soon the Capital we'll gain.  
Then we'll rejoice o'er one in power,  
Who never will to Slavery cower.

Clear the track, &c.

[For The Tribune]

FREMONT, THE CHOICE OF THE NATION.

Air—The Red, White and Blue.

FOR FREMONT, the choice of the nation,  
The pride of the fearless and free,  
We'll drink to his health and his station,  
Though Fillmore has come o'er the sea.

His heart beats for Freedom, remaining  
On the soil where our liberty grew—  
For our brethren in Kansas sustaining  
The free flag—the Red, White and Blue.

There are lands where the millions are yearning  
For Freedom from tyranny's chain,  
While to Kansas our efforts are turning  
To shield her from Slavery's stain.

For Fremont, he stands with devotion,  
And swears to the Union he's true;  
He crossed o'er the mountains to ocean,  
To plant there the Red, White and Blue.

No sectional feuds shall e'er sever  
The bands which our fathers wrought;  
The Union forever and ever!

Unswilled, unstained and unbought,  
Is the watchword from Fremont we borrow,  
And he stands by his promise so true;  
Then who will our leader not follow,  
When his flag is the Red, White and Blue?

Our voices are joined, then, for Union,  
The stars and the stripes are above;  
Huzza all for Fremont and Dayton!

Huzza for the men that we love!  
The old Union ship, when we'll guided,  
'Twill be found that her timbers are true;  
And soon will the storm have subsided  
That threatened the Red, White and Blue.

That threatened the Red, White and Blue.

Telegraph KANSAS, July 29

From Our Special Correspondent.

FRANKLIN, K. T., July 16, 1856.

Franklin is by no means so busy a place as when the whole travel and commerce of the Kaw Valley went through it. Still it improves, and in spite of the uses the Ruffians have made of it, bids fair to clear itself. It has always been considered a Pro-Slavery den, but this is incorrect, as a large majority of the citizens of the town and vicinity are Free-State men. Standing on the edge of the Shawnee Reservation, it is of course the first place the traveler coming up the Westport road sees. It was settled chiefly by Missourians, and was considered rather a hard place for Free-State people, but in the progress of events these Missourians became converts to Free-State principles, which after all was their true interest; for what is slavery but an aristocratic burden upon poor white men! The process of conversion has not been regarded very amiably by the Border Ruffians. Their threats against recalcitrant settlers from Missouri, however, have only aroused the ire and resistance of these men.

Recently a band of the young Southern emigrants have seen proper to locate in Franklin. There were only about a dozen of them. They lived in a house that has been used as a guard-house; were armed, and generally went fishing, or were engaged in some less laudable occupation, their mission evidently being prospective in its character. During one of their Izaak Waltonish trips to the Wakerusa, it appears they were so indiscreet as to leave their guns in their guard-room behind them; some few of these were Sharp's rifles—how obtained history saith not. It appears that these guns were reported missing, some of the citizens of the place having doubtless taken charge of them. This I have been told, and give as an unimportant rumor. The fellows are here yet, and need not want for arms so long as the United States arms belonging to the Territory are in the warehouse of the Southern Pro-Slavery Aid agents.

I have just seen two men from the south part of the Territory, and both state that there is a large camp of young Southerners on Middle Creek, some ten miles south of Osawattamie. They are said to number 240 men; they are armed; live in tents; talk a little about "building a town," a very likely story for emigrants sustained here merely for the purpose of being ready to fight, and who have no means of their own. They had commenced to build a fort, however, and will, I have no doubt, complete that, if not too lazy. A settler living in the neighborhood of their camp, went into it, and by palming himself off as "S. G. Q.," got a few items. One man told him they had spies out—two in Lawrence, one at Osawattamie, one at Leavenworth, and one at Topeka.

One of my informants had been robbed by them, in this wise: He was overtaken on his road, between the Potawatamie and Middle Creek, by five of these fellows, who were mounted and armed, two of them having Sharp's rifles. One of the gang got off, and laying his hand on the mane of the young Free-State man's horse, said:

"Have you any arms?"

"Well, no, nothing but an old pepper-box of a pistol that my aunt gave me when I left home," was the reply.

"Well, hand it over."

"I don't want any trouble with you, gentlemen," was the reply; "but it is against my principles to give up anything in that way that I may need."

"D—n your principles—hand it over without any more jaw."

"Young man—young man," said an elderly Ruffian, of the conservative school, who was bestriding a flea-bitten gray horse, with a United States musket on his shoulder; "Young man, let me counsel you against resistance. The demand is made upon you by those who know what they are doing, and you may be thankful that you are in no personal danger."

Whether this mild logic, or the observation that the two members of this "peace" who had Sharp's rifles were "making indications," was the persuasive, I know not, but his "aunt's pepper-box" was handed over. He was next requested to dismount, and the man who had laid his hand on the traveler's horse informed him that they should keep the animal until the "end of the war." At this the young man was very indignant, and commenced a declaration of his rights, &c., which was cut short by the Conservative Ruffian.

"Young man, you may feel grateful that you have fallen into the hands of those who won't abuse you. You may thank Providence for getting off as you have."

The man who had taken the horse took of the

New York Daily Tribune

TUESDAY, JULY 29, 1856.

MISSOURI.

The following manifesto, which a friend found extensively and staringly placarded in a section of Western Missouri, calling on the citizens to assemble at Cottleville and denounce a German citizen who had ventured to proclaim his opposition to the Border-Ruffian policy and measures, we publish in elucidation of the idea of Liberty and Free Speech which prevails in the Slave region:

"ANTI-BLACK REPUBLICAN MASS MEETING."  
"GRAND RALLY!"  
A Mass Meeting of all the friends of the South and West, irrespective of parties or party organizations, will be held at Cottleville on Saturday, July 15, 1856, for the purpose of non-

M. E. F.

CITY OF CHILLCOTHE:

OFFICIAL PAPER OF THE CITY. TUESDAY MORNING..... JULY 29

TUESDAY EVENING, JULY 29, 1856.

For the Scioto Gazette. Kansas and Constitutional Rights. No. 2.

Freedom.

To the Editors of Cincinnati Daily Enquirer: This word has been adopted by the Republicans, in connection with Fremont and Free Speech, and in all their papers they state that their party is the only correct and true one who have a right to adopt it—that the Democrats are in favor of slavery, and not for freedom. As it is a word which sounds dear to all who are Americans, it may be asked, in what manner do you interpret the word, and by what right have you to take the word in this country, and what right have the Republicans to claim it in preference to the rest of the citizens of the United States who differ with them? In the Topeka Bill, which passed the House of Representatives, (and it expresses the opinion of that party,) is a clause which states that neither slavery or free colored negroes shall be in the Territory or State if that bill is adopted. Is that freedom as they wish it understood, or did they think the people of these United States would not notice it? At the time of the adoption of the Constitution of these United States, slavery existed in twelve out of thirteen of the colonies, and the question at issue was not the slavery question, but freedom of conscience—the right to have hearing through themselves, and the appointment of their own officers to govern them. To be taxed by the mother country for what they did not feel or receive the benefit of, and liberty of speech without it being called treason, were the great points at issue when we were recognized by Great Britain as free. We were free from her authority, and liberty was given us to govern ourselves as we thought proper.

That slavery is not a National, but is strictly a State or local institution, not transmissible to the Territories of the United States, none need doubt when they advert to the fact that slavery does not exist according to an uniform or common law of the slave States. That each State regulates "the institution" in its own way, and may abolish it at pleasure without let or hindrance of its co-slave States or of the United States. And so diverse are the laws on the subject, that the slaves cannot be removed even into an adjoining slave state and there held, except as prescribed by the laws of the state to which they are taken. So that if Mr Aiken of South Carolina with his 1000 slaves was to cross the Savannah river into Georgia, he would lose the "privileges and immunities" he enjoyed as a slave holder in South Carolina, and have to put up with such as Georgia laws might allow him. But in going into Georgia, Mr. Aiken would lose none of his rights as a "citizen of the United States." These rights, being expressly secured to all and every citizen alike by the constitution, which declares—"The citizen of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens, in the several States."

Neither the word slave nor slavery is to be found in the Constitution, that in its own words was "to secure the blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our posterity." Hence, in so far as slavery is antagonistical to Liberty, the Constitution is a declaration against "slavery and involuntary servitude," in all places within the territorial limits of the United States, outside of those States in which it then existed. Each State being left to regulate its internal affairs in its own way.

This same Constitution declares in express words that—"This constitution, and the laws of the United States shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States shall be the supreme law of the land." So that when in connexion with the words of the constitution we take those used in the deed of 1803, ceding Louisiana—conveying all the sovereign right of France, we will not be permitted to doubt either the power or the duty of Congress to prohibit slavery in Kansas.

One word more—in the United States, the meaning of the word Citizen is, "a person native or naturalized, who has the privilege of exercising the elective franchise, or the qualifications which enable him to vote for rulers, and to purchase and hold real estate." So that the slave holder, leaving behind him his slaves, and the Utah Saint leaving behind him his "privileges and immunities" as the husband of 77 wives, may come to Ohio or go to Kansas, and, here or there, in common with less privileged people, secure a clear title to "all the privileges and immunities of citizens," that the one ever enjoyed in South Carolina or the other in Utah; the barefaced declarations of the advocates of slavery, and their mercenary

That clause in the Topeka Bill is as explicit and full as the law in South Carolina about free negroes not being permitted to remain in that State. The States, united under one head for the purpose of defense, each as an independent State, (mark that,) having the right to adopt any laws not conflicting with the Constitution of the General Government. A large portion of the Western States at that time were Territories, belonging principally to slaveholding States, and ceded to the General Government, leaving it to the actual settlers to form the laws for the government of themselves as they thought proper. It gives them the freedom of deciding, not other sections to dictate and decide for them. If we deny the right of one portion of the people of this country to go into territories to settle, or to express their opinion by voting what laws they will have, are we not denying them freedom? This is wanted to be done by the Republican Party; and, by previous legislation, decide how the territories must be before they enter into the Confederacy. The repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the adoption of the Nebraska Bill at a later period will be upheld by all classes as the correct principle, if they will look at it calmly. The surplus population is far greater North than in the South, and those owning slaves cannot leave their plantations, take their slaves and go into every new Territory to make it a slave State. That is a bugbear, and will do for the credulous, not for people who are able to read and see for themselves. E. J.

Keep them as a memento most of them. While this was going on, a red-bearded fellow, with a dirty blue flannel shirt, got hold of him; began by accusing him of being an "Abolitionist" and a spy, and finished by picking his pocket—realizing by the operation 35 cents all told—cash, specie funds.

The conservative man, to do him justice, denounced his red-bearded confederate, and declared that it was "wrong," and must not be done. His protest, however, like President Pierce's regrets for Kansas outrages, did not amount to remedy or restitution.

I learn that the Ruffians are getting into some trouble in Missouri, on account of some men who have dared to disapprove of the proceedings of the invading Ruffians, being mobbed. I have been amused by reading the "conservative" resolutions passed at a meeting held in Clay County, to condemn the mobbing of a Mr. Sessions, who had ignored the Ruffians. One of these "conservative" resolutions ran thus:

"1st. That the people of Clay County deem it to be a matter of vital importance to Missouri and the South that Kansas should be made a Slave State, and that they are ready and willing to use all legal and honorable means to secure that end."

What particular business it is of Clay County, Missouri, whether Kansas be a Free or Slave State, is not very apparent; and what "legal and honorable means" they can employ to "secure such an end," is equally mysterious. It may be very well for those who have the figment of a soul left in Missouri, to object to the suppression of Free Speech in their own community; for this power, once established, may bolster other things beside Slavery. But, after all, the ultra Border Ruffians are right. They know that "Clay County" can have no pretensions to making "Kansas a Slave State," legally and honorably; and they have at least honesty enough to eschew all humbug of that kind. That such resolutions should figure in a set intended to vindicate the freedom of speech, is a significant illustration of Pro-Slavery "conservatism" and Border-Ruffian triumph.

Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune.

TOPEKA, KANSAS, Monday, July 14, 1856.

Do you know for what Mr. J. Speer, Editor of The Kansas Tribune, and a dozen or more others—some of the best men of Kansas—have been compelled to flee from their families and homes and become exiles in a strange land? If you do not, the subjoined letter will initiate you into the secret. How the original letter was obtained, I know not, but I have seen it, and the following is a verbatim et literatim copy:

LECOMPTON, April 20, 1856.

"MAJ. J. B. DONALDSON: My DEAR SIR: SAM'L N. WOOD is now in Lawrence, and I wish you to send me the writ against him. I arrested him yesterday, and he was rescued from my hands by a mob. The Gov. has called upon Col. Sumner for a company to assist me in the execution of the law. I will have writs gotten out against Robinson and some twenty others."

"In haste, yr' ob't. 'SAM'L J. JONES."

Well, the writ against S. N. Wood was sent to "Yr' ob't," but when he went to arrest that gentleman legally, he found him—not at home. He before arrested, or attempted to arrest S. N. Wood, without a warrant, or any show of authority whatever, but "some twenty others" not being clear-sighted enough to perceive any difference between a private citizen and a bogus second-handed Sheriff acting without the "papers," took occasion to give him their views upon the subject, and he concluded to leave. But the same split (bad whisky) that makes a packed Grand Jury and an indictment against a hotel and two printing presses, and try *ex parte* and order the destruction of the same for being nuisances, all at one heat, made a preliminary Grand Jury and Court of S. J. Jones, and he decides that they are guilty of felony. It was for the arrest of these men that J. B. Donaldson assembled around Lawrence several hundred ruffians, and afterwards turned them loose to plunder and sack that unhappy town. J. H. K.

However it may have been with one or two of our correspondents, we were never among those who were taken in by the pretense that Gen. Smith's transfer to Kansas would prove of any advantage to the persecuted people of that embryo State. We did not believe he would wish to overrule the policy of his official superiors, and we knew he would have no power to do so if he desired it. The following letter from Leavenworth, which we find in The Chicago Tribune, only confirms our original impressions:

and deceived backers in the free States to the contrary notwithstanding.

Our business, as before said is not with slaves, nor with the Saints' wives, but with the semi-divine privileges of slave holders and Saints sought to be carried into Kansas in violation of our birth-right: And now comes home the question, shall we turn and fly before such Gods as these! Or, not being lead away by the nostrum now being mixed up by the political quacks at Washington, as the second edition of "popular sovereignty," that has carried death and misery into Kansas, stand, as becomes our manhood, in the gateway, in defence of the Temple reared by our fathers.

MACHACHACK.

### The True Issue

The debaters of the South in the present canvass cannot rely on the old grounds of defence and excuse for slavery; for they seek not merely to retain it where it is, but to extend it into regions where it is unknown. Much less can they rely on the mere constitutional guarantees of slavery, for such reliance is pregnant with the admission that slavery is wrong, and but for the constitution should be abolished. This constitutional argument for slavery, standing alone, fully justifies the abolitionists. They are clearly right if slavery be morally wrong; for to get rid of it under the constitution, or by amending the constitution, is confessedly impracticable.

In truth, the constitution cannot help slavery, if it be a violation of the laws of God and of morality. In that case, the constitution should be changed. If the free states should secede, rather than continue to guarantee what they consider immoral and profane. The constitution cannot help slavery for another reason. That institution, extending through fifteen states, and intermingled with the interests, the feelings, and the very existence of many millions of men, is much stronger than the constitution. It would be far easier to change or violate the constitution, than to abolish slavery. Besides, slavery is older than the constitution, existed before it, and independently of it. We derive no right to our slaves from it and weaken our cause by seeming to rely on it.

Nor will it avail us aught to show that the negro is most happy and best situated in the condition of slavery. If we stop there, we weaken our cause by the very argument intended to advance it; for we propose to introduce into new territory human beings whom we assert to be unfit for liberty, self-government, and equal association with other men. We must go a step farther. We must show that African slavery is a moral, religious, natural, and probably, in the general, a necessary institution of society. This is the only line of argument that will enable southern democrats to maintain the doctrines of state equality and slavery extension.

For if slavery be not a legitimate, useful, moral, and expedient institution, we cannot, without reproach of conscience and the blush of shame, seek to extend it, or assert our equality with those States having no such institution.

Northern Democrats need not go thus far. They do not seek to extend slavery, but only agree to its extension, as a matter of right on our part. They may prefer their own social system to ours. It is best that they should. Our friends are conservatives at home, and conservatives of the Union—conservatives of religion, of marriage, of property, of state institutions, and of federal institutions. But whilst they may prefer their own social system, they will have to admit in this canvass that ours is also rightful and legitimate, and sanctioned alike by the opinions and usages of mankind, and by the authority and express injunctions of Scriptures. They cannot consistently maintain that slavery is immoral, inexpedient and profane, and yet continue to submit to its extension.

We know that we utter bold truths. But the time has now arrived when their utterance can be no longer postponed. The true issue should stand out so boldly and clearly that none may mistake it.—From the Richmond (Va.) Enquirer, July 29th.

# Daily Democrat.

JULY 30, 1856.

## PROGRESS OF COLONEL BENTON.

### Twenty-fourth day of the Campaign.

THE MEETING IN ST. JOSEPH.

ST. JOSEPH,  
MONDAY, July 21st.

In going up the river, the left bank was an object of curiosity; and especially the places which have been immortalized by association with the stormy history of the territory, such as Leavenworth, Kickapoo, Atchison, Doniphan &c. &c. There was hardly any perceptible difference between the right and left bank, except in the men whom you saw at the landings.

Kansas as well as Missouri has her broad farms, her stores and dwellings, and possibly her churches, but her people are somewhat different in costume, gait and manner. Scions of the first families, platoons of the chivalry from South Carolina and regions farther south, with the original "border ruffians" of Missouri (the last by far the best and most formidable looking, and equal every man of them, to half-a-dozen of their fiery but debilitated allies) were intermingled in those cities that have arisen like exhalations on the Kansas shore of the Missouri, wearing a semi-military costume, with the dashing dandyism of Indian braves, or the recklessness and abandon of fops turned desperadoes; and wearing also "puissant locks" descending to their shoulders, and moustaches like a Magyar, and whiskers like a pandour, and beards like an Israelite elder. Every man's loins was girded up for work, with the leathern belt hung with steel or the red sash streaming like a ribbon. Physically contemplated they are magnificent fellows or rather sublime, for a critic says that the sentiment of terror is an element of the sublime; and their appearance was well calculated to inspire terror, especially in a correspondent of the Missouri Democrat, which has recorded their exploits but too faithfully. Yet, I say they are splendid fellows, and unless their looks belie them, brave and hardy soldiers; and capable of winning laurels on other fields than Kansas, and of redeeming the dishonor flung upon their foreheads by the burning roofs of Lawrence. They have now drawn a cordon round the territory, which will be kept up until her statehood is attained; and which their adversaries will find it difficult to break through, and nowhere more than on the Iowa line, which might be considered the most vulnerable side. The guns which command the river, from Kansas City up for many miles, and to which I alluded in my last, are a part of this military cordon.—All is quiet at present, but yet a smothered war exists, and will continue to exist as long as Kansas is a territory, and in the hearts and mouths of her inhabitants the morals and dialect of the soldier occupy the place of the decalogue and the English language. A pro-slavery man or free-state man (as the case may be) "presses" the horse of the other, and the act is considered a worthy one, and its author a useful citizen.—Elsewhere this is called stealing and is punished by the penitentiary. He who lost the animal never dreams of recapturing it, or searching for the men who took it, but makes spoil of the first piece of property belonging to the opposite party, which he can lay his hands upon. Retaliation and reprisal are the law, and the only one, the observance of which is common to both parties. So much for Kansas. At the "city of Atchison," eighty tons of freight consigned to Brigham Young, were discharged from the Polar Star, to be transferred to ox-wagons, and carried across the plains from that place. A part of it consisted of two hundred and fifty bundles of printing paper, a circumstance which showed that the Missouri Democrat

consummate flower of civilization, a daily journal. One other river scene, and I shall come to politics: At Kansas City, a herd of cattle bound for Iowa, was driven into the Missouri, which is narrow there. All huddled together, with nothing but their heads and horns visible; they swam with vigor until they entered the strong current, when they whirled round and round, as in a vortex. Every one but their owners thought they would be drowned, for they were borne far down. The line of their swimming made a very acute angle with both banks, and was the diagonal of a long and narrow parallelogram nearly a mile long, though the river at that point is not more than two hundred yards broad. Three of the drove were swept back to the side they had left, but not one was lost. I note such scenes as the foregoing on artistic principles, to relieve the noontide blaze of victory which streams from the journal of the campaign. The epic poets intersperse their battles with pastoral descriptions, and I imitate them "understandingly," for daily bulletins announcing victory after victory, with a triumphal march between every two, might dazzle and pall your readers.

THE MEETING IN ST. JOSEPH.

Buchanan county and the city of St. Joseph poured out their citizens to hear Col. Benton.

THE MANUFACTORY OF LIES.

There were several respectable manufactories in St. Louis, which made wares useful for the State furniture, implements, clothing, &c., &c. There was another manufactory, the hands of which, though cunning workmen, were workers in neither wood, iron nor brass, although their faces were plated with brass. It was a democratic manufactory in a whip shop; and it was incessantly at work, day and night, Sunday and Monday; and worked not by hand power, horse power, or water power, but by steam power. The necessity for turning out lies of all sorts and sizes was so great that nothing but steam could do the work. All kinds of lies, from small newspaper paragraphs (which were subsequently cut out and pasted in a scrap book with flour and the white of eggs) to books, were made in this manufactory. Gen. Price counted the lies in one of the books, and they amounted to 108, and there was a good deal of the book which he knew nothing about. He only counted what he knew himself to be lies. Between the paragraph and the book, there were several kinds of lies: handbills, placards, and posters, like those which the play actors put up on walls. Every anti-Benton candidate in the State was equipped from this factory of lies, which was the office of the bogus Republican. They were all made after the same pattern like arms and ammunition for soldiers in the time of war, and furnished to the anti-Benton candidates in the same way, that was in large packages and by contract.

MR. KING'S REMARKS—HUDSON, LAMB AND BEVITT.

Mr. King next gave the history of the acquisition of the Platte purchase, and of Col. Benton's action in that matter, applying to it the pre-emption law. He then referred to the bill which Col. Benton had prepared for the organization of Kansas, which was introduced in the House of Representatives by John G. Miller. The bill provided for the complete extinction of the Indian title in the territory, buying out all the Indian at once, leaving every acre open for settlement, and giving pre-emption rights to the settlers. The same rule had been applied to the Platte purchase, and they all knew how it had worked. If it had been adopted in the Kansas organic act, the people of Missouri under the pre-emption law, would have taken possession of all the good lands of that territory, quietly and before the citizens of other States could get in. Thus having possession of it, they could make

their own laws, organize their own institutions and all the trouble and danger by which they were beset would have been avoided.

Mr. King showed conclusively that the result would have been the same as in the Platte purchase; and also that the organization of the western territories was a question forced upon Congress and the government by Col. Benton, and finished by relating individual instances of Col. Benton's efforts in securing to squatters in the Platte purchase their homes and property. Col. Benton next rose.

# Grand Rapids Eagle.

CITY OF GRAND RAPIDS:  
WEDNESDAY MORNING, JULY 30, 1856.  
A "Stop Thief" Cry.

The new editor of the *Enquirer* has startled its readers with a new idea, to them. He says: "Kansas matters must be settled. This is the demand of the honest men of all parties. The murders, robberies and outrages must come to an end. The bona-fide people of Kansas must be protected."

Right. Such "is the demand of the honest men of all parties;" and they are fast leaving the ranks of the accessories, aiders, abettors, and perpetrators of the "murders, robberies and outrages," introduced and sustained in Kansas by the Administration at Washington; and their voices are ascending from every valley and hill-top in behalf of the election of FREMONT and DAYTON, and protection to the oppressed people of that territory.

But the readers of the *Enquirer* have not heretofore been led by that paper to believe that "murders, robberies and outrages" have been committed in Kansas. All such facts have heretofore been suppressed, or characterized as "Black Republican lies;" by that paper, and the street-corner and bar-room politicians who revolve around its standard. What will they say now? Says the *Enquirer*:

"The action of the Federal authorities seems now to be directed to this object" (the protection of the people of Kansas.)

In what particular act of the authorities this seeming is recognized, we should like to hear. The latest action of the Federal authorities of which we have heard, is shown in the following letter; and the facts stated are not denied:

LEAVENWORTH CITY, July 10, 1856.

MESSRS. EDITORS: \* \* \* \* "Yesterday a delegation of our citizens waited upon Gen. Smith, at his quarters at Fort Leavenworth, to lay their grievances before him, and ask his interposition as military commander of the forces in the Territory, to protect their lives and their property from the bands of armed marauders from South Carolina, Georgia and Alabama, who are stationed over us at different river towns, armed with United States arms, and supported by contributions furnished from Missouri. When asked for relief to disperse these armed military bands, as Free State men have been dispersed in the Territory, his reply is that he has no authority—that these bands are regularly enrolled as militia of the Territory, and that everything they do is done under color of law, and that we (the Free State men,) have no redress except in the future, by resort to the civil powers that bel."

If the lives and property of our citizens are destroyed by these armed mobs, there is no redress for us save by application to the civil power, which as you are well aware, has already prejudged our cases! Truly we are in a lamentable condition. We may yet be compelled to resort to our good right arms and trusty rifles for defense!"

To this letter the *Chicago Tribune* appends the following language:

We know not what comment to make upon this gigantic wickedness which Gen. SMITH's reply reveals. It is doubtless the purpose of the Administration now, as it always has been, to reduce Kansas to slavery; but symptoms of a rebellion of the Democracy of the North against the iniquity, have become so general that it was hoped it would relax, if but for a brief period, its iron rule over the distracted and unhappy Territory. In this hope, however, there is no reliance. Whatever show of fairness may be made by Senators DOUGLAS and TOOMBS at Washington, the Bayonet and the Ruffian are still to have sway on the Border. The lives and the property of the settlers are still to be at the mercy of the predatory hordes which the policy of ARCHISON and the complicity of SHANNON have brought upon the land. The work of terrorism is still to go on. More Free State men are to be driven off, as hundreds have been before. More towns are to be sacked. The highways are still to swarm with the freebooters by whom they have been infested. More Buchanering is to be done upon the Missouri.—More blood of innocent men is to wet the soil of Kansas. In a word, the system which STRINGFELLOW and ARCHISON inaugurated and which DOUGLAS, PIERCE & Co. have defended throughout thick and thin, is to be worked out until its legitimate result—the establishment of slavery in Kansas—is attained.

## DEMOCRATIC PRESS

CITY OF CHICAGO.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, JULY 30, 1856.

### The Minority Report on Kansas—The Way to Dispose of a Dangerous Witness.

We notice that the report of Mr. Oliver upon Kansas affairs, though chiming in exactly with the tactics of Douglas and the rest of the slavery propagandists, has hardly been referred to by them in the recent debates upon Kansas in Congress. In fact, it is not a document from which it would be safe to quote. The exposition of Messrs. Howard and Sherman had not left those gentlemen an inch of ground to stand upon in their defence of the ruffians, and what little was left would have been undermined by a comparison of the reports of the majority and the minority of the Commission.

The report of the majority demonstrates beyond question the fact that Oliver himself participated in at least one of the forays into Kansas from Missouri when it was the boldly avowed object to keep away the people from the polls, but it does not appear in evidence that he actually voted with the rest of the ruffians—he only counseled them to do so in a speech at one of the polls.

We have now before us a curious statement in relation to another speech delivered by him at Lexington, Mo., in which, according to the testimony of Mr. O. H. Brewster, of that place, before Messrs. Howard & Sherman, in the absence of Mr. Oliver, he stated that he had a right to vote in Kansas, and that he had voted on one occasion. Mr. Oliver was incensed at this statement, and he deputed a couple of lawyers of Lexington, F. C. Sharp and Wm. S. Field, to demand of Mr. Brewster a retraction of the charge. "Major Oliver," they said, "was as indignant as the devil," and there would be a "devil of a fuss" if he did not retract. Oliver, they declared, did not make a speech at all on the occasion referred to, and added that "he was so drunk at the time that he could not have spoken if he had had the opportunity." In addition, it was very distinctly intimated that he could not give in Lexington if he did not authorize a contradiction of his statement, and he "must be d—d quick about it." But he would

ing Oliver utter the words to which he had testified, and he determined to stick to the truth. The consequence was, that he was compelled to leave. We give his own account of the sequel of the affair, which we find in a letter addressed to the *Alton Courier*:

My brother, who was also a witness before the Investigating Committee, was present at both the interviews with Major Oliver's lawyers, and was also ordered to leave the city immediately. We were thus compelled to leave our home, without time to make the least preparation for a journey—not even time to take our clothing.

As we were both weak from the effects of a severe and protracted illness, and being almost destitute of money, we were subjected to many hardships and inconveniences, traveling part of the distance on foot and stopping on the way to work for means to continue our journey.

My father and the remainder of his family were in Lexington when we left. But a few days after our expulsion he was accused of being in correspondence with the Abolitionists—a charge totally destitute of foundation—but it served as a pretext for driving him from his home. Gen. Wm. Shields, accompanied by gaslighter Wm. Allen and Fred. Myers, came to him and ordered him to leave in 48 hours. A longer time was afterward granted to enable him to sell his property and settle up his business. At present I will not give the details of their proceedings. The result was that he was compelled, under threats of being hung if he remained, to sell his property, consisting of a lot and dwelling house in Lexington, which cost us \$1,500, for \$600, and a considerable part of that sum was extorted from him under various urgent pretences, leaving him barely enough to pay his passage and other expenses of his family out of the State.

I will add that we were natives of New York, but for several years have resided in Western Missouri, and for nearly four years past in the town of Lexington. None of us have ever been in Kansas since it became a Territory, or had in any way interfered or taken part in the contest between the Pro-Slavery and Free State parties. We never had any correspondence with any one in Kansas, or with any individual belonging to the Abolition or Free State parties.

We had located (as we thought) permanently in Lexington, and during the Kansas excitement had been careful not to give offence, and beside the single act of testifying before the Committee when subpoenaed as witnesses, we never had done anything to render ourselves obnoxious to the citizens.

Beside the trouble and loss of time caused by our forcible expulsion from Lexington, our actual loss has exceeded one thousand dollars. Our property, acquired wholly by hard labor, was bought by one of the most rabid of the pro-slavery party.

In regard to the correctness of my testimony before the Investigating Committee, I will say that I am still as positive as on the day it was given. I found no one in Lexington, except the lawyers, who were either directly or indirectly employed by Maj. Oliver, who disputed the truth of my testimony, and they did not accuse me of wilful misrepresentation, but said that I was mistaken, that it was not Oliver, but some other man who made the remarks I attributed to Oliver. I have at present no means of knowing how many affidavits lawyer Sharp procured in defence of his illustrious client. His refusal to take even two or three while I was present, confirmed me in the belief that no honorable man could be found to give such affidavits.

The only notice taken of this affair by the Lexington papers, is in an article from the *American Citizen* of July 2d, more than two weeks after I left that city. A careful perusal of that article will show that, up to that time, the charges preferred against him were, in the editor's opinion, "unrefuted," and likely to "give him much trouble."

The character of Mr. Oliver's lawyers in the above case may be inferred from the following statement by Mr. Brewster:

F. C. Sharp, in a public speech, urged those armed bands of Missourians (citizens of Lafayette county) to invade Kansas and exterminate the Free State settlers. The same influential and respectable gentlemen who were threatening me with mob violence, had publicly advised those companies that went from Lexington and vicinity, to burn every town and village belonging to the Free State party, and to "follow up the Abolitionists and kill them wherever they could be found, till there was not one left in the Territory." Col. Sumner prevented the execution of their murderous designs, and they had just returned foiled and enraged, and ready to commit any act of lawlessness that those influential and respectable gentlemen might encourage.

### A Judiciary Appointed by the Present Administration.

It is known that one of the charges on which Charles I lost his head, was the appointment of bad men to the judiciary of England. Now what has Pierce done in Kansas?

His judges have already adjudicated that a tavern in which free State men are entertained



is a nuisance, and that the bridge over which free States travel is a nuisance, and that all these nuisances may be abated on the presentment of a packed Grand Jury, without a trial, and by an armed posse comitatus, consisting of enlisted pro-slavery bands, and we know that treason to the United States is adjudged by the same courts to consist, not merely in levying war against the United States, or giving aid and comfort to their enemies (as defined in the United States Constitution), but in assembling peacefully as a mob, to petition Congress for a redress of wrongs.

any student turn over the history of England and France for a thousand years, and they will find judges more infamous; and yet in view of these facts, the Pierce-Buchanan party are urging the people of the free States to confide literally the whole future of Kansas to the Douglas-Toombs bill, which through the five commissioners appointed by the President and Senate, leaves Kansas at the mercy of such a man as Franklin Pierce! The Tories of England never desired to confer more power on their King over the people of England than the Pierce-Buchanan party are now laboring to confer on Franklin Pierce—the first President, too, who has bred a civil war in our country.—Wisconsin.

**DAILY TRIBUNE.**

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CITY OF CHICAGO.

Wednesday Morning, July 30, 1856.

**FREMONT'S AND BUCHANAN'S**

Platforms of the Philadelphia and Cincinnati  
Mr. Buchanan, and their Letters

**LET ALL READ, AND**

FOR FREEDOM.

**REPUBLICAN PLATFORM,**

Adopted by the Republican National Convention  
Philadelphia, June, 1856.

"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; to the extension of Slavery into Free Territory; 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 for the purpose of 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, are 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; and that 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 the United States by positive legislation, prohibiting its existence or extension therein. That we deny the authority of Congress, of a Territorial Legislature, of any individual or 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 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 defence, 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;

That the freedom of speech and of the press has been abridged;

The right to chose 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, the Union, and humanity, we arraign that Administration, the President, his advisers, agents, supporters, apologists and accessories either before or after the fact—before the country and before the world; and it is our fixed purpose to bring the actual perpetrators of these atrocious outrages and their accomplices, to a sure and condign punishment hereafter.

"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,' enounced in the Ostend Circular, was in every respect unworthy of American diplomacy, and would bring shame and dishonor upon any Government or people that gave it their sanction.

"7. *Resolved*, That a Railroad to the Pacific Ocean by the most central and practical route is imperatively demanded by the interest of the whole country, and that the Federal Government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction, and as an auxiliary thereto, the immediate construction 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 are required for the accommodation and security of our existing commerce, authorized by the Constitution, and justified by the obligation of 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, we oppose all legislation impairing their security.

**Mr. Fremont's Letter of Acceptance,**

In reply to the Committee appointed by the Philadelphia Convention to inform him of his nomination:

NEW YORK, July 8, 1856.

GENTLEMEN—You call me to a high responsibility by placing me in the van of a great movement of the people of the United States, who, without regard to past differences, are uniting in a common effort to bring back the action of the Federal Government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson. Comprehending the magnitude of the trust which they have declared themselves willing to place in my hands, and deeply sensible to the honor which their unreserved confidence in this threatening position of the public affairs implies, I

feel that I cannot better respond than by a sincere declaration that, in the event of my election to the Presidency, I should enter upon the execution of its duties with a single-hearted determination to promote the good of the whole country, and to direct solely to this end all the power of the Government, irrespective of party issues, and regardless of sectional strifes. The declaration of principles embodied in the resolves of your Convention expresses the sentiments in which I have been educated, and which have been ripened into convictions by personal observation and experience. With this declaration and avowal, I think it necessary to revert to only two of the subjects embraced in the resolutions, and to those only because events have surrounded them with grave and critical circumstances, and given to them especial importance.

I concur in the views of your Convention, deprecating the foreign policy to which it adverts. The assumption that we have the right to take from another nation its domains because we want them, is an abandonment of the honest character which our country has acquired. To provoke hostilities by unjust assumptions, would be to sacrifice the peace and character of the country, when all its interests might be more certainly secured, and its objects attained by just and healing councils, involving no loss of reputation.

International embarrassments are merely the results of a secret diplomacy, which aims to keep from the knowledge of the people the operations of the Government. This system is inconsistent with the character of our institutions, and is itself yielding gradually to a more enlightened public opinion, and to the power of a free press, which, by its broad dissemination of political intelligence, secures in advance to the side of justice, the judgment of the civilized world. An honest, firm, and open policy in our foreign relations would command the united support of the nation, whose deliberate opinions it would necessarily reflect.

Nothing is clearer in the history of our institutions than the design of the nation in asserting its own independence and freedom to avoid giving countenance to the exclusion of Slavery. The influence of the small, but compact and powerful class of men interested in Slavery, who command one section of the country, and wield a vast political control as a consequence in the other, is now directed to turn this impulse of the revolution and reverse its principles. The extension of slavery across the continent is the object of the power which now rules the Government; and from this spirit has sprung those kindred wrongs in Kansas so truly portrayed in one of your resolutions, which prove that the elements of the most arbitrary government have not been vanquished by the just theory of our own. It would be out of place here to pledge myself to any particular policy that has been suggested to terminate the sectional controversy engendered by political animosities, operating on a powerful class banded together by common interests. A practical remedy is the admission of Kansas into the Union as a Free State. The South should, in my judgment, earnestly desire such a consummation. It would vindicate the good faith—it would correct the mistake of the repeal; and the North, having practically the benefit of the agreement between the two sections, would be satisfied, and good feeling restored.

The measure is perfectly consistent with the honor of the South, and vital to its interests.

That fatal act which gave birth to this purely sectional strife, originating in the scheme to take from free labor the country secured to it by a solemn covenant, cannot be too soon disarmed of its pernicious force. The only genial region of the middle latitudes left to the emigrants of the Northern States, for homes cannot be conquered from the free laborers, who have long considered it as set apart for them in our inheritance, without provoking a desperate struggle. Whatever may be the persistence of the particular class which seems ready to hazard everything for the success of the unjust scheme it has partially effected, I firmly believe that the great heart of the nation, which throbs with patriotism of the free men of both sections will have power to overcome it. They will look to the rights secured to them by the Constitution of the Union, as their best safeguard from the oppression of the class which—by a monopoly of the soil, and slave labor to till it—might in time reduce them to the extremity of laboring upon the same terms with the slaves. The great body of non-slaveholding free men, including those of the South, upon whose welfare Slavery is an oppression, will discover that the power of the General Government over the public lands may be beneficially

exercised to advance their interest and secure their independence. Knowing this, their suffrages will not be wanting to maintain that authority in the Union, which is absolutely essential to the maintenance of their own liberties, and which more than once indicated the purpose of disposing of the public lands in such a way as would make every settler upon them a freeholder.

If the people entrust to me the administration of the Government, the laws of Congress in relation to the Territories will be faithfully executed. All its authority will be exercised in aid of the national will to re-establish the peace of the country on the just principles which have heretofore received the sanction of the Federal Government, of the States, and of the people of both sections. Such a policy would have no allment to that sectional party which seeks its aggrandizement by appropriating the new Territories to capital in the form of slavery; but would inevitably result in the triumph of free labor—the natural capital that constitutes the real wealth of this great country, and creates that intelligent power in the masses alone to be relied on as the bulwark of free institutions.

Trusting that I have a heart capable of comprehending our whole country, with its varied interests, and confident that patriotism exists in all parts of the Union, I accept the nomination of your Convention, in the hope that I may be enabled to serve usefully its cause, which I consider the cause of constitutional Freedom.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,  
J. C. FREMONT.

**PRINCIPLES CONTRASTED.**

Conventions—Speeches of Mr. Fremont and of Acceptance, side by side.

**IT DECIDE JUSTLY.**

**FOR SLAVERY.**

**BUCHANAN'S PLATFORM.**

The Cincinnati Convention, of June, 1853, which nominated James Buchanan for the Presidency after reiterating the "Baltimore Platform of 1844," which repudiated "River and Harbor Improvements, a National Bank, the distribution of the proceeds of the public lands," &c., &c., adopted the following, in addition as the Buchanan Platform:

Whereas, Since the foregoing declaration was uniformly adopted by our predecessors at National Conventions, an adverse political and religious test has been secretly organized by a party claiming to be exclusively American, and it is proper that the American democracy should clearly define its relations thereto, and declare its determined opposition to all secret political societies, by whatever name they may be called:

Resolved, That the foundation of this Union of States having been laid in its prosperity, expansion and pre-eminent example in free government, built upon entire freedom in matters of religious concern, and no respect of persons in regard to rank or place of birth, no party can justly be deemed national, constitutional, or in accordance with American principles, which bases its exclusive organization upon religious opinions and accidental birthplace. And hence a political crusade in the nineteenth century, and in the United States of America, against Catholics and foreign-born, is neither justified by the past history or the future prospects of the country, nor in union with the spirit of toleration and enlarged freedom which peculiarly distinguishes the American system of popular government.

Resolved, That we entertain with renewed energy of purpose the well-considered declaration of former conventions upon the second issue of domestic slavery, and come ranging the reserved rights of the States.

Resolved, That Congress has no power, under the constitution, to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several States, and that each State has the sole and proper judges of everything appertaining to their own affairs, not prohibited by the constitution; that all efforts of the abolitionists or others, made to induce Congress to interfere with questions of slavery, or to take ineffectual steps in relation thereto, are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences; and that all such efforts have an inevitable tendency to diminish the happiness of the people, and endanger the stability and permanency of the Union, and ought to be contemned by any friend of our political institutions.

Resolved that the foregoing proposition covers, and was intended to embrace, the whole subject of slavery agitation in Congress; and therefore, the democratic party of the Union, standing on this national platform, will abide by and adhere to a faithful execution of the acts known as the compromise measures, settled by the Congress of 1850; "the acts for reclaiming fugitives from service or labor," included; which act, being designed to carry out an express provision of the constitution, cannot, with fidelity thereto, be repealed, or so changed as to impair or destroy its efficacy.

Resolved, That the democratic party will resist all attempts at renewing, in Congress or out of it, the agitation of the slavery question, under whatever shape or color the attempt may be made.

Resolved, That the democratic party will faithfully abide by and uphold the principles laid down in the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions of 1798, and in the report of Mr. Madison to the Virginia Legislature, in 1799: that it adopts those principles as constituting one of the main foundations of its political creed, and is resolved to carry them out in their obvious meaning and import.

And that we may more distinctly meet the issue on which a sectional party, subsisting exclusively on slavery agitation now relies to test the fidelity of the people, North and South, to the constitution and the Union.

Resolved, That claiming fellowship with and desiring the co-operation of all who regard the preservation of the Union, under the Constitution, as the paramount issue, and repudiating all sectional parties and platforms concerning domestic slavery, which seek to embroil the States and incite treason and armed resistance to the law in the Territories, and whose avowed purposes, if consummated, must end in civil war and dissolution, the American democracy recognize and adopt the principles contained in the organic laws establishing 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 and Non-interference by Congress with Slavery in the Territories or in the District of Columbia.

Resolved, That this was the basis of the compromise of 1850, and that it was the basis of the platform of the national convention, ratified by the people in the election of 1852, and rightly applied to the organization of Territories in 1853.

Resolved, That by the uniform application of this democratic principle to the organization of Territories, and to the admission of new states, with or without domestic slavery, as they may elect—the equal rights of all the States will be preserved intact; the original compact of the constitution inviolate; and the present unity and expansion of the Union increased to its utmost capacity of embracing in peace and harmony, every future American State that may be constituted or annexed with a republican form of Government.

Resolved, That we recognize the right of the people of all the territories, including Kansas and Nebraska, acting through the legal and fair expression of the majority of their representatives in Congress, to determine for themselves, and by their own free will, whether they will admit or prohibit slavery, and to form a constitution, with or without domestic slavery, and to be admitted into the Union upon terms of perfect equality with the other States.

Resolved, That the people of the territories, acting through the legal and fair expression of the majority of their representatives in Congress, to determine for themselves, and by their own free will, whether they will admit or prohibit slavery, and to form a constitution, with or without domestic slavery, and to be admitted into the Union upon terms of perfect equality with the other States.

Resolved, That there are questions connected with the foreign policy of this country, which are inferior to no domestic question whatever. The time has come for the people of the United States to determine for themselves, by their own free will, and progressive free trade throughout the world, and by solemn manifestations, to place their moral influence at the base of these questions.

Resolved, That the great high ways which nature, as well as the necessities of the human mind, have so graciously opened to us, have marked out for us a free communication between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, constitutes one of the most important achievements realized by the spirit of modern times, and it is not surprising that the energy of our people, and the resources of our country, should be directed to the improvement of the routes which we have the right to claim over it, and to the power of our earth should be sundered to impede or obstruct the progress of any enterprise which the relations of our country to the world, and the Government of the States within whose dominion lie.

Resolved, That the Administration of Franklin Pierce has been true to Democratic principles, and therefore true to the great interests of the country; in the face of violent opposition, and in the face of the most determined and violent opposition, he has maintained the principles of the Democratic party, and has preserved the peace and harmony of the Union, and has secured the most successful and prosperous administration of the country since the establishment of the Republic.

Resolved, That the Administration of Franklin Pierce has been true to Democratic principles, and therefore true to the great interests of the country; in the face of violent opposition, and in the face of the most determined and violent opposition, he has maintained the principles of the Democratic party, and has preserved the peace and harmony of the Union, and has secured the most successful and prosperous administration of the country since the establishment of the Republic.

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**Mr. Buchanan's Letter of Acceptance.**

IN REPLY TO THE COMMITTEE APPOINTED BY THE CINCINNATI CONVENTION, TO INFORM HIM OF HIS NOMINATION.

WHEATLAND, NEAR LANCASTER, JUNE 16, 1853.

GENTLEMEN:—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 13th inst., informing me the official of my nomination by the Democratic National Convention, recently held at Cincinnati, as the Democratic candidate for the office of President of the United States. I shall not attempt to express the grateful feelings which I entertain towards my Democratic fellow citizens, for having deemed me worthy of—the highest political honor on earth—on such a people as I see in no other country have the power to bestow. Deeply sensible of the vast responsibility attached to the station, especially at the present crisis in our affairs, I have carefully refrained from seeking the nomination, either by word or by deed. Now that it has been offered by the Democratic Party, I accept it with confidence in my own abilities, but with an humble trust that, in the event of my election, I may be enabled to discharge my duty in such a manner as to allay domestic strife, preserve peace and friendship with foreign nations, and promote the best interests of the Republic.

In accepting the nomination, I need scarcely say that I accept in the same spirit the resolutions constituting the platform of principles erected by the Convention. To this platform I intend to confine myself throughout the canvass.

believing that I have no right, as the candidate of the Democratic party, by answering interrogatives, to present new and different issues before the people.

It will not be expected that in this answer, I shall specially refer to the subject of each of the resolutions: I shall therefore, confine myself to the two topics now most prominently before the people.

And, in the first place, cordially concur in the sentiments expressed by the Convention on the subject of civil and religious liberty. No party founded on religious or political intolerance towards one class of American citizens, whether in our own or in foreign lands, should ever be admitted into this country. We are all equal before God and the Constitution, and the dark spirit of despotism and bigotry which would create odious distinctions among our fellow-citizens, would, if freely indulged by a free and enlightened public opinion.

The agitation of the question of Domestic Slavery has too long distracted and divided the people of this Union, and admitted many feelings from each other. This agitation has assumed many forms since its commencement, and but now seems to be directed chiefly to the Territories; and judging from its present character, I think we may safely anticipate that its progress will be steadily increasing. The recent resolutions of the Convention respecting Domestic Slavery, as they stand, it has been, from the original and pure fountain of legitimate political power, the will of the majority, promises so long to play the strong, thus excellent. This legislation is founded on the sacred principle of the Government, and in accordance with them, has simply declared that the people of a Territory, like those of a State, shall decide for themselves, whether slavery shall or shall not exist within its limits.

The Nebraska-Kansas act does no more than give the force of law to the elementary principle of self-government; declaring to be "the true intent and meaning of this act" that no man shall ever be enslaved in any Territory of the United States, and 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 principle will surely not be controverted by any individual or any party professing devotion to the Union and the Government. Besides, now vain and history would show any principle prove in practice in regard to the Territories. It is apparent from the fact admitted by all, that after a Territory shall have exercised the right of free Government, no Constitutional power would then exist, which could prevent it from either abolishing or establishing Slavery, as we cannot any be, according to his sovereign will and pleasure.

It may be truly said that this is the mission of the Democratic party, now the only surviving energy of the country, ere long to overthrow all other parties, and restore the peace, friend-ship, and mutual confidence which prevailed in the good of time among the different members of the confederacy. The character of the party is not to be defined by its assets or principles; for the guidance of the Federal Government, which is not adopted and sustained by its members in each and every State. For this reason it is everywhere the same, and it is not to be defined by its assets or principles; for the guidance of the Federal Government, which is not adopted and sustained by its members in each and every State. For this reason it is everywhere the same, and it is not to be defined by its assets or principles; for the guidance of the Federal Government, which is not adopted and sustained by its members in each and every State.

In regard to foreign policy, to which you have referred in your communication—it is quite impossible for any human foresight to prescribe positive rules in advance, to regulate the conduct of a foreign policy, and to determine the interests which may arise in our various and ever changing relations with foreign powers. The Federal Government must of necessity exercise a sound discretion in dealing with every question as it arises; and the Executive is always held to the people of the United States and the judgment of posterity. You will therefore excuse me not entering into particularly on the details of our foreign policy, but to rest on the same harmony among the sister States which prevailed before the apple of discord, in the shape of slavery agitation, has been cast into our midst. Let the members of the nation be united in the same patriotic sentiments, and the concerns of each other, and cordially unite, on the basis of perfect equality among themselves, in promoting the great national and common interest to all, and the good work will be done in a manner which will be highly acceptable to all.

Should I be placed in the Executive chair, I shall use my best exertions to cultivate peace and harmony with all nations, believing this to be the highest policy, as well as the most imperative duty; but at the same time I shall not forget that in case the necessity should arise, which I do not now apprehend, our national rights and national honor must be preserved at all hazards and at all sacrifices.

Firmly convinced that a special provision covers the affairs of nations, let us humbly implore his continued blessing upon our country, and that his most abundant and ungrateful midst enjoying private life, above all other nations, under such a constitution and such an Union as has never been vouchsafed to any other people.

**Letter from John C. Fremont.**

NEW YORK, APRIL 29, 1853.

GENTLEMEN:—I have to thank you for the honor of an invitation to a meeting this evening, at the Broadway Tabernacle, and regret that other engagements have interfered to prevent my being present.

I heartily concur in all movements which have for their object "to repair the mischiefs arising from the violation of good faith in the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and to restore to the slavery in the States and Territories, the rights retained and made beneficial by the said compromise." While I feel indignant in the belief that it ought not to be interfered with where it exists, and where it is not, I feel that it is our duty, as far as we are able, to see that this condition be not present in the future.

COL. BENTON AND RUFFIAN SOVEREIGNTY.

—Col. Benton made a speech in Johnson Co., Mo., a few days since, in which he said, he was a man of no concealments, and now, having told them of his condemnation of the emigrant aid societies, he would say that he also condemned the inroads of Missourians into Kansas as a violation of law and right. The elective franchise was the basis of their whole political fabric, and a terrible crime was perpetrated when it was subjected to violence. The purity and freedom of their elections was their only safeguard for safety and liberty, and whoever violated them, even if it was those whom he addressed, sinned against the constitution and the sacred rights bequeathed to them by their fathers.

DAILY TRIBUNE.

DETROIT:

WEDNESDAY EVENING, JULY 30, 1856.

PRINCIPLES—NOT MEN.

The Plain Issue.

"The Kansas issue is reduced to a very simple proposition. It is, whether Kansas shall be admitted in the manner provided by the Senate bill, or under the Topeka Constitution—whether the application for her admission shall come from a majority of her bona fide citizens, acting in pursuance of law, or from a small minority of professed citizens, acting in pursuance of no law—whether her constitution and State government shall be the work of her whole people, or only of less than one-tenth of them."—Free Press.

Well stated. This is just the issue! and as Toombs' Senate bill recognizes the laws of the bogus legislature, the attempt to enforce which have caused civil war in Kansas—as the legislature existed and passed laws despite the popular will, the real settlers of the territory having had no hand in electing it—as Toombs' bill recognizes the justice and policy of United States troops enforcing these odious laws at the point of the bayonet, therefore it is right the people should understand its true character and contrast it with the Topeka Bill. This latter bill provides for the admission of Kansas under a free State Constitution, which a majority of the actual settlers have had a voice in framing, and of course it will do away with the bogus legislature and its laws, and the whole pack of official scoundrels who prey upon the settlers; and the cause of discord thus removed, Kansas will be pacified in the only practical way. Admit Kansas under this bill, and the will of the majority of the settlers will be complied with. They want to come into the Union, but the locofoco party will not permit them. The Republicans in the Senate voted for the Topeka bill, but every locofoco voted AGAINST it. On three separate occasions the Republicans in the House voted for the Topeka bill, but the locofocos voted AGAINST it. Failing in procuring the admission of Kansas the Republicans have taken a wise and practical course to prevent disturbances there, by so amending the army appropriation bill as to prevent government troops being placed at the disposal of reckless fellows like Shannon and Donaldson, who thus enabled to oppress the settlers, have kept up a perpetual internecine war, but the locofocos even voted AGAINST this. They are set and determined against the peace and prosperity of the people of Kansas. This is just the question, citizens of Michigan. You must vote to endorse Toombs' bill with its recognition of usurpation and promise of continued civil war, or you must vote for the Topeka bill, which will settle the Kansas trouble in accordance with the wishes of the people, in accordance with substantial justice, and will settle them permanently. Which will you do? The locofocos tell you Toombs' bill is a measure of pacification, but to people of Kansas, who certainly know, say it is a bill for continued civil war. On the other hand they say—and here again they certainly know—pass the Topeka Bill, and we shall have peace and prosperity—a smiling land and happy people. Shall the desires of these people, who for two years have

been hunted, robbed, their friends and relatives murdered, and every way harassed, be disregarded?

The Daily Republic.

BUFFALO, N. Y.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, JULY 30.

The Appropriation Bills in Congress—Bringing the Kansas Question to Bear.

From the New York Herald.

At length, in a palpable shape, they are bringing the affairs of Kansas to a practical test at Washington. In the House of Representatives, on Thursday—the army appropriations being under consideration—Mr. Barbour, of Indiana, moved to amend the clause appropriating \$3,175,000 for the pay of the army, by adding a disapproval of the code of alleged laws of Kansas, and the manner in which they are enforced, expressly declaring that, until they shall be confirmed by Congress, no part of the federal military forces shall be employed for their enforcement; nor shall any citizens of Kansas be compelled to act as a posse comitatus of any officer acting as marshal or sheriff in the territory. This was a poser, and instantly brought the members to their feet—especially the Pierce democracy—in explanations, apologies, protestations, equivocations and artful dodges. It was, in fact, a pauxhan shot, between wind and water, which hurried all hands to the deck. At length, Mr. Stanton, of Ohio, to clinch the matter, moved an addition to Mr. Barbour's amendment, declaring the territorial laws in force in Kansas null and void, which was agreed to; and the amendment, as thus amended, was made a part of the army bill, by a vote of 72 to 57. The concurrence of the House in the final consideration of the bill is yet required; but the probabilities are that this amendment will go with the bill to the Senate.

The amendment is german to the appropriations under consideration, in every sense. It refers to the army employed in Kansas to enforce a code of laws declared and proved to be spurious. We say proved, for the testimony of the Kansas Investigating Committee is conclusive. The amendment, then, being proper in itself, and in its proper place, its adoption by both houses can only be resisted upon electioneering quibbles and false pretences. The plea that Congress has not the jurisdiction is completely upset by the Senate bill of Mr. Toombs and Mr. Douglas, which proposes to nullify some of the most flagrant and despotic of the acts of the Missouri-Kansas Legislature. The only difference between the bill of the Senate and the House amendment to the army bill is, that while the former lops off some of the rotten branches, the latter strikes at the roots of the tree. Between the two, a clean piece of work is certainly preferable to a half-way repudiation and a half-way endorsement of the "border ruffians."

In another view we regard these House proceedings as of the highest significance and importance. They admonish the Pierce, Douglas and Buchanan democracy that, having abandoned the humbug of squatter sovereignty, they must choose between recognizing or repudiating the Missouri-Kansas legislature and its bloody code enacted under the auspices of the administration, the United States army and the Missourians—that they must choose, too, openly and fairly, between the policy of making Kansas a slave state, and the opposite policy of making it a free state. Dodges, subterfuges—rowing one way and looking another—are no longer admissible. The secret is out—everybody understands it. Everybody knows that the policy of the Cincinnati democracy, and the object and inevitable tendency of the new senate bill is to make Kansas a slave state, and that this bill has only been arrested in the House, and the opposite policy adopted there, from the want of pluck and backbone in some of the Buchanan democrats and Fillmore know-nothings.

The Fremont party, in Congress and out of Congress, make two distinct issues—first, that the Missouri-Kansas legislature, being a bogus concern, there is no validity in its laws, and that Congress should so pronounce upon them; secondly, that Kansas must come into the Union as a free state. Upon the first proposition we see that the democracy in Congress, and out of Congress, are alarmed, confused, and considerably bothered. They undertake to abolish some of the acts of the Missouri-Kansas legislature, but plead a want of jurisdiction over the legislature itself, and prefer to let it stand. They still harp upon the Cincinnati platform of squatter sovereignty, although Mr. Toombs and Mr. Douglas, with the consent of Gen. Cass, have kicked

squatter sovereignty, like a begging impostor, out into the street. We repeat again, for the special information of the democrats of Congress, that it is utterly useless any longer to attempt to carry water on both shoulders. Squatter sovereignty having been kicked out, and the supreme jurisdiction of Congress over the territories having been adopted and proclaimed as the new democratic doctrine, by the chiefs of the party in the Senate, the only question remaining as to the destiny of Kansas is, shall she be admitted into the Union as a free state or as a slave state?

The Courant.

HARTFORD:

WEDNESDAY MORNING, JULY 30, 1856.

WHAT SHALL BE DONE for Kansas is now a question of much interest—indeed, it is the paramount political question of the day. That she cannot continue in her present anomalous situation is evident even to the bigoted pro-slavery leaders in the U. S. Senate. The vote on Toombs' bill shows that even these men are ashamed of their work of rapacity and of the laws which the bogus legislature passed. The pro-slavery party themselves feel that something must be done.

To make Kansas a slave state is still the object of the Buchanan party, but the outside pressure of public opinion has compelled them now to aim at it under legal forms. For this purpose Toombs' bill was proposed and carried through the Senate. But free state men cannot be satisfied with this bill, and ought not to accept it. We are therefore surprised that the *Hartford Times* should be its advocate; for that paper has professed to desire Kansas should be a free state. No one can be sincere in that desire and approve of Toombs' bill.

The latest news from that territory shows a systematic determination to keep free state men away from the country. Every steamboat that passes up the Missouri is searched and every man supposed to be in favor of freedom is compelled to go back. These Missourians are supplied with arms by the General Government and are called by General Smith "the militia of the territory" in the pay of the Federal authorities, to resist whom is treason. Even the passage across Iowa is to be obstructed by a large body of Missourians stationed at St. Joseph's. What a miserable farce it is for men of sense to call this bill a fair one, under such circumstances. To advocate it, is to give Kansas to slavery at once. No: let the House bill be passed by the Senate, and Kansas received into the Union under the Topeka constitution. Mr. Atchison has already issued his hand-bill summoning the Missourians to go over and occupy Kansas and be prepared to swear their votes in under Toombs' bill. But, we of the North have no chance to get in! It is bad enough to have to contend for what was once solemnly promised us—but, it is still worse when the contest opens, to find this outrageous disadvantage of position systematically raised, as a barrier to be surmounted before we can even set our foot on the soil of Kansas. "Fair play and no gouging!" Has not the Times manliness enough to respond, Amen! Probably they will be ready to do so in words, but in substance so long as they support Toombs' bill, their cry is the mean and unpatriotic cry of "hit him again, he has got no friends." The South puts in the licks, and the Hartford Times cries: "All right." "Hit him again! Freedom has no Friends."

## Deceit Exposed.

As a specimen of the manner in which the *Hartford Times* is conducting the present contest, and an exhibition of its veracity, we copy the following articles from its columns. There are two propositions before Congress: one for admitting Kansas as a Free State with her present free constitution, which has passed the House of Representatives. The other is a scheme to make Kansas a Slave State, through the instrumentality of five commissioners to be appointed by the President, and this has been adopted by the Senate. The *Times* is earnestly in favor of the latter, and endeavors to represent it as a very acceptable scheme, because it repeals some of the detestable laws enacted by the Border Ruffians to oppress the people of Kansas. None of these laws were passed by the people of Kansas. The legislature which enacted them was not elected by the people of that territory. The whole legislature, and the laws by them made, are a fraud and imposition, striking a blow at popular rights and public justice; but the Senate bill to make Kansas a Slave State, while repealing and nullifying some of these enactments, confirms the authority of the bogus legislature, leaves the territory in the hands of the officials by that body appointed, and is designed to rivet the rest of the bogus laws on the people, against their voice, will and wishes.

The *Times*, in this unholy and anti-democratic crusade to tyrannize over the people of Kansas, has studiously perverted and misrepresented the question, evaded the issues, and attempts to make out that the Senate bill is as likely to make Kansas a Free State, as would her admittance with the Topeka constitution. The *Times* has attempted to press ROBERT C. WINTHROP of Massachusetts into the support of the Senate bill, as will be seen by the following, which we find in its columns of July 26th:

The Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP has declared in favor of the bill for the pacification of Kansas, which has been passed by the Senate, but which the lower house, controlled by a majority of members who inconsistently style themselves "Republicans" refuse to pass—at least till after the election. Mr. WINTHROP, like other conservative and reasonable men of the old Whig party, does not shut his eyes to the justice and perfect fairness of the Senate Kansas bill, but openly declares his conviction of the righteousness and the necessity of that reasonable measure.

The *Times* then proceeds to quote from his letter to Mr. RIVES. Now if Mr. WINTHROP occupied the ground herein stated,—if he had declared himself in favor of the Senate bill, as the *Times* boldly asserts,—it would not affect the merits of the case. Mr. WINTHROP is a disappointed and dissatisfied man, but he has never yet "declared his conviction of the righteousness and necessity of that reasonable measure," as the *Times* asserts. This is the quotation from his letter which the *Times* makes:

"I agree with you entirely that the condition of Kansas, under present circumstances, is not to be decided by rifles, muskets or bowie knives. The peace and security of the actual settlers ought to be provided for without delay by the National Government, and I am glad to see an intimation that if our friend Mr. CRITTENDEN's proposal to send out the veteran and gallant SCOTT for that purpose is not to be adopted, a similar duty is to be committed to General PERSIFER SMITH, in whose discretion, impartiality and energy, I have the highest confidence. The arbitrary and abhorrent laws of the Territorial Legislature, to which Mr. CLAYTON has freshly called the attention of the Senate, ought certainly to be abrogated at the earliest day, and some mode adopted for giving the people of Kansas an opportunity of declaring, if they have not sufficiently done so, their own deliberate will as to the future condition and character of their infant Commonwealth."

When Mr. WINTHROP wrote his letter to Mr. RIVES from which this extract is made, "that reasonable measure" had not even been introduced into the Senate. Mr. WINTHROP's letter was written on the 24th of June. "That reasonable measure" is

the Committee on Territories, to whom it was referred, did not report it until the 3d of July. Judge from this of the veracity, the reliability, the fairness of the *Hartford Times*.

But this is not all. Monday evening they drag Mr. WINTHROP out again, and this time go a step further and so garble, interpolate and suppress his language as to still further misrepresent his sentiments in this matter:

"In that bill (says the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP) the 'abhorrent test laws' are 'abrogated,' and 'a mode adopted for giving the people of Kansas an opportunity of declaring their own deliberate will as to the future condition and character of their infant Commonwealth.' This, we say, is found in the bill referred to. Will the Abolition 'Republicans' of the House adopt it? Do they wish to settle the Kansas difficulties at all? If they do, they will pass this bill; if not, they will not pass it."

The detestable and oppressive tyranny which the Border Ruffians have attempted to exercise over Kansas, which PIERCE in his special message declared he would enforce with all the power with which the Executive is invested, and which the *Times* approved and commended,—these laws, under which ROBINSON and others have been so long persecuted and imprisoned, and which the *Times* itself has recently ventured to say are "obnoxious,"—receive no indorsement from Mr. WINTHROP. General SMITH has been sent to Kansas under orders from the Administration, but clothed with no power for the relief of the oppressed and persecuted Free State men of the Territory, nor to suppress the piracy that for weeks has been practiced on the Missouri river to prevent Northern emigration into Kansas.

Compare this last paragraph of the *Times* with what Mr. WINTHROP does say, and see the attempted deceit. He denounces "the arbitrary and abhorrent laws of the territorial legislature," (not limiting his denunciations to the test laws as the *Times* asserts, and not using that word,) which he says "ought certainly to be abrogated,"—not that they are abrogated, as the *Times* represents. Mark further the deceit and garbling of the *Times*: Mr. WINTHROP writes, "some mode adopted for giving the people of Kansas an opportunity of declaring, if they have not sufficiently done so, their own deliberate will as to the future condition and character of their infant commonwealth." The *Times* with this same meanness that it interpolates the word "test," above, suppresses this clause in small capitals, thus falsifying Mr. WINTHROP's language and position.

A good cause and honest men resort to no such baseness as this. Men who will dabble in petty meanness and falsehood like this, are driven to desperation. From this one instance the public will judge of the veracity and present character of the *Hartford Times*:

## The Republican.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.:  
WEDNESDAY MORNING, JULY 30, 1856.

### The House Erect!

The Toombs and Douglas bill, for which opportunities for fresh frauds and outrages border ruffian duplicity was making ready at last accounts from Kansas, seems to be a dead cock in the pit after all. The House will not take it up, and if it should the chances for its defeat have only grown with time. Instead of touching the unclean thing, the House has sent to the Senate the army appropriation bill with an appendix that takes the vitals out of border ruffianism, and also a special bill, introduced by Mr. DUNN of Ind., which undoes the whole mischief, restoring the Missouri compromise, ripping up the fraudulent territorial government, and releasing the prisoners of state in Kansas. Either of these things will pacify Kansas, the last beyond hope or fear of re-agitation. Now if the Senate wants peace, let it take them.

On the vital amendment to the army bill, the Fillmore men from the free states voted no, or dodged. On Mr. DUNN's bill, they divided and

dodged, Haven of New York voting yes, while Whitney and Clark with Fuller of Penn. came up missing. These are ugly questions for the Fillmore party, and they do not meet them like men fit to deal with matters of such vital importance.

### Interesting Letter from Kansas.

From Our Own Correspondent.

LAWRENCE, Kansas, July 20.

How peaceful is the Sabbath's early morning in Lawrence. The scene which meets the eye from Capitol Hill—before you, an endless succession of undulating ridges and valleys, carpeted with the richest green and traversed by one dark line of wood, which marks the course of the Wakarusa,—on the left, the Kansas river, which, like the stream of human life, with many wanderings, here "sparkling and there darkling," yet flows on in its appointed current,—on the right, in the distance, that beautiful Indian mound of legendary interest, which rises from the bosom of that ocean of land, like a magic island,—all most immediately below you, the quiet little village of Lawrence, in which not a sound is heard and which rests on the prairie's lap in unwoneted security—all this inspires

"So deep, so calm and so holy a feeling—  
'Tis soft as the thrill which memory throws  
Athwart the soul, in the hour of repose."

What a contrast! This spot now so quiet, a few weeks ago was ravaged by an infuriated mob. Here where now is heard no sound, then the roar of an enemy's cannon planted against the homes of free American citizens, sent terror to their hearts. Here, where the ground was consecrated by Nature and by man to freedom and to peace, "was set in motion," as Edward Everett says, "without the slightest provocation, the horrid train of pillage, fire and slaughter," at the command and for the benefit of human slavery. I have said, all is quiet here. Heaven only knows how long it will continue to be so. I cannot learn that there is any guaranty in the future for the protection of the rights of American citizens in Kansas, if they belong to the free state party. You may be surprised. Others may say, this is one of the lying speculations of an 'abolition letter-writer,' got up for political effect. But I have a Gradgrind respect for facts. I will give them to your readers. They can judge for themselves. Lately I called upon Gen. Persifer F. Smith, who is supposed to have instituted a new regime of territorial affairs in Kansas. I was treated with politeness. I remarked that I had come to Kansas for a particular purpose, naming it. He admitted that the purpose was perfectly lawful. To the question whether he could afford me protection in the prosecution of that lawful purpose, he said that he could not,—that the proper course to pursue, in case I was interrupted in a lawful avocation, was to apply to Gov. Shannon for protection. If then Gov. Shannon found it necessary to apply to him and did so, he should act promptly. He admitted that in case Gov. Shannon did not protect me with his civil force (which has shown itself heretofore to have been very uncivil) and did not call for him, I should be entirely without remedy. It did not seem to occur to the general, who is certainly tolerably acute, that in this territory of Kansas, which is supposed to be a part of "Hail! Columbia," a free state man, an 'abolitionist,' might be shot through the heart or 'strung up,' before he had finished all these legal forms, in which case, I think, it is obvious to all, that application even to Franklin Pierce, would be deemed a work of supererogation. Such is Gen. Persifer F. Smith as the soldier, determined to do his duty, in the legal acceptance of the term, no more and no less. We cannot blame him. As a man I have reason to believe that he thoroughly detests the meanness of border ruffian tyranny.

Let us now see how this system of appliances works. You have already heard of the robbery of the party of sixteen Illinoisans at Leavenworth City. They were coming to Kansas for bona fide settlement. They were not a military company. Their arms were for self-defense. The right to bear them is guaranteed by the constitution of the United States. They had concealed their weapons for the sake of precaution. They were told that the sight of them would excite the hostility of Missourians.

were betrayed probably by the clerk of the party on which they came. The guns and other property of the party were seized by an armed band of ruffians acting under regularly appointed officers, which in every sense was a military company. You know that the position of the civil authorities now is, that the U. S. forces have been directed to disarm and disperse—at all events, to disperse *armed companies*, of whatever party, wherever found in the territory. Yet this outrage was committed by a military company within three miles of Fort Leavenworth. The plea that the Illinoisans were an armed band is absurd—for 1st, it is not true, that is, they were not a military company, and 2d, if they were, where is the authority of the irresponsible mob to execute the law? Not anywhere unless it is in the breeches pocket of the leader of the mob, signed by Frank Pierce. Really, such authority may be there—I shouldn't wonder if it were, to be produced only on extraordinary occasions, such as perhaps when the life of said leader may be in danger, and Frank Pierce's commission will save it. However, it was not produced on this occasion. These Illinoisans applied at Fort Leavenworth for redress. They were told there to apply to Gov Shannon. This redoubtable functionary told them to apply to the *mayor of the city of Leavenworth*. His name is Murphy. He was engaged in the seizure and robbery of these very arms. This Murphy hates free state men with bitter hatred. He has a brutal soul. The marks of his wanton cruelty are found on many innocent men. Such is the course of justice marked out by Gov Shannon, the official of Franklin Pierce. Was ever such a farce enacted?

Here is another fact, Gradgrind in its nature. A man, by name Smith—that is not definite I know, yet sufficiently so for the purpose,—of free state principles and inoffensive, lives near Lecompton on a claim adjoining that of Col Titus of bloody memory, one of Buford's party. Titus, with the assistance of a man of kindred villainy, both of them armed, a few days ago seized Smith, who was on his own claim, without weapons, beat him most cruelly, stamping him with their feet, and leaving him partly covered with blood. Titus then directed his accomplice to burn down Smith's house which accordingly was done. There was no charge against Smith, no pretense of a charge, except *abolitionism*. This doughty Titus declared that no d—d Yankee should live in that vicinity. It is said, and I have no doubt it is true, that Titus wishes to get possession of Smith's claim, which is valuable. The Boston Post and Franklin Pierce will therefore say such conduct, though "illegal and reprehensible," indeed, is not at all connected with the question of slavery in Kansas, but grows out of that "love of adventure which is always observable in border life." This will be said, while not a single hand will be lifted to punish the "illegal and reprehensible" act. Smith's friends applied to Shannon for redress. He promises much. In fact Shannon is famous for much promising, and for performing little. Like a hero of Shakespeare, "He'll promise more in a minute than he will stand to in a month." Nothing has been done yet. I do not believe anything will be done. The friends of Smith have given Shannon notice: that unless justice shall be done to Titus by the authorities, THEY WILL TAKE IT INTO THEIR OWN HANDS. Can American citizens blame them for this? Is there no point beyond which forbearance ceases to be a virtue? Col Titus may yet meet with the punishment due to his crime, rather more summary perhaps than he would desire. This course will be condemned by conservatives; yet let this be remembered as a fact, which challenges contradiction, that the free state citizens of Kansas, constituting a majority of the people, can get no protection for their rights at the hands of either the territorial or the national government. Let the citizens of Massachusetts bring this fact home. Say, you prudent and conservative men, you old-line democrats, what would you do if your houses were burnt by foreign bands, if you were robbed of your goods, your wives and children driven from their homes by the lawless mob,—say, what would you do if your neighbors were stricken down by the hand of the assassin, and yourselves

could not step out of doors without incurring the same danger? With all these wrongs heaped upon you, what would you do if you could find no redress from the constituted authorities? Would you be likely to protect yourselves? Would you not drive from your state such an atrocious tyranny, and teach your children ever to hate it? PIONEER.

How intimately does the slavery and democratic party associate itself with blood and lawlessness. The assault on Sumner and the murder by Herbert, and their adoption and defense by that party are shining illustrations of the spirit that animates it; and with these there is recalled to mind the circumstance that Breckinridge, the candidate for vice president, volunteered to quit his post at Washington, and go home to Louisville, and defend and get acquitted the rich and respectable but not less guilty Matt Ward, who murdered in cold blood the inoffensive schoolmaster Butler. Then comes up the great crime, or rather the great series of crimes in Kansas, for all which the slavery party, under the name of the democracy, is directly responsible. With such bloody hands,—with such record of violence and disregard of law and justice, does it stand before the people to receive their verdict of "guilty" or "not guilty." Will the people take these crimes upon themselves by following the example of Washington judges and jurors, and the representatives of slavery and office-holding plunder in Congress? The issue is thus made up. It cannot be changed.

#### Kansas Affairs.

The removal of Gov Shannon is a substantial confession of judgment by the administration against the wicked policy, it has upheld him in pursuing. What sort of policy his successor will establish is of course uncertain—it cannot well be worse,—and all accounts of his character give assurance that it will be much better. Indeed, if we do not mistake, Col Geary thoroughly sympathizes with the free state cause, and is the personal friend of Gov Reeder and Lt Gov Roberts of the free state movement. If it prove so, his appointment is a complete reversal of the course of the administration in regard to Kansas, and ensures peace to the territory and protection to its people. But the country has been so often deceived before in this matter that it may not indulge much satisfaction in advance of practical development.

Our latest Lawrence dates are embraced in the eloquent letter from our own correspondent, printed on the first page.

At latest accounts from Kansas the ruffians quartered at Leavenworth continued the robbery and expulsion of every free state emigrant landing at that place, conducting their operations boldly under the eyes of Smith and Sumner at the fort. No free state man could get up the river safely unless he passed himself off as a pro-slavery man or a Buchanan democrat and put on border ruffian airs. The correspondent of the N. Y. Times states that a force of 100 ruffians, fully armed and having four pieces of cannon, were camped on the Big Blue, eighty miles north of Lawrence, where they expected to intercept emigrants coming by way of Iowa, and drive them back. There was great excitement about it at Lawrence and measures were in progress to collect a force of free state men to go to the rescue of the new emigrants. It was believed there would be serious fighting, as the government troops were doing nothing to prevent the ruffians from driving back the emigrants. Missourians were going into the territory at various points, to become citizens in anticipation of the passage of the Toombs bill in Congress.—The postmaster at Lawrence, although a Pierce democrat when appointed, has been converted to Fremont by his experiences in practical democracy in Kansas, and the pro-slavery party are petitioning for his removal and for the appointment of a pro-slavery man and the location of the office about four miles out of the city.—In reply to a doubt raised by Dr J. V. C. Smith of Boston, in his account of his trip to Kansas, as to the manner in which the relief funds from the East are disposed of, the safety committee at Lawrence are prepared to show full and accurate accounts of every dollar received and expended.

In addition to the \$10,000 raised for the Kansas aid fund at Worcester, the ladies of that city have contributed \$181.—A resolution is before the Texas legislature appropriating \$25,000 to promote peaceful emigration to Kansas.—Robert S. Kelly writes as secretary for Atchison to a Kansas committee at Charlestown, S. C., under date of June 25, saying that the South Carolina boys were still in camp near Atchison, Kansas, and were supplied with provisions from the Missouri fund. He says:

"Send us all the funds you can possibly raise—we need all we can get—and if it does not amount to enough to sustain your emigrants, we will make up the deficiency. Send drafts on St. Louis by mail. Direct all your contributions to Messrs Stringfellow and Kelly, editors of the Squatter Sovereign, Atchison, Kansas territory, and they will be properly applied, and receipts returned to you if desired. We anticipate a renewal of the difficulties in Kansas before thirty days. Lane is in the upper part of the territory with 1500 men from Wisconsin, Michigan and Illinois. He avows his intention to revenge the destruction of Lawrence. We will give him a warm reception in this neighborhood. We need money to buy ammunition and provisions. Our men to be effective should be mounted. I hope your district will appreciate the services of the noble souls who are now risking their lives in defense of southern rights, and see that they are sustained."

#### No Justice, No Pay.

We rejoice to notice that the House has fastened to the army appropriation bill a clause forbidding the longer use of U. S. soldiers for the enforcement of border ruffian rule in Kansas, commanding the dismissal of the civil forces with U. S. arms now used to crush out freedom of speech and freedom of action in that territory, and demanding the use of the army for the protection of peaceable emigrants from river ruffians while on their way to the territory and invading ruffians after they are in it. Several propositions of like effect were adopted while the bill was under consideration in committee of the whole; but the one that sticks, by vote of the House, is that offered by Mr Sherman of Ohio on Monday, and seems comprehensive and effective enough to take the sting out of the Missouri code of the territorial legislature, and thus give peace to the territory and safety to its citizens. Having deliberately and repeatedly adopted this provision, we trust the House will stand up to it through thick and thin, insuring it the same fate as the appropriation bill itself. The army cannot need its pay any more than the people of Kansas need protection from the legalized ruffianism that now maltreats and mocks them. Such action by Congress would give peace where the Senate bill would not. And there can be no apprehension that the territory would be left without law or government by its success in both Houses. There is ample provision in the original Kansas-Nebraska bill and in the general laws of the United States, which are extended over it, for its proper government, until a true government of its own can be organized. Besides, the people of Kansas would be vastly better off without any law than under that now enforced against them. The House should stand firm to its decision then; either to repeal the Missouri ruffian code or prevent its enforcement, or let the appropriation bills go by the board. When the army becomes the instrument of such inhumanity and tyranny as have been practiced by its help in Kansas, it is time it was put on short allowance. When the freemen of the country approve such work by paying for it, without at least demanding security for the future, they cease to be worthy the name, as they will soon cease to enjoy the privileges, of freemen.

## The Boston Daily Bee.

WEDNESDAY JULY 30, 1856.

#### LETTER FROM KANSAS.

[Correspondence of the Boston Daily Bee.]  
LEAVENWORTH CITY, K. T., July 10, 1856.

Since my last communication another outrage (I might say a hundred, but I shall confine myself to the Missouri river) has been perpetrated by the border ruffians upon the passengers of a regular Missouri steam packet, the Sultan, which arrived here a few days ago, having on board some thirty Kansas settlers. As the boat proceeded up the river she was boarded by bands of armed ruffians from Lexington, Mo., and Leavenworth City, K. T., as is and

has been for a long time the invariable custom, these settlers as in two former cases, deprived of their property, denied the liberty of landing in Kansas, and forced at the point of the bayonet down the Missouri river, under threats that should they resist to meet instant death—the ruffians swearing that no Free State man shall ever pass the Missouri to settle in Kansas—and this is our boasted free country; an inhabitant of one part of the country cannot be permitted to pass the highway of another part, because he may peradventure maintain different sentiments. I say let no free man of the North and East travel the Missouri and put money into the pockets of those who are bound to protect him, until he is prepared to assert his own rights at the mouth of the musket. Let the North know now whether or not they are to be slaves and dogs to the border ruffians. Since the Star of the West affair, an armed body of Missouri ruffians have taken possession of Delaware, K. T., situated a few miles below Leavenworth, where they have constantly kept a number of loaded cannon for the purpose of intercepting all steamers bound up the river. Every steamer that passes up is halted, and should she fail to come to, is threatened with destruction, and of course the Missouri river captains, not wishing to displease those from whom they seek favor, come to shore, regardless of the welfare of his passengers. When asked why he submits, he says, booby-like, "we can't help it." Brave men—their heels have more in them than their heads. A search is made for the "d—d abolitionists," and should they happen to find one he goes no farther, but is taken by the ruffians on shore, to be treated as best suits their purpose.

Gen. Persifer Smith arrived in town a few days ago, on his way to Leavenworth Fort, which is three or four miles above this place. As he passed up the river, the ruffians, as usual, boarded. In passing Delaware without stopping, the steambot was halted. The reply was, "we are all right." The ruffians replied, "the d—d abolitionists have cheated us once, and if you don't haul to we'll fire into you." Of course the steambot came to, as was requested. The ruffians, finding that the passengers were "all right on the goos," or they "smelt a rat," allowed the boat to proceed. The General took notes of all that came under his observation, during the passage up the river. What course he intends to pursue remains to be seen. Will he believe his own eyes, or wait till the *Free State men fabricate what took place?* Why has Col. Sumner allowed these ruffians to occupy Delaware and Leavenworth City? This fact has been made known to him repeatedly. Probably he is waiting for orders from Frank Pierce. And who is Frank Pierce? Echo answers, Frank Pierce.

You are no doubt aware that Leavenworth City is about half pro-slavery and half free state men, probably a little more pro-slavery, when Bufford's men, Carolinians and Georgian Ruffians are included.—Mr. Murphy, the Mayor is pro-slavery—a little insignificant looking gentleman, apparently a subject fit to be a tool in the hands of pro-slavery men such as exist in Leavenworth. His aspiring brother's high and honorable calling is a member of the "Vigilance Committee of the City of Leavenworth." I have seen this man (the whole committee being five, six in one and a half a dozen in the other) repeatedly on board the boats, swaying about with their revolvers and bowie knives, hanging about the bar of the boats waiting for an invitation to drink and turning down the poor whiskey glass after glass. I have seen in a few minutes this vigilant Murphy, to say nothing of the others, turn down three glasses on one boat while lying at the Levee, when the committee or their pimps became half drunk, then not only the males but the females were insulted. In Platte city a few evenings ago a meeting was held urging upon the Missourians the necessity of going to Kansas and registering their names, that it may appear at voting time that they were residents in Kansas three months—or at least had their names registered. Some of the "first men" in the city openly declared at the meeting that they intended to register their names, (declaring that they had no intention of residing there) thinking it might enable them to vote in the fall. Handbills were freely circulated calling on all Missourians to register their names. Every kind of fraud that the human mind can devise is put into requisition to carry out their plans.

S. S. Goode, Esq., the gentlemanly editor, of the *Leavenworth Journal*, with whom I have had several interviews, informs me he has withdrawn as editor of that paper. In a pecuniary point of view no doubt

greatly to his injury, as he was the largest stockholder and made the paper what it now is, it having a large circulation and doing a healthy, profitable business. The cause of his withdrawal is that he cannot edit a paper the stock holders of which (ten in number all pro-slavery) wish promulgated the truth but such views and articles as may best suit the pro-slavery interest. Such combinations, designs, secret plots, conspiracy and murderous plans as have been set on foot by the border ruffians is beyond in his opinion, anything that the civilized world ever heard of. Were he to expose all their wicked plans which he is familiar with and such as can be fully proved by evidence, only admissible in a court of law, it could be hardly credited. This he intends to do.

A few days ago, a gentleman living near Lawrence, shew me the remains of a daguerreotype picture of his only sister. The border ruffians had entered his house, stole what they wished and destroyed such as was of no value to them. Among the things destroyed was this daguerreotype. The case was broken in pieces, having been stamped upon, the plate bent up and the impression erased by *spitting upon it, and being rubbed off by the thumb of a border ruffian*, and then thrown upon the floor. An old family bible that had been in the family many years was thrown on the floor, kicked about and at last one of the ruffians pierced it through with his bayonet, then shouldering it, pouring forth a volley of oaths and curses upon the deity and Beecher's bibles.

I enclose a circular of Mr. Goode which he was kind enough to favor me with, which you can use as may best suit you.

Yours in haste, C.  
P. S. I shall send this out of the land of bondage to the land of freedom by private hand. C.

# Boston Journal.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, JULY 30.

THE NEW GOVERNOR OF KANSAS. The telegraph has announced the removal of Governor Shannon from the position which he has so shamefully abused, and the appointment in his place of John W. Geary of Pennsylvania. The deep interest which our New England people feel in the affairs of Kansas, and the important influence which the Governor of the Territory has upon the movements there, will cause the following sketch of his past life to be read with interest. It is compiled by the *Advertiser* from a work published by the Appletons, and entitled "Annals of San Francisco."

John W. Geary, who has been appointed to succeed Gov. Shannon, is thirty-six years of age. He has had an active life, and has won much respect by his faithful administration of many public trusts. Early in life he lost his father, who died in debt; but by industrious labor in school keeping, he was able to support his mother, and to cancel ultimately the whole of his father's indebtedness. His own efforts gave him a classical education, which he completed at Jefferson College, Canonsburg, Pennsylvania, and afterwards assumed the profession of civil engineering, in which he found speedy and responsible employment in Kentucky. After experience in his profession in that and other States, he successively filled all the various offices from a clerkship to the superintendence of the Alleghany and Portage Railroad, which last position he occupied very creditably and satisfactorily for many years.

Meanwhile he had been much interested in military matters, and in the militia had risen to the grade of Brigadier-General. The war with Mexico soon afterwards gave an opportunity for exercising his military taste in earnest, and he commanded a company in the second Pennsylvania Regiment of volunteers, of which he was elected lieutenant-colonel, and afterwards on the death of Col. Roberts in Mexico, colonel. He distinguished himself by great bravery in several battles in the war, and was made the first commander of the citadel of the city of Mexico after its capture.

After the return of the regiment to Pennsylvania, and its disbandment, President Polk selected Colonel Geary to be Postmaster of the city of San Francisco, in California. He organized the Post Office establishment in that city, a work of considerable difficulty, requiring administrative talents of no ordinary description. On the advent of the Taylor administration, Col. Geary of course lost his office as Postmaster, but so high was the estimation in which the people of San Francisco held him, that only twelve days after his retirement from that office, they elected him to be First Alcalde, receiving 1516 votes, which was the whole number then cast. He was soon afterwards appointed Judge by General Riley, and when the city charter for San Francisco went into operation, he was elected the first Mayor of the city. He was solicited by the citizens, without distinction of party, to continue another term in the mayoralty, but declined. He was next appointed by the State Legislature a member of the Board of Commissioners of the Funded Debt, and was chosen chairman of the board. During his whole residence in California, he seems to have secured the respect of the people, and to have administered his various public offices with discretion and firmness. He left San Francisco on the first of February, 1852, since which time we have not heard of him until the notice yesterday of his appointment to be Governor of Kansas.

We are indebted to the 'Annals of San Francisco,' a large and handsome volume published last year by the Messrs. Appletons, for the facts above stated. The authors of this work speak in the highest terms of Col. Geary's probity and ability, and represent the condition of San Francisco during his administration, as more quiet and orderly than it has been at any time before or afterwards. If he shall have equal success in his administration of affairs in Kansas, he will earn the most exulting laurels for himself and will render inestimable service to the nation.

# De Atlas.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, JULY 30, 1856.

THIRTY-FOURTH CONGRESS—First Session.

WASHINGTON, Monday, July 29.  
HOUSE.—The House took action on the amendments of the Committee to the Army Appropriation bill. Mr. Barbour's amendment, declaring the laws Kansas null and void, was rejected—yeas 88, nays 99. Mr. Sherman's amendment was concurred in—yeas 91, nays 86, as follows:

Yeas.—Messrs. Albright, Allison, Ball, Barbour, Bennett of N. Y., Benson, Billinchurh, Bishop, Bliss, B. Adshaw, Brenton, Buffington, Campbell of Pa., Chaffee, Clawson, Colfax, Covode, Cragin, Cumbuck, Damrell, Day, Dean, Dick, Dodd, Funa, Durfee, Edie, Emrie, Flagler, Gallows, Giddings, G. I. Berry, Granger, Groves, Hall of Mass., Harlan, Harrison, Holloway, Horton of N. Y., Horton of Ohio, Houston, Kelsey, K. G. Knapp, Knowlton, Know, Kunkle, Lester, Matteson, McCarty, Miller of N. Y., Moore, Morgan, Morrill, Mott, Nichols, Norton, Oliver of N. Y., Parker, Pe ton, Perry, Pettit, Pike, Paine, Smith of Va., Riddle, cabin, Sage, Sapp, Sherman, Simmons, Spivaker, Standen, Sprague, Tappan, Thurston, Todd, Trafton, Wade, Wake-man, Walbridge, Waldron, Washburne of Ill., Washburne of Wis., Watson, Welch, Wood, Wool, ruff, Woodworth.  
Nays.—Messrs. Alton, Barndale, Bell, Bowie, Branch, Broom, Burnett, Campbell of N. Y., Campbell of Ohio, Car is e, C. R. Clarke, Cobb of Ga., Cobb of Ala., Cox, Craig, Crawford, Cullen, Davidson, Davis of Md., Denver, Dowdell, Edmondson, English, Eustis, Faulkner, Foster, Fuller of Pa., Fuller of Ill., Goode, Greenwood, Harris of Pa., Harris of Ill., Hart of Ill., Hedwell, Hoffman, Houston, Jereed, Jones of Tenn., Kennett, Haven, Knicker, Lake, Lindley, Lumpkin, M. r. hall of Ill., Marshall of Ky., Maxwell, Miller of Iowa, Milson, Packer, Peck, Phelps, Powell, Puryear, Quitman, Reso, Ready, Ricard, Rivers, Rusk, Savage, Seaward, Shurtz, Smith of Tenn., Smith of Va., Smedley, Stevens, Stewart, Swopes, Taylor, Luppe, Underwood, Vall, Valk, Water, Werner, Watkins, Whitney, Williams, Winslow, Wright of Miss., Wright of Tenn., Zolliecoffer.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed—93 to 80.

Before the vote was announced, Mr. Campbell of Ohio said that, having been assured by Mr. Washburn of Me., that the Senate will amend the bill by taking out its obnoxious feature, he would record his name in the affirmative.

Mr. Washburn replied that his faith was in a committee of conference rather than in the Senate.

Mr. Campbell said, in explanation of his position, he should feel constrained to separate from those with whom he usually acted, in the vote on the amendments of Mr. Barbour and Mr. Sherman, with reference to Kansas, as they were introduced in violation of the rules and usage of the House. It was the duty of the Committee on the Judiciary or Territories, at an early period of the session, to have introduced a measure proposing a proper remedy for the difficulties in Kansas. Now 17,000 men were employed in defence of the Pacific Coast, meeting danger in every form; yet, gentlemen proposed, substantially, to withhold supplies from the Army, because in 1854, a Legislative mistake was made.

Why was not such a proviso as that on which the House was about to vote, attached to the Deficiency bill, which contained an appropriation for the supplies of members? Why had this matter been postponed to the end of the session? He wished it to be distinctly understood he would go as far as those that would go farthest, for fair and legitimate legislation, relative to Kansas, but he would not consent to the accomplishment of the object in the indirect manner proposed.

Mr. Giddings explained why he did not move a similar restriction to the Deficiency bill, saying it would not have been german to attach it to a measure providing for the pay of the members of Congress, but the House was now providing for the support of the army, which the President was using to overthrow the Constitution.

The amendment which Mr. Campbell complained of, was to preserve the Constitution and the rights of the people against executive usurpation. Would his colleague aid the President to overthrow the liberties of his country?

[A voice, "A good hit!"]

Mr. Campbell replied that Mr. Giddings knew well that appropriations for the Army were in the Deficiency bill. He (Campbell) understood that some similar provisions were to be attached to other appropriation bills, the effect of which would be to defeat them. He was unwilling to take the responsibility of withholding supplies from the various branches of the public services until the House shall have done its duty in sending to the Senate some bill by which all the troubles in Kansas may be settled. He would favor it upon its own merits. If the Senate, in defiance of the public will, should refuse acquiescence, then he would favor withholding appropriations as a last resort.