

Vol. 15

WEBB SCRAP BOOK
July-Aug. 1856

Mr. Davidson wanted to explain.
 Mr. Giddings—I wish to know whether the gentleman from Louisiana has taken the guardianship of my colleague.
 Mr. Campbell—I can inform my colleague no man has the guardianship of me.
 Mr. Giddings—I want my colleague to understand that he proposed to yield the floor like a gentleman, but the gentleman from Louisiana (Davidson) undertook to control my colleague.
 Mr. Campbell expressed his belief that the Laws of Kansas were founded in fraud, and said if the Committee on the Judiciary bring in a bill to repeal them, he would vote for it, and for the repeal of the Nebraska-Kansas Act, and for reorganizing and restoring the Missouri Compromise: but because a political party had done a great wrong, and the Executive exercises his functions corruptly and in a spirit of usurpation, he would not embarrass general appropriation bills.

The bill was then passed—89 against 80.
 On motion of Mr. Dunn, the House reconsidered the vote by which was referred to the Committee of the Whole the bill to annul certain acts of the Legislative Assembly of Kansas, and secure to the citizens of that Territory their rights and privileges.

Mr. Dunn submitted a substitute re-organizing Kansas, and providing the usual territorial machinery. Provision is made for freedom of speech and the press; test oaths, of whatever kind, are prohibited, and cruel or unusual punishments are not to be allowed; all criminal prosecutions now pending, in any courts of Kansas, imputing to any persons the crime of treason; and all criminal prosecutions for alleged violation or disregard whatever, of what are usually known as the laws of the Legislature of Kansas, shall forthwith be dismissed, and every person thus restrained of his liberty, released. The bill also restores the Missouri restrictions; provides for the encouragement of settlement, and of education, and repeals all parts of the Kansas-Nebraska, and other acts, in conflict with the bill.

Mr. Sneed moved that the bill be laid on the table. Lost—77 against 93.

Mr. Dunn's substitute was then agreed to, and the bill, thus amended, passed by a vote of 83 against 74.

The following is the vote on Mr. Dunn's substitute.

YEAS—Messrs. Albright, Allison, Bell, Barbour, Benson, Bishop, Bliss, Bradshaw, Brenton, Buffington, Campbell of Pa., Campbell of O., Chaffee, Claws, Co. Cox, Comins, Cowde, Cumbaek, Damrell, Dean, Dick, Dunn, Durfee, Edie, Edwards, Emrie, Flager, Giddings, Gilbert, Granger, Grow, Hall of Mass., Harlan, H. Trison, Havens, Holloway, Horton of N. Y., Horton of Ohio, Houston, Keiser, King, Knigt, Knapp, Knowlton, Knox, Kunkle, Matteson, McCarty, Miller, Moore, Morgan, Morill, Nichols, Norton, Oliver, Parker, Pelton, Perry, Reilly, Fringie, Purviance, Ritchie, Babyn, Sage, Sapp, Sherman, Simmons, Spinner, Stanton, Stranahan, Tappan, Thurston, Todd, Traiton, Wade, Walbridge, Waldron, Washburn of Ill., Washburn, Watson, Welch, Wells, Wood, Woodruff, Woodworth.

NAYS—Messrs. Aiken, Barkdale, Bell, Bowie, Branch, Broom, Burnett, Cam, Bell of Ky., Carline, Caruthers, Calkins, Cobb of Ga., Cobb of Ala., Coz, Craze, Crawford, Custer, Davidson, Davis, Denver, Dowdle, Edmundson, English, Faulner, Foster, Goode, Greenwood, Harris of Md., Harris of Ala., Harris of Ill., Houston, Jewett, Jones of Tenn., Jones of Pa., Kennedy, Kellwell, Lake, Lester, Lucapkin, Marshall of Ky., Marshall of Ill., Maxwell, Miller of Iowa, Milson, Packer, Peck, Phillips, Powell, Puryear, Quitman, Read, Ricard, Ready, Rivers, Ruffin, Savage, Spater, Smith of Tenn., Smith of Va., Sneed, Stevens, Stewart, Taylor, Tupper, Underwood, Vails, Walens, Watkins, Winslow, Wright of Miss., Wright of Tenn., Zischler.

The House then took a recess till 7 P. M.

Evening Session.—No business of importance was transacted.
 Adjourned.

Morning Chronicle.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 30, 1856.

EXTRACT.—The Kansas-Nebraska Bill, which upset President Pierce's prospects for a second term, contains this passage:

"It being the true intent and meaning of this act not to legislate Slavery into any Territory or State, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States.

The Eastern Argus of the 29th, in copying this, says:

This seems sufficiently plain to be understood by any body.

So it seems. We understood it to be a cheat and a falsehood, as soon as we read it; we denounced it as such forthwith. A majority of the people in every New England State, who read the papers, understood it in the same way,—and at their next State elections and Congressional elections, voted against it and its authors.

Plain enough for anybody.

The Argus continues:

It is still more plain, when taken in connection with that clause of the bill which refers to the Missouri Compromise:

"Which being inconsistent with the principle of non-intervention by Congress with slavery in the States and Territories, as recognized by the legislation of 1850, commonly called the compromise measures, is hereby declared inoperative and void."

Exactly! The Compromise line was here repealed that slavery, under the fostering care of the then supposed strong power of Douglas, Atchison & Co. might extend into Kansas without any troublesome intervention by Congress. Just this and nothing else. Still more plain, in deed. So plain, that the people of the free states, so called, created a new Congress which has become quite troublesome, passing bills over vetoes, and doing all sorts of new things. Plain enough we think.

Subsequent events have shed a flood of light upon it.

KANSAS MATTERS.—Of Kansas matters in Washington, where the iniquities and outrages against liberty in Kansas were concocted, we have some important news.

First, we see that on Monday the House refused to take up the Toombs Douglas Kansas bill of the Senate—and it is supposed it cannot now be reached.

The Washington correspondent of the New York Tribune, writes on the 27th:—

A Kansas pacification bill will be introduced in the House to-morrow or next day, embracing the good features of Toombs's, Haven's and Bennett's bills, providing for resubmitting the "Topeka" Constitution to the people of Kansas, abrogating the territorial laws, declaring the legislature illegal, and providing for a similar commission to that named in Toombs's bill, to be appointed on territories or otherwise, but not by the President.—This bill will receive the support of the Fillmore men.

Next, we see, by a dispatch of Monday, that "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 Alcald. 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."

He may be, we hope he is, a soberer and better man than Gov. Shannon. He can hardly be worse, more sottish, or more completely the ally and tool of the border ruffians.

And last, but not least, we see the Committee of the Whole, in the House, have adopted an important amendment to the army appropriation bill, withholding the money until Congress declares certain dark doings in Kansas to be cleared up.

Daily Enquirer.

OFFICIAL PAPER OF THE CITY.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, JULY 30, 1856.

Shannon vs. Sharp's Rifles—Another Kansas Outrage.

There is one great outrage of the Border Ruffians which, by some extraordinary neglect, has escaped our diligent, active and enterprising neighbors of the Commercial. We deem it due to history to supply this absent chapter, and we are happy to be able to do so on reliable and authentic testimony.

Some weeks ago another party, emboldened by the gallant daring of the Spartan band which left Chicago with such heroic purpose of hastening to the relief and rescue of the imprisoned patriots of Topeka, assembled at one of the towns on the Upper Mississippi, and, after organizing and equipping themselves with Sharp's rifles and all the accoutrements and munitions of war, chartered a steamboat and proceeded up the Missouri River. They were all resolved to do or die. It had been preached into them before they left, and had been declared by each and every one of them in the most determined and eloquent speeches.

The gallant little steamer, proud, doubtless, of her heroic burden, approached the famous headquarters of the Border Ruffians, the ever classic and heroic city of Lexington. Now, either some spy had communicated their approach, or they had announced it by the terrible blasts of trumpets, which preceded them, so that the Lexingtonians had ample time and opportunity to prepare for their reception. Being rather hard up for instruments of destruction and resistance, having probably loaned their cannon to some of their friends in Kansas, an ingenious device was employed to supply their great lack of arms. It happened that a large number of cast-iron pillars had been sent to the town to be used in the erection of a new Court-house. These, to the number of fifty, were mounted on coal-boxes, and placed in position so as to command the wharf. Several were also placed *en barbette* on the other side of the river. Soon it was announced that the steamer, bearing the shriekers, was approaching. A detail of Border Ruffians stood to each of the "mounted guns" with lighted matches.

The steamer landed and made fast. Immediately a seven-foot Pike County man, with a huge broad sword and navy revolvers in his belt, went aboard and asked to see the Captain of the Shriekers. That individual presented himself in the person of a sallow-faced, slab-sided chap, with a nasal twang and a pretty resolute look. "Sir," exclaimed the Pike County man, "you will please fork over your shooting irons."

The Captain of the Shriekers replied in the language which he heard used by one of the Free State orators, who had addressed his men on their departure from Illinois—borrowing the words of the heroic Spartan—"The damned Border-Ruffians had better come and take them!"

"That is the very figure, stranger, replied the Pike County giant. "Jest look at those sixty-four pounders, drawing a bead right on this boat, and ready at a word to blow you all to flinders. Look at 'em, I say." The captain and his shriekers accordingly looked toward the hills commanding the wharf, and great was their amazement and terror to behold a battery, almost equal to that which defended the Redan at Sebastopol, frowning most threateningly upon them. Still, the captain, who was quite a plucky fellow, demurred to giving up his arms and surrendering unconditionally, but thought they might talk it over.

"No time to swap horses," responded the fierce Missourian, and turning toward the hills, where the cannon were stationed, he belted, in a voice of thunder: "Boys, touch 'em all off at once!"

"Stop!" exclaimed the commandant of the Shriekers.

"Stop! don't fire!" was screamed by over a score of his men, who hurried to the side of the boat with the determination of jumping into the stream.

"Well," said the Pike County chieftain, waving a countermmand to his cannoneers. "Take out your weapons and stack 'em on the bank."

Accordingly the Shriekers proceeded with a quick step to collect every rifle, pistol and Bowie-knife and place them in a pile on the wharf. After relieving themselves of quite a complete armory, the boat containing the Shriekers was ordered to round about and proceed down stream, which she did amid the loud cheers of the Border Ruffian artilerists, and with the kindly remembrances of the Pike County captain to "his friends Greeley, Beecher and the other head devils of the woollies."

Those who imagine that the question of slavery extension is confined to Kansas, are mistaken. It is not the territory of Kansas merely that the slave power seeks to annex to its domain. The principle that *slavery is the law of the territories* is infinitely more important than even the admission of Kansas as a slave State, and this principle is sought now to be established.

Why should not Nebraska be a slave-holding territory? A lawyer might answer, because slaves cannot lawfully be held there. No law recognises such a relation or institution. Too fast, sir! The organic law of Kansas and Nebraska recognises the right of slave property, and no code in the Union does more. "The institution" is nowhere established by law. It is only recognized. The organic law of Kansas and Nebraska makes a special provision for questions arising out of claims to a man as a slave.

Suppose the Kansas question proper settled, by the admission of that territory as a State, with a constitution allowing slavery. One would think that this, as the question now stands, would satisfy the most rabid advocate of Southern institutions. The equilibrium, so much talked of, is restored. Kansas is cursed as Missouri already is, with an institution which carries blight and impoverishment in its train. The scrupulous men who believe in perpetual one-sided compromises are satisfied, and the occupation of the Union-savers is gone.

But it is idle to imagine that even the admission of Kansas as a slave State will settle the question. Nebraska stands under the same law. The same necessity which now dictates to the slave-holding counties of Missouri to have "no outside rows" in Kansas, declares that Nebraska is equally necessary for their security.

There are slaves, held as such, in the territory of Nebraska now. The Federal Judges of the Territory, it is understood, are of the opinion that slave-holding, not being prohibited, is lawful. If the doctrine of the Cincinnati platform prevails, even the territorial legisla-

ture (with power to do almost everything within the compass of "squatter sovereignty,") has no power to prohibit it. One of those sacred relations, protected by the Constitution and free from the interference of even squatter sovereignty, is this patriarchal institution!

In the ordinary course of things, perhaps, Nebraska will not, for years to come, ask admission as a State. Should she ask it at the next session, the institution is *THERE*. Those who hold such property have the influence of wealth and social position to make themselves felt. If the question were raised, no doubt, the majority of legal voters, residents of the Territory, desire it free. But what avails such a wish on their part? The same is true of Kansas. Yet Kansas is likely to be a slave State, in spite of all the mouthing, declamation, resolves, and wind work of the North. While we have large public meetings and high-sounding resolutions, the rabble of Missouri go in and take possession of the land,—hang every man who is "suspect"—drive off non-resistants who have not learned the use of the rifle, and rule the country by the law of the strongest.

But some one says, Nebraska is not fitted for slavery. No more is Missouri. No more is Kentucky. No place which the sun shines on is fitted for slavery. But wherever the passions of men carry it, there it goes. Profitable or unprofitable, tending to enrich or impoverish—to demoralize or to elevate the community in which it is placed,—these are questions for moralists or economists to settle, not for the owner. Nothing but law can stay it, and if the modern notions be correct, no law can stop its progress. It is co-extensive with the Constitution of the Union, enjoys the protection of that instrument, framed "to secure the blessing of liberty to ourselves and our posterity,"—is as wide as its jurisdiction, and as permanent as its provisions.

The Scioto Gazette.

CITY OF CHILLICOTHE:

WEDNESDAY EVENING, JULY 30, 1856.

Kansas and Constitutional Rights. No. 3.

How is that slave-holders, by reason of their identity of interest and privileges, exercise a power hostile to the free States?

The crown of the United States—the Presidential office, with its emolument, power and patronage, is every four years a merchantable article; and is, by a set of trading politicians (deluders of the people just as our first parents were deluded by the Devil) placed under the hammer to the lowest bidder; and knocked off to him who promises to let himself down lowest under the throne. Marching up in unbroken ranks, as *privilege* everywhere does, by a little recruiting in the free State ranks, slave holders soon enlist the required number of mercenaries to enable them to place the crown on whose head they will always using for their Peg, a man from a free State. So whatever may be said to the contrary, the *slave power*, is the power behind the throne, higher than the throne?

DOES ANY MAN DOUBT IT!

The Constitution of the United States expressly gives to Congress, "exclusive Legislation in all cases whatever," in the District of Columbia. Is it proposed to abolish slavery there?—The laws of Maryland, and the "privileges and immunities" of slave-holders—of these semi-divinities, rise in opposition and denunciation, soon to be followed by the subservient "No," from the throne.

Is it asked that the snags, rocks and mud be removed from the rivers and harbours within the States? This would be against the rights of the States. South Carolina may take her slaves to Kansas, backed by armed bands, without so much as saying, "by your leave." But to permit the United States to enter the port of Charleston with a mud machine, would be tantamount to authorising the emancipation of their slaves—and "No," thunders throughout the land.

But is a fugitive slave law demanded? This concession is due to the "privileges and immunities" of slavery, and is not only instantly granted, but the free soiler is commanded to drop his work and hunt the runaway slave. And what is most condescending, and marks the *privileged* character of this law, is the fact that while it leaves the Ohioan to get back his stray Jackass worth \$2000, from Kentucky, as best he may, and at his own cost; the United States pays the Kentuckian's costs in getting back an old negro not worth \$500.

But what shall we say and how denounce that act of treachery and subserviency to slavery, which for the sake of the "thirtypieces," at the first asking (there seeming to have been a contest to see which would run ahead of the other) and almost without asking, made sale of our birth right in Kansas! And that is now seeking by a second deed of "popular sovereignty," to consummate the outrage. An outrage that Mr. Buchanan has fully endorsed, and made himself responsible for, when upon the race course he rode over the dead carcasses of the trio that strove to be first at the quarters of this privileged class, with this nostrum of "popular sovereignty," that has stained the prairies of Kansas with fraternal blood.

Let us not doubt that we have the right—that we are the injured party.—Had Kansas, in 1820, been set apart to slavery; and in 1854 slavery was forbid, and the country opened to non-slave holders just as this *privileged* class would have had cause to complain we now have cause.

Our business is not with slaves—it is with that external *privilege* that degrades us, and has robbed us of our chartered rights. And what we seek, will be found when the account is settled with those traitors who have deserted our cause, and gone over to the enemy.

MACHACHACK.

THE MERCURY.

CHARLESTON

Wednesday Morning, July 30, 1856.

Kansas and Congress.

Revolution and anarchy alone furnish precedents for the action of the present House of Representatives. During the last few weeks, we have seen a despotic majority trample upon the rights of the citizen, and under the specious claim of "privilege," usurp the powers of absolutism; and now we are called to witness, if possible, a still more flagrant outrage upon law and right. The Committee of Elections in the House have decided that Mr. REEDER, and not Mr. WHITFIELD, is the delegate from Kansas. What are the facts upon which this decision is based? The first Territorial Legislature was recognised, and certified to by REEDER himself, then Governor of the Territory, and fixed a day for the election of delegate. The election was held, and WHITFIELD was chosen. Dissatisfied with the re-

178 The Freesoil party held, without any color or sanction of law, a convention, and appointed another day of election, at which REEDER was chosen.

Now, the charge made against WHITFIELD is, that he was elected by illegal votes. If this can be made good, his election is, of course, void. But it is evident that no defect in his case can work a healing in the case of REEDER, who was chosen at an election held without authority of law, and simply under the authority of a party and revolutionary Convention. Admit that WHITFIELD is not the legally chosen delegate, and reject utterly his claim, how does that help REEDER, who was chosen, not only by illegal votes, but under circumstances which have no resemblance of a legal election? The case is too clear to admit of an honest doubt. Nothing but the wild recklessness of a party, lost alike to justice or common sense, need for a moment obscure the decision of such a question. But we shall not anticipate the action of the House upon the report of the Committee—we come to a more immediate question.

Failing in their efforts to admit Kansas as a Free State, under the Topeka Constitution, the Freesoil party in the House have fallen upon the expedient of amending the Appropriation bill, so as to declare the present laws in Kansas, by which slavery is recognised, null and void. And they threaten to adhere to this position, even if it occasions the loss of the bill. In short, they are determined to beggar the Government, and leave it without the means of existence, unless slavery in Kansas be abolished by an act of Congress.

The attempt is not without precedent. In 1846, the Wilmot Proviso was fastened upon the army appropriation bill, in the case of Oregon. The country was in the midst of the war with Mexico, and by presenting the alternative of the Wilmot Proviso or national disgrace, the Abolitionists compelled the Government to its designs. President POLK signed the bill under protest. But the case of Kansas is far more aggravated than that of Oregon. Slavery exists in the former; it did not exist in the latter. It is established in the former, in accordance with an express law of Congress; in the latter it was an open question. In the case of Kansas, the North now makes the direct issue of Abolitionism, or the ruin of the Government. Its language in Congress is, abolish slavery in Kansas, or "let the Union slide." Upon this single issue it is willing to stake everything.

What shall the South do? Can she avoid the issue? Will she hesitate in such an alternative? There is now no claim of national honor, as in 1846, to embarrass her judgment, or induce her to sacrifice again her honor and interest, to the demands of her enemies. Will she save the Government, and destroy herself, when that same Government is the instrument of her undoing? We hope that our Representatives in Washington will do their whole duty in this matter, and meet the North on their own grounds. If revolution be the issue—if disunion be the issue—let them accept both, rather than yield one title of the rights of the South in Kansas.

Daily Democrat.

THE WILMOT PROVISIO—DOUGLAS.

Their principal lie for a long time was, that Benton was a Wilmot proviso man. He had no doubt but hundreds who were present heard that lie. (Several intimated that they had.) Well! every one of those anties knew that he was telling a lie when he said Benton was a Wilmot proviso man. Benton not only voted against the Wilmot proviso, but made the speech that killed it; and now mark their consistency! They supported Douglas who had voted for that proviso; and supported him for the Presidency.

ABOLITIONISM, BLACK REPUBLICANISM, FREE-SOILISM.

The Wilmot proviso lie having served its day, they published new ones, and called Benton an abolitionist, black republican and free-soiler.—He put questions at Warrensburgh to Mr. Polk, who had been reported as having made insinuations of that character in the remote counties; and said that any man who said, or insinuated, or argued such things in relation to Benton, lied. Benton was the first man in Congress to oppose the emigrant aid societies. When the Boston newspapers told of their being formed, he went over to Mr. Banks and informed him of the mischief they would give rise to; and asked Mr. Banks to put a stop to them. Afterwards when Mr. Mace, a member from Indiana, laid down the free-soil doctrines—the restoration of the Missouri compromise, no more slave States, he wrote a speech which he put into the hands of Mr. Oliver who read it to the house. Benton was ready to set out for Boston to speak for the Pacific railroad, and there were but a few moments until the cars started, and these moments he employed in writing a speech in answer to Mr. Mace, in which he took ground against every position which that gentleman laid down. He showed in that speech, that every new State had a right to be admitted with or without slavery; and that Kansas had a double right, one under the constitution, and the other under the treaty with France. There was no cessation and no end to the lies of those anties. They said also that Benton was opposed to the fugitive slave law, when they knew he was in favor of a proper fugitive slave law, and wrote the best exposition of its constitutionality which had ever appeared; an exposition which all the nullifiers in all the States were not able to write. They had another crop of lies now. They said that Benton wanted to divide the electoral vote of the State, that it might be lost to Buchanan, and in order that the election might go to in the House, that Fremont might be elected as Banks was. This was their last lie. Mark their stupidity and malice. Banks never got a majority of the States or of the members, and never could get them; and it took a majority of States to elect the President, and it took a majority of the members of each State to give the vote of the State; so it might be said that a majority of the States and of the members were necessary to elect the President. They judged of Benton by their own standard, but he declined the honor. How did they act regarding the Presidential election? The proposition had been made to them from the beginning, that the fate of the two electoral tickets should depend on the result of the August election. If Benton received more votes than Polk let the ticket of the anties be withdrawn; if Polk beat Benton let the democratic ticket be withdrawn; that proposition was made to Mr. Polk and he refused to accept it, but wherever it made the people cried out that it was fair. On this question he had only to say that if Benton received fewer votes than Polk, the ticket on which were the friends of Benton and Buchanan

would be withdrawn; and if Benton beat Polk, the anties' ticket would be cried down by the people.

THE REPUBLICAN.

ST. LOUIS.

THURSDAY MORNING, JULY 31, 1856.

FROM KANSAS.

Correspondence of the Republican.

WESTPORT, July 26, 1856.

On the 24th inst., a Mr. WILSON, and daughter, of North Carolina, traveling in the stage, having been on a visit to Leocompton, and were passing through Lawrence, had an altercation with a man by the name of CHAPMAN, a citizen of that place, about the hire of a buggy, and while in the act of stepping in the stage, was struck by CHAPMAN with a heavy club, which felled him to the ground. A physician was called in, who made light of the wound, said he would soon recover, and recommended the passengers to put him in the stage. They did so, and he died half an hour after his arrival at the Harris House, in this place. His amiable daughter is in great distress, far from home, and among strangers, but with plenty of friends.

Mr. Wilson was buried by the Odd Fellows, and the citizens generally attended his burial.

A party started from this place that night to arrest CHAPMAN. They succeeded, and he is now at Leocompton in the hands of the authorities, who, no doubt, will take good care of him.

I only write this to give you the facts as they occurred, fearing a wrong version would be given. B.

JULY 31 THE '56
DAVENPORT GAZETTE
Is Published every Thursday Morning,
BY SANDERS & DAVIS.

GAZETTE CORRESPONDENCE.

LE CLAIRE, July 21, 1856.

EDITOR GAZETTE:—

Dear Sir:—Scarce one short month ago, that paragon of truth and veracity, the "State Democrat," published to the world what purported to be an account of a "great ratification meeting" in this city, at which, by the united eloquence of Judge Barrett and Mr. Bearsley, and by the unanimous adoption (i. e. just fourteen votes) of those decisive resolutions, read in such stentorian tones, &c., the poor anti-Pierce, anti-Douglas, anti-slavery men were completely overwhelmed and annihilated.

We might have supposed that after such a rout, the Black Republicans might be left to die without farther molestation; but the slavery extensionists are a merciless set, they delight in seeing the agonies and struggles of those who are helpless and defenceless. Accordingly, last Saturday evening our city was visited by the conquering heroes attended by the Davenport brass band and a goodly number of the faithful, evidently calculating on a grand demonstration which would smother and extinguish all remains of political heresy.

At 8 o'clock the meeting was organized in front of the "Bratton House," and Mr. G. S. C. Dow was introduced to the audience. After preliminary remarks, Mr. D addressed himself to the task of giving his hearers a true account of the troubles in regard to Kansas. Mr. D. said, "Nobody denies that the Missouri Compromise was really repealed by the legislation of 1850, this every one admits; the Kansas-Nebraska act only did in words what was done in substance in 1850. Hence the legislation of

1854 was right. There would have been no trouble in Kansas but for the N. E. Emigrant Aid Society, they organized to send men to Kansas—for what? To settle? To make their homes there? To go to Kansas as you came to Iowa? No, no, but for the express purpose of making it a Free State and nothing else. Here was the cause of all the trouble. Next, Gov. Reeder was appointed; he convened the legislature at Pawnee, an open wilderness, not a house near; the legislature had to meet in their wagons. Complaints had been made of the haste with which the legislature passed their laws; how long would you have taken to enact laws if you had to meet in your wagons to do it? The whole question in regard to Kansas turns on the question,—was the legislature of Kansas a legally constituted body? Undoubtedly it was. True, some of the delegates were elected by Missourians; this was wrong, very wrong; but this only occurred in seven districts, and some of these were contested, so that only three of the members of that body held their seats illegally. Would three illegal members invalidate the whole? Assuredly not. Well, they must meet where there were some houses, &c., so they moved to the Shawnee Mission.

“Well, you say they made bad laws.—Certainly they did make one bad law, viz: the one forbidding to speak, write, or published, &c., in regard to slavery. That was a bad law, and unconstitutional, but that is no excuse for resisting it, the way is open to set it aside; by due course of law carry it to the Supreme Court. The Liquor law of Iowa was thought by many to be a bad law, yet no one would justify armed resistance to it. If that course is wrong in Iowa it is wrong in Kansas.”

Did Mr. Dow suppose that his audience were destitute of common sense? Did he think for one moment that they could not see the difference in the binding force of a law passed by a legislature fairly elected, and in direct reference to the law in question, after the subject had been thoroughly discussed by the people, and finally approved by a popular vote, and that of a law passed in mad haste by a band of ruffians? But to return to Mr. D.'s remarks.

“You have been told that no one can vote unless he pays a dollar—a dreadful thing. Why the fact is that in many States a man must produce proof that he has paid his poll tax before he can vote. In Maine the tax is a dollar and a quarter. Why don't you send men armed to Maine to deliver them from tyranny?” Mr. D. forgot to say that this was the only condition, without any proof of residence in Kansas, real or intended, being required.

I have been thus particular in order that your readers may understand the kind of sophistry by which the slavery extensionists hope to conquer and carry this State for Buck and Breck.

Mr. D. closed with a eulogy of the great Democratic party, which could have made Iowa a slave State, but didn't; could have carried slavery to Nebraska, but didn't; they love liberty, hate Abolitionists, and stick by the Union.

Mr. Johns was particularly troubled because the Republicans had nominated Mr. Rusch, a German who was excused by Judge

Tuthill from serving on a jury because he could not speak enough English, against his friend Mr. Dow, an American, &c.

At the close, three cheers were given for Fillmore, three tremendous cheers for Fremont, three groans for Buchanan, three cheers for Dow, a good speech and a bad cause, three cheers for Johns and a bad cause, and three cheers for the band. The Buchanan men found they were in warm quarters, and doubtless returned to Davenport, satisfied that old Buck will stand no chance in this region. We hope that if our administration friends visit us again, they will pay out another \$50 and bring the band with them, as we are always glad to hear good music, especially when we can dance without paying the fiddlers.

Yours for Fremont and Dayton,
AGRICOLA.

Grand Rapids Eagle.

CITY OF GRAND RAPIDS:
THURSDAY MORNING, JULY 31, 1856.

THE K. N. KANSAS BILL.—The Washington correspondent of the N. Y. *Tribune*, in speaking of DOUGLAS' new Kansas bill, which is being urged on the House, says a large detachment of “Border Ruffians” has arrived there to labor for the measure. Among them are STRINGFELLOW, Capt. PATE, the correspondent of the St. Louis *Republican*, JONES of the Lecompton *Union*, who boasted over the cowardly sack of Lawrence, and other similar characters. The *Tribune* correspondent says he overheard one of these precious “law and order” men say to a companion: “We can't pass the bill in the House unless we can get some few of the Free State men who have been driven out of the Territory to return and vote as late as October, and declare that Oliver and Whitfield and Stringfellow opposed it! If we can get the bill through in that way, PIERCE will appoint the right kind of men for Commissioners, and we will take care of the rest as we did before.”



CHICAGO DAILY JOURNAL

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

THURSDAY EVENING, JULY 31, 1856.

ANOTHER CHANGE,—BUT WHAT OF IT?

Another change is announced in the Governorship of Kansas. Shannon, who has latterly rendered himself obnoxious to the Missourians, has, for this reason we suppose, been removed, and John W. Greary, a man we really know but little about, has been appointed by the President to take his place.

Greary has held some responsible official positions in his day, and, for aught we know, may be a very just and well disposed man. Supposing that he is so, what change for the better can we expect in the management of affairs in Kansas under his gubernatorial administration?

He is but the agent of President Pierce, and must do his bidding. Since President Pierce does not manifest a disposition to change his policy towards Kansas, but on the contrary, seems determined to co-operate with Stringfellow and Atchison in their raid against the free settlers, to the last, we have no reason to expect that under Greary the cause of justice will be more righteously supported than it has been under Shannon.

While Pierce is President—nay, while the pro-slavery “Democratic” party is in power at Washington, the freemen of Kansas will have no cause to hope for justice.

THOSE WHO KNOW THEIR DUTY, BUT DO IT NOT.

If the question was put direct to every voter in Illinois, Are you in favor of the establishment of Slavery in Kansas, or not? what would, in nine cases out of every ten, be the answer? Unquestionably it would be, No!

And yet there are men in Illinois, whose excuse cannot be a want of intelligence, and who will not acknowledge themselves in favor of making Kansas a Slave State, who support Buchanan for President and Richardson for Governor, both of whom are nominated by a party that is as certainly in favor of enslaving Kansas as we are opposed to such a calamity. That there are such men, thus wilfully blind or recklessly disposed, appears to us almost incredible, and utterly inexplicable.

Have such men the powers of thought and reason? Do they possess that moral quality which prompts the generality of men to do as near right as they can, especially when to do so will be promotive of their own best interests? If they do, it would seem that they would not—could not, pursue a course in reference to the political contest in which the country is now involved, that is manifestly at variance with right principles and prejudicial to the great interests of the country.

If all men would but act out the convictions of their own hearts, unmoved by outward influences, and independent of all considerations but that of performing their duty, how decisively would this present struggle for ascendancy between Freedom and Slavery, or, in other words, between the Wrong and the Right, eventuate on the day of the election!

The Daily Journal.

THURSDAY MORNING, JULY 31, 1856.

John B. Howe Declines the Fillmore Nomination.

LIMA, July 23d, 1856.

MR. EDITOR:—I am informed that I have been placed on the Fillmore Electoral ticket. This honor I am compelled to decline. With many others, I hoped, even after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska act, that there was vitality enough in the old Whig party to make one earnest appeal to the country, and one united effort to restore the compromise, or at least to see it, that the territories had fair play. But this hope has vanished. National parties, alas! are virtually dead. Their requiem was chanted in the exultations at the repeal of the Compromise. The two great parties departed together. The existence of one implies the existence of the other, and the death of one the death of the other, unless there is a legitimate successor; and where, I ask, is the successor of the Whig party? The South has its honor; the North has its honor; but where is the National honor?

Behold our condition! In the principal city of our Pacific coast, luxury, corruption, bribery and high crime reign'd supreme, until by a spas-

... effort, almost as fatal. It may be, as the palsy itself, society has again taken an interest in its own affairs. The land of gold is not the land of liberty regulated by law. At the South, we perceive the cause of the Union daily losing ground. We have seen the pretended successor of the great Democratic party taking new ground at Cincinnati upon the subject of slavery in the territories, and nominating a man, whose opinions, under his own hand, in the O-tend manifesto are a disgrace to him in the judgment of the civilized world. Luxury and corruption are increasing; and demagogues have had a better chance of success than statesmen. In the late European contest, many in this country sympathised with the greatest despotism on earth, rather than with that country where life, liberty and property are better protected than any where else. We live by extremes, and by extremes, we may yet die. Why sir, in the Constitutional Convention, I offered a section disfranchising all those citizens of this State, who should engage in any unauthorized enterprise against a foreign power—because it was notorious, that the General Government had never obtained a conviction; and yet my proposition was met, I had almost said, with hisses and groans, and I got only one or two friendly votes. As to the remarkable clause, allowing foreigners to vote after six months residence, each party seemed to vie with the other, in its adulation. The true friend of the country and the foreigner, was the man, who was in favor of allowing the laws to remain just as they were—*Quia nota non movere.*

In the midst of all these and other extreme views, the slavery party has cast its slough of "masterly inactivity" and become an active power. It embraced the offer made it, to repeal the Compromise; that offer made, in the spirit of a Statesman, but as a desperate bid for the Presidency. The very time, when the Compromise was most needed, and was about to perform its last and most important office, and all danger was about to depart, by the admission not far distant of Kansas and Nebraska as free States, some fiend enjoying the happiness in prospect, instigated repeal. The opponents of that repeal are not agitators or partisans. They exclaim against the authors of that measure, as the inmates of a noble pile against the incendiary who has laid it ruins. All good men, all Statesmen deplore the act. Its authors, to parry the obloquy, abuse the original Compromise—a noble deed—and when done 't was well it had remained so. Our Union can never exist a day without compromise. The Anglo-Saxon is a race founded on compromises. The British Constitution is the result, and the living evidence of continual compromise.

It appears to me then, that every true patriot is in a false position who does not condemn the destruction of the Compromise, and who is not determined to see that the people of Kansas, who have lost that guaranty of peace and freedom, shall at least have a fair opportunity, unawed by ruffians, of determining upon the character of their institutions. The ship of State has been badly piloted. There is but one chance of avoiding the breakers—to crowd all sail and let her drive. But if the North and the South are placed in conflict, who struck the first blow?—The North is only acting on the defensive. It is now merely defending the right of free emigration into the territories, and demanding the protection there of life, liberty and property.—Can I hesitate one moment about acting with that party which demands the protection and vindication of those rights?

Very truly yours,
JOHN B. HOWE.

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 have never performed. You have always caved in, and you will again. You are a mouthing, white-livered set. Of course you will oppose; we expect that; but we don't care for your opposition. You will rail, but we don't care for your railing. You will hiss, but so adders. We expect it of adders, and 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-woollling, and have come home fitted. 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.

Have not recent scenes in Washington and the general conduct of the Toombs, Douglas and Stephens school, proved that they are men of acts, as well as of words? Such words and such acts, however, have a wonderful power of perpetuating themselves, and live long after both the speakers and the actors are forgotten.

THE VOICE OF AN OLD DEMOCRAT.

Interesting Letter from Judge Cheever, of Saratoga County.

WATERFORD, July 14, 1856.

PLATT POTTER, Esq. :—Dear Sir—Yours of 9th inst., addressed to me at Mechanicsville, reached me here, where I reside, a day or two since, inviting me "to meet the friends of the Democratic Republican party at Syracuse on the 24th inst." I cannot attend the meeting.

I am very much obliged for the civil note with which you accompany the invitation, in which you speak of an article attributed to me.

I had not intended to take further part in political action or discussion; but that most unjustifiable act of Congress of 1854, called the Nebraska bill, which broke the solemn compact of 1820, known as the Missouri Compromise, and the terrible scenes of fraud, violence and blood which have followed, induced me so far to depart from that determination as to submit some views upon the subject which I had not before seen submitted.

I wrote the article, not to aid any particular candidate or party, but with intent to send it to a friend in Congress, with a view to get it into the Southern press and, to some extent, before the Southern people, that they might know what feelings were created with all classes at the North by that act. I wished to remind them that the Province of Louisiana, extending from the Gulf of Mexico to the British possessions, and from the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains, was purchased of France in 1803 for eleven millions of dollars, and the assumption of other heavy liabilities, paid and to be paid out of the National treasury, made up more from Northern than Southern money.

That Texas, claimed by us to be a part of that purchase, had, in 1819, been ceded to Spain in exchange for Florida, that same treasury paying a large sum of money in addition for the exchange.

That Arkansas had been assigned to the South. That in 1820, when Missouri, then embracing almost every white settler upon the Louisiana purchase, except what the South had already secured, asked for admission as a Slave State. The North objected, as they should do, for the South had already got its full share of the purchase.

That the North had the power of numbers to defeat the bill:

That as it was a partitioning of the Louisiana purchase between the Free and the Slave States, the South suggested that it should be the subject of compromise; and they, through Mr. Clay, proposed the terms of the Compromise, which were, that Missouri should be admitted as a Slave

State; and in consideration of that, there was inserted in the same bill, which the North insisted upon before any Northern votes could be obtained, this strong and emphatic section:—

"§ 8. That in all that Territory ceded by France to the United States under the name of Louisiana, which lies North of 36 deg. 30 min. north latitude, not embraced within the State contemplated by this act, Slavery and involuntary servitude, otherwise than in punishment of crime whereof the parties shall have been duly convicted, shall be and is hereby forever prohibited."

That the North then understood, and have always understood, that by these words, the possible contingency that Slavery could ever go north of that line, within the Louisiana purchase, was put at rest. If they had not believed so the Missouri bill could not have passed:

That the North expects to stand by its compacts with the South, and expects the South to stand by theirs; that since that time the South has obtained much more; that Texas has been purchased back at a cost of more than thirty millions, and paid for out of that General Treasury, and the South has it all:

That the South now has five States from territory purchased from that treasury, to wit: Florida, Texas, Louisiana, Arkansas and Missouri, whilst the North has but one State, Iowa, and three territories, to wit: Kansas, Nebraska and Minnesota, where the South stipulated, before they got Texas, that "Slavery should be and is hereby forever prohibited."

That Kansas is much the fairest Territory of the three and well adapted to free labor:

That men from the Free States have great dislike to going to a Slave State to settle, where the Slaveholder will not admit them to a social equality with himself:

That the Northern men in Congress in 1820 understood this, and well understood the value of the covenant in the contract, that in the part set off to them Slavery was "forever prohibited."

That Northern men, going to Kansas previous to 1854, to invest their money, did it under a covenant by the same Government that sold them the land and took their money, that Slavery should never come there to interfere with their political rights, with their social relations, or with the value of their property:

That the people of the Free States have looked to Kansas as a fair country for their children and children's children, to go to to settle, where they could till their own fields, and still be as good as their neighbors:

That if Kansas is wrested from us it very much hastens the time when there will be no vacant territory left which is desirable to settle upon:

That there is no pretence that any equivalent has been rendered to the North for giving up the rights secured by the compact of 1820; nor has any constituency ever expressed a willingness that their representatives in either House of Congress should give them away. On the contrary, the most emphatic disapprobation has been shown whenever the people have been permitted to make an expression upon the matter:

That the doctrine of "popular sovereignty" is a specious doctrine, and is correct where it is presented as an open question, as is the case with Utah and New Mexico, acquired since 1820; but it has no business in any part of the Louisiana purchase north of 36° 30'. There the South sold out their right to it, and have, without disturbance, enjoyed the consideration which the North paid them for it, and they always expect to enjoy it:

That the people of the North of all political divisions, as well National men as sectional men, regard this attempt to recapture Kansas from them by the South, and to hold it in violation



THURSDAY EVENING, JULY 31, 1856.

A Prophecy Two Years Old.

We of the North are cold-blooded and slow to move. Carried away with the excitement of business; choked by the "cares and anxieties" of this world, our braver and nobler impulses are apt to become sluggish and inactive. Were this not so, how could we forget such stinging words as Mr. Stephens, of Georgia, addressed, two years ago, to the Northern members of the House of Representatives who protested against the Kansas bill? Said Mr. Stephens:—

of the solemn compact of 1820, as a great political, moral and pecuniary wrong, and when persisted in, through the frauds, violence, cruelties and murders which have followed, the South should know that a feeling of unkindness is created here that more time can hardly wear out.

These are some of the suggestions embraced in the article to which you allude, which I desired should reach the people of the South; that they might, in time, take some steps to restore some of the kind feelings towards them which have always been entertained by most of the people of the North, and which I regard as of so much importance to the South as well as the North in upholding our national compact and enjoying the benefits to be derived from it. I further say to you, that I hold it entirely unjustifiable in the men from the South, in the Cincinnati Convention, after witnessing the effects of the Nebraska bill upon the Free States, as shown by their subsequent actions, to insist upon its endorsement in a platform upon which we are to go to the polls at the following canvass, not only in our National, but in our State Elections.

It is said to have been intimated at that Convention that it was not of importance whether the Democratic candidate received the vote of the State of New York or not.

It is pretty important to the Democracy here that they be able to carry the State election, and to that end, they should be admonished not to take on a load that is to bring them to the ground.

We have to legislate for almost four millions of people; for more than fourteen hundred millions of property, as by the assessors' valuation; and we assess, collect, and disburse more than eleven millions of taxes annually, besides the disbursement of four to five millions more upon our Canals. The men into whose hands

The Courant.

HARTFORD:
THURSDAY MORNING, JULY 31, 1856.

THE TIMES desires the Courant to copy a sentence of Bennett's Herald, to the effect that he is using the black Republican rascals to get a reform in our government. We comply with great pleasure. Various men have various reasons for wishing to get the Buchanan dynasty out of power; the most important thing for the public to understand is that for one reason or another, men enough in this country to do the job are determined to defeat Buchanan. We gratify the Times with an additional extract from Bennett's Herald:

"All the world knows that the policy of the Democrats is to make Kansas a slave State, and that the policy of the Republicans is to make the Territory a free State. The sympathies of the Southern Fillmore men are also inclined to slavery; and this plea constitutes the peculiar availability of Mr. Fillmore in the South, to wit:—He is as good for slavery as Mr. Buchanan. When we hear, therefore of the Republicans framing a Kansas bill to suit the taste of the Fillmore. Know Nothings, the outside world will suspect that there is a Presidential movement of some sort at the bottom of it, and that possibly it may involve the first decisive step to the withdrawal of Mr. Fillmore from the contest. Perhaps it may have been discovered that there is danger that even in the South Fremont may yet supersede Fillmore as the most popular anti-democratic candidate, and this projected fusion in the House upon a Kansas bill may be but the signal for a general fusion upon Kansas and Fremont throughout the South.

"Whatever may be in the wind, the provisions of this newly projected Kansas bill, as they come to us, are by no means likely to become a law during this session. The bill will be rejected by Mr. Toombs, Mr. Douglas, and the Democratic majority

of the Senate, because it leaves the "manifest destiny" of Kansas in doubt. Mr. Douglas has gone too far to turn his back upon the border ruffians at this stage of the game, and Mr. Toombs knows too much to consent to deprive the President of the executive and supervisory power granted him in the Senate bill. In fact, all expedients in Congress at a doubtful compromise between the admission of Kansas as a free State or as a slave State must fall on that ground. There is, however, a large majority in the Senate which may be relied upon to resist all half-way measures involving the probable or even possible loss of Kansas to the South: while there does not appear to be anything like a satisfactory majority, even of one, in the House for Kansas as a free State by positive legislation."

A WRITER IN THE TIMES of Tuesday night, signing himself "Reader," takes us to task for having asserted that Toombs's bill will make Kansas a slave state and enquires "by what authority" we speak. We are surprised that any man who has any pretensions to common sense or candor should ask the question or doubt the fact. The Times doubts it, of course, but that is only for political effect. This same Mr. "Reader," unless he is a dough faced donkey of the most incorrigible kind, must see that Toombs of Georgia could not concoct, or Douglas advocate a bill that would give freedom even an equal chance with slavery in Kansas. Every slaveholder in the Senate—those who have said and done the most to establish slavery in Kansas—voted for the bill. This does not look like giving freedom an equal chance. The free state party in Kansas all declare that the effect of the bill, under present circumstances, would be the establishment of slavery. They know full as well as Mr. "Reader." It may be true that, months ago, there was a majority of free state men in Kansas. But such is not the case at present. The Free state party have been robbed or murdered or driven from the territory or confined in prison or forcibly expelled. With the fear of Border Ruffianism before their eyes, it could hardly be expected they would even dare to assemble and vote. The same illegal authority which now searches the steamboats and compels free settlers to return would be present at the polls with U. S. arms in their hands as the "militia of the territory" to drive off every man suspected of a love of freedom. Is this giving freedom an equal chance? The Border Ruffians, who have sworn to make Kansas a slave state, are pleased with Toombs's bill. Stringfellow, in anticipation of its passage, has already invited Missourians to come over in hordes and control the election. Is this giving freedom an equal chance? Is it an equal chance for freedom, for Persifer Smith to allow the free settlers to be driven back from the Missouri; and to refuse to protect them as they enter; and yet to allow Stringfellow to bring over regiments of his border ruffians? Is this permitting "the actual settlers to decide?" Shame on such blindness! Shame to you Mr. "Reader," for allowing the support of your party to shut your eyes to the insidiousness of this bill. You are not an honest writer, who ever you are.

But why are we called upon to suffer slavery to have an equal chance with freedom? There is nothing in honor, or morality, or policy that demands it. This whole territory was solemnly set apart for freedom in 1820 by the vote of the South itself. There is nothing in honor, or morality, or policy, or right that authorizes them to demand an equality now. Here lies the sophistry of Mr. "Reader," and the insidiousness of the bill. The North have a right to demand that the South should keep their agreement—their solemn compact—and give up Kansas to freedom.

But says this sapient "Reader," who sees through Southern spectacles, "it is a manufactured, wholesale perversion of truth to say that the Buchanan majority refuse to admit Kansas under a free constitution." This "Reader" does not "read" much or where would have remembered that the House—the Representatives directly of the people—have admitted Kansas with a free constitution and sent the bill to the Senate while this body—the aristocratic agents of the Central power in the Federal capitol—struck out this admissions and inserted Toombs's bill in its stead, and thus sent it back to the House.

Now is this perversion of facts the result of fatuity or ignorance, or a determination to falsify? The Senate have actually "refused to admit Kansas under a free constitution" and yet "Reader" bolsters up his bad cause by denying the fact. But the whole communication is so like the unprincipled course of the Times in supporting the cause of slavery in Kansas, that we presume that it was written in that office.

The Republican.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.
THURSDAY MORNING, JULY 31, 1856.

OFF FOR KANSAS.—S. D. Willis and twenty others started from Fitchburg for Kansas, on Tuesday. Another company will start from the same place in August. The Kansas aid collections in Fitchburg amount to about \$1500. Small parties have been forwarded from Lowell to Kansas, almost every week lately, by R. B. Caverly, agent of the Kansas committee in that city; the next company will leave there on Monday.

Religion and Politics.

To the Editors of the Republican:

I am one of many who believe that your views on this subject are sound. They are so regarded even by those whose duty it would seem to be to enforce them, but who have not the courage to do so. Rev William D. Haley of Alton, Ill., is one of the few clergymen who are, in this respect, true to their high vocation, and who dare to do and say all that may become a Christian, on the subject of the present relations between the people and their rulers. In a recent sermon to the people of his charge, he felt it to be his duty to proclaim the truth, and to denounce the tyrannical treatment of our fellow-citizens in Kansas. The consequence was, that, finding his people so much divided on so important a subject, he resigned his office, and in the sermon in which he announced his resignation, he says (in reference to having preached his Kansas discourse), "that a man must ask himself what, in this dilemma, would Christ have done and what ought I to do? and once perceiving his Master's action, and once convinced of his own duty, he must perform it, regardless of the clash of mortal tongues, the portents of mortal anger and the dread of mortal dissolution." In conclusion, he says: "If I am wrong, may God forgive me—if I am mistaken, may I be enlightened. But I feel very certain I am right, for I can only remain honest by acting thus. There is no word for me but the word of Luther: 'Here I stand—I cannot do otherwise, so help me God.'" Mr Haley is a man of deep piety, as well as high courage and rare talent. His people have since urged him to remain their pastor, by nearly a unanimous vote, (only three dissenting.) He has not yet concluded to retract his resignation.

In conclusion, Messrs Editors, let me ask in the name of Heaven if ministers of the Gospel of Christ are not to rebuke the sins of the rulers, what, pray, is to become of the people? Of all men in the world he who is set as a watchman on the walls of Zion should be the last to shrink from his duty.

PARISHONER.

Who are the Disunionists?

The following extracts are selected from authentic records of opinions expressed by men, all of whom are now prominent supporters of Buchanan or Fillmore:—

BY SENATOR YULEE OF FLORIDA.

"For my part I am ready to proceed to extreme measures, even to the dissolution of the Union."

BY SENATOR BROWN OF MISSISSIPPI.

"If the Wilmot proviso is adopted, it will raise a storm that will sweep away this Union, and I pray God devoutly it will do so."

BY MR. MORSE OF LOUISIANA.

"The southern man who will stand up and say that he is for the Union, now and forever, is more dangerous to the people he represents than those who are in open hostility. If California be trammelled with a preambular declaring the territory now free, I am willing to dissolve the Union."

BY MR. STANTON OF TENNESSEE.

"When the Wilmot proviso is adopted, I and the South are ready to walk out of the Union."

182 SENATOR BUTLER OF SOUTH CAROLINA.
"I do not make the salvation of the Union the paramount question."

BY SENATOR MASON OF VIRGINIA.
"It is time the yoke was thrown off and the question settled."

BY MR COLCOCK OF GEORGIA.
"If the Wilmot proviso should pass in any form, I will introduce a bill for the dissolution of the Union."

BY MR MEAD OF VIRGINIA.
"If you exclude us, I am not willing to submit. * * * We intend to have the land peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must."

BY MR MCWILLIE OF MISSISSIPPI.
"The people of the South know their rights and will maintain them at all hazards, even should disunion result. * * * The South must defend their rights at the expense of blood."

The following resolution was adopted at a congressional caucus of southern democrats held in Washington in January, 1849:—

"Resolved, That the dissolution of the Union is preferable to the submission of the South to the Wilmot proviso."

THE CABINET:

E. D. BOYLSTON Editor & Proprietor.

Amherst. - - - - July 31st, 1856.

KANSAS IN CONGRESS.

Some prospect that the Kansas difficulty may be settled by the present Congress, has again arisen, from a proposition made by Mr. Haven of New Jersey in a speech in the House last week.—Mr. Haven is the law partner of Mr. Fillmore, and is understood to represent the views of the Ex-President in Congress, and it will be remembered that it was through the opposition of the Northern Fillmore men, under his lead, that the bill for the admission of Kansas was at first denied a passage. On a recent debate upon the adjournment question, Mr. Haven took occasion to define his position upon this question, and pledged his support to a bill prepared by himself, which may be more successful in uniting the various divisions of the two Houses than those which have already been before them. Originating with neither of the extremes, it may, under the anxiety of all to have the difficulty disposed of, be accepted by both as a compromise thereof. The main features of this bill as foreshadowed in the remarks of Mr. Haven, are thus given by the Daily Advertiser:—

"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 a admission into the Union."

The bill though not free from objections, is less so than the Senate bill, and it may prove an unexceptionable and reasonable as to command a passage. Its progress will be watched with interest.

"There is this manifest advantage, (continues the Advertiser) 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 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 a law enacted by this Legislature. With the eyes of the whole country upon them, it would be difficult for the commissioners so to control the legislative election as to secure the perpetration of fraud at the subsequent constitutional election."

BOSTON HERALD.

FIRST EDITION.

THURSDAY MORNING, JULY 31.

A Letter from Mr. Sass—he finds Things at the Homestead out of Shape—regrets having gone to Kansas.

Wallpole, July 29—18 & 56.

mistur editor:—if i Only had the power Of undoin wat Has bin awready done, i Wud speedily make my travels Intu kansaw, null & void.

& wat On airth ever possessed me tu go out krusadin Intu that 'ere territory, Tu luke arter The niggers, is a problem i kaut Fathom.

In komparisun With my own parsonal kumfort, wot Is the well-bein Of a kolored nigger? (& this Reminds me that i Wunce arsked lord garrison, wen i & He stood a Lukin at a house on fire,—i sey, garrison! suppose as How thar was 8 or ten niggers a Bollin in thare, wich on Us wud step in fust tu Hland 'em out,—i or You? "not i, by a grate site!" was his Karakteristiek reply.)

i do not Doubt but wat a nigger is Equal, in ordinary kapacities, tu such Men as napoleon bonyparte, Or andrew general jackson, but in Order tu enforce that Docketrine have i Got tu throw aside my every-Dey bizness, & tramp awl over The kuntry, hollerin out,— "make wey Thare! make wey! the niggers are kumin! the niggers Are kumin!"

i guess Not. i, for wun, prefer Tu attend tu my own konsarns. It's awl well Enuf for my friend, genal willsun—its nuts tu Him & honorabel charles sumner tu talk About the kolored race, & babble over ills. They know no more About than the man In the moon kan Tell ye konsarnin the dey, wen mistur goddard went up In The balloon.

but tu Resume. i find things at the humstead about the same As rack & ruin, since My return.

old joe brown Has karried things with a high Hland. & as for deborah, i found her so dressed up, wen i Met her at the door steps, that i Tarned round, & involuntarily hollered out,— "is this 'ere debory, wat i see afore my eyes, or queen Victory, of the british Empire?"

were the Klothes kum from, i Know not, but if solomon, In awl his glory, was clad as That ere woman was, wen i Threw open the front door, tu bid her Wellkum, he was An extravagant dog, & a spend-Thrift!

i have my Suspicions on deakun fratingale. i am Told by the naburs that The shy fellow has Bin seen a bobbin round The humstead at awl hours, Dey & nite, since i left.

mistur diphthong, the schoolmarster, too, (as i Hear tell), has made himself busy in Keeprin a parth open betwixt my Front gait, & the door-wey.

strongly opposed As i Bee to fightin a duel, i hereby take ekashun Tu inform deacon fratingale, & Mister kaleb dyphthong, That there is a sartin pint wich, wen reached, my patience Dekums rayther a vice, than a vertu. in urther words, i will bear and Forbear about as long as Any man. but, wen the string is pulled clean out,—& awl but breaking—i kry, Hold on!

& if they Don't hold on, francis fratingale, & kaleb dyphthong, may y as well wind Up thare klocks, (so to speak,) for thare pendulums went Hlave time to run much longer!

JOE SASS.

DAILY ADVERTISER.

BOSTON:

THURSDAY MORNING, JULY 31, 1856.

MR. HAVEN'S KANZAS BILL.—Since our article of Monday last, we have obtained a copy of Mr. Haven's bill relating to Kansas. We find that it provides that the four commissioners who are to prepare the registry of voters, and superintend the election, shall be appointed by the Secretary of the Interior (Hon. Robert McClelland of Michigan) and not by the President. There will no doubt be greater public confidence in the Secretary than in the President; but it would be preferable, if possible, either to name the commissioners

directly in the bill, or to provide for their appointment in some such manner as that which we suggested.

It is very clear that nothing can be accomplished for the advantage of Kansas at the present session of Congress, precisely in the shape with which the best friends of the suffering settlers would be most satisfied, for the very simple reason that the Senate will agree to no bill covering the whole ground of fairness and justice. The question accordingly presents itself, whether it is not better to get something, although not full measure of justice, rather than to allow the present deplorable state of things to continue?

With those politicians who hope to trade upon the capital of suffering Kansas, we have not the least sympathy. If there is a public man in either branch of Congress, whose vote with regard to Kansas affairs is regulated by the wish to leave the subject open until after the presidential election for partizan purposes, he ought to be branded with perpetual infamy. The tyranny imposed upon the people of Kansas by an external invasion, sanctioned and upheld as it has hitherto been by the strong arm of the federal government, ought to cease at the earliest moment. This is a serious business; and the sufferings of the people of Kansas must not be made the plaything of partizan managers.

At the same time, we can understand how the members of Congress who have been battling to the best of their ability for the rights of Kansas from the beginning of the session, may well feel suspicious of propositions emanating from quarters where they have hitherto found no help. They must take care, however, to yield to no unworthy suspicions. Let every measure that is proposed be judged upon its merits—and let whatever measure promises any substantial relief to the people of Kansas receive a cordial support, even if it do not go the full length of admitting Kansas as a State, which is a thing that it is vain to expect at the present session. We rely upon the sagacity of the friends of Kansas in Congress to discover the true bearings of whatever bills may be brought forward; and we rely upon their honesty to support any that is likely to be of substantial advantage. There need be no more hide-and-seek playing between the Senate and House. Both houses have very well established their positions in the bills already passed on the 3d of July, by each separately, and which it was certain would not pass except in the houses where they respectively originated. It now remains for either branch to originate something that the other will probably be willing to pass.

The bill which passed the House on Tuesday will never get through the Senate, because it contains a restoration of the Missouri compromise line. The Senate cannot be expected to eat its own words so savagely as this: the leading Senators are committed distinctly to the repeal of the Missouri compromise; and they will certainly adhere to that. But it does not appear to us to be particularly important to secure at the present time a distinct restoration, in terms, of the Missouri compromise. The immediate practical question lies with Kansas. What is needed is a remedy for the evils there existing.

The remedy proposed by Mr. Haven's bill evades the issue of the State Constitution, by providing a new territorial government, to be fairly elected. We shall be content with this, if nothing better can be had. It will be vastly

to secure them, than nothing. For if there be no legislation by Congress, the present fraudulent territorial legislature may meet again, and form a pretended Slave State Constitution for Kansas, and demand admission into the Union under this instrument; a proceeding which would vastly complicate the posture of affairs. Mr. Haven's bill disallows all the territorial legislation, unless reenacted by the new legislature fairly chosen by the people.

At this distance from Washington, and at the present late and crowded period of the session, when the aspect of congressional affairs changes from day to day, and almost from hour to hour, we could scarcely pretend to give good advice to our law-makers, even if we supposed they were inclined to pay heed to anything we might say. But we earnestly counsel the true friends of Kansas to be very careful not to yield to the temptation of abandoning all effort to accomplish anything at the present session, because they cannot get all they want, and all that ought in right and justice to be granted. We look to them to weigh well every proposition that may be brought forward, and if anything shall be proposed which promises substantial advantage to the suffering people of the Territory now groaning under an intolerable oppression, let them give it a cordial support. Let them abate something of the full measure of their claims in deference to the opposition of the Senate. A great deal has already been conceded to the cause of freedom. We must not let our own intolerance make these concessions fruitless; but by wise and judicious legislation, let us improve to the utmost all possible advantages.

We have good reason for saying that leading administration members in the Senate are greatly alarmed at the position of affairs. Scarcely anybody there now pretends to defend the theory of "squatter sovereignty," so far as wholly to reject congressional guidance. We venture to predict that if Mr. Haven's bill passes the House, it will not be lost in the Senate.

Boston Journal.

THURSDAY MORNING, JULY 31, '56.

ILLINOIS WOMEN'S KANSAS AID AND LIBERTY ASSOCIATION. We have received a copy of the constitution and by-laws of this excellent association, composed of the noble-hearted women of Illinois, who have associated themselves together "to extend material aid as well as sympathy to such as are now or may hereafter be called to suffer in behalf of liberty in Kansas, especially to all widows and orphans, and to use all consistent efforts for the success of freedom, as long as the struggle shall continue between liberty and despotism." Their prime object is to furnish clothing and other assistance for destitute women and helpless children, and they call upon their sisters throughout the land to join them in the noble work. The call should be promptly responded to, either by the formation of similar associations, or by forwarding "material aid" to the Illinois association, of which Mrs. H. L. Hubbard, of Chicago, is the President.

Ebening Telegraph.

BOSTON, THURSDAY, JULY 31.

KANSAS AFFAIRS. All the late communications from Kansas state that the Southern guerilla bands have established several "camps" in the territory where they are waiting for the next orders of Atchison and Stringfellow. They are supported by contributions from the Blue Lodges, and pass their time in idleness, drinking, and the like, with

occasional robbing expeditions. Some of them profess to have taken up claims, but none of them work, and it is well understood that they will all leave before the cold weather sets in. They have been considerably re-inforced since the first of June, and it is said that they are waiting to vote and manage the polls at the election proposed by the Toombs Douglas bill, which, they have been told, will pass both houses of Congress. Meanwhile no free state settlers are allowed to pass up the Missouri river, and the ruffians have taken measures to watch and guard other entrances to the territory so as to keep out free state emigrants.

While these guerilla bands, aided by the Missourians, occupy Kansas in this way, the administration, by means of its infamous creature, Leconte, holds a part of the Free State leaders under guard on charges of "high treason," and signifies to others that they will share the same fate if they presume to return to Kansas. The administration has deliberately planned and carried out this scheme against the people of Kansas, and now, under these circumstances, it is urging the passage of the Toombs Douglas bill, or something else similar in principle and purpose, in order to make the ascendancy of the border-ruffians perpetual; and the argument employed to secure this result, is whispered about in the form of a knavish representation that the Buchanneer leaders, being "much concerned" about the state of things in Kansas are willing to make some "concessions."

Concessions! Have they released Robinson and his associates? Have they crushed out the indictments against Beeder and others? Have they removed that unscrupulous villain whom they call "Judge Leconte?" Have they consented to brand the infamous "Baronial Assembly" as it deserves? Have they consented to expel from Kansas pro-slavery bands, of robbers now encamped there? Have they taken measures to deliver the people of Kansas from that atrocious system of despotism which has been established by their friends the border ruffians of Missouri? No indeed! They are only planning to complete their work by some successful cheat which will enable them to crush out the free State movement entirely.

We hear something of a bill, which, it is said, will soon be introduced in the House by Mr. Haven of New York, and the whisper in regard to this bill is that it will be just what is wanted to settle the difficulty properly. Mr. Haven has constantly acted in Congress as anything but a friend of the people of Kansas, and it seems incredible that any measure proposed by him can actually propose and secure their deliverance from "Judge Leconte" and the border ruffians. No bill can go through the Senate which does not satisfy Toombs and Douglas; and it is nowise likely that any bill which Mr. Haven may contrive in secret concert with Douglas will be anything more than a cunningly contrived infernal machine to be thrown into Kansas for the benefit of Atchison and Stringfellow. But we shall see. It will be time enough to consider the bill of Mr. Haven and comment on its provisions when it appears.

Portland Advertiser.

Thursday Morning, July 31, 1856.

Territorial Policy.

The Advertiser charged the other day that the Kansas Bill was a fraud, inasmuch as it professed to contain the doctrine of "Popular Sovereignty," and yet contained in fact no such thing. In proof of this charge it declared that an amendment by Mr. Mace, recognizing this doctrine, was voted down in the House. To this we replied, by quoting from the Kansas Bill itself, not only its affirmative provisions on the subject of slavery, but its own explanation of those provisions. The following is this explanation:

It being the true intent and meaning of this act not to legislate Slavery into any Territory or State, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States.

This seems sufficiently plain to be understood by any body. It is still more plain, when taken in connection with that clause of the bill which thus refers to the Missouri Compromise:

83
Which being inconsistent with the principle of non-intervention by Congress with slavery in the States and Territories, as recognized by the legislature of eighteen hundred and fifty, commonly called the compromise measure, is hereby declared inoperative and void.

But we did not stop here in our reply, as the Advertiser says we did. We referred to Mr. Mace's amendment (which also provided for "popular sovereignty") as a needless repetition of what the bill already contained, and as only offered to endanger its passage. Our language was:

"True, Mr. Mace of Indiana, tried to amend it, by a clause, just repeating over again the extract already quoted. But he made this attempt in order to defeat the bill. The act was sufficiently explicit before—Congress had conferred on Kansas all the powers which it possessed itself, over the subject of slavery; and if it had legislated till the end of time, it couldn't have added anything to the grant."

[Argus.

Mr. Fuller of this State repeated the attempt to secure the amendment offered by Mr. Mace. Did he make the attempt "to defeat the bill"? Was the act sufficiently explicit before?—and if it was so, why the insuperable objection to saying, in plain terms, what the Argus now contends the Bill does? And why would it defeat the bill to make it plain which was then in dispute? If the reader will have patience with us, we will try to answer these questions.

When it was first proposed to repeal the Missouri Compromise, the first and great question which every man would naturally ask was, why? Why shall we know repeal this Compromise which prohibits slavery north of a certain line, and which has been acquiesced in for over thirty years? The slave power had a ready answer to this question, so far as they were concerned.—"We are in favor of it," said they, "to extend slavery—we don't think it is right, or fair—or even constitutional, to prohibit—and therefore this Compromise ought to be repealed"! But the Bill couldn't pass without support from the North—and what should Northern members of Congress say to their constituents, in excuse for their vote in favor of this repeal? It would hardly answer for them to say, in plain terms, that they voted for it to extend slavery! And so, in this emergency, the doctrine of "popular sovereignty" was invented for their express benefit. At best, it was a poor miserable excuse. At best, it was merely inviting a struggle between slavery and freedom, where slavery had by law been previously prohibited. But Northern Doughfaces soon discovered that their Southern masters would not allow them even this poor excuse. They declared, openly and boldly, that after the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the people of the territories would have no right to prohibit slavery, at least not until the formation of a State Constitution.—Until that period, they were to be tied and fettered—and, then, after slavery had been introduced and firmly established, of course it was expected it would be too late for them to make any effectual resistance. The Doughfaces begged that they might have this excuse to plead in extenuation for their vote, but their masters were inexorable. The doctrine of "popular sovereignty"—the thing itself in plain terms—they could not and should not have. But they were willing to put into the Bill any amount of loose talk which might seem to affirm the doctrine without really doing so, and that was all they could have! A few revolted, and among them Mr. Fuller of Maine. He said, by his speeches and by his vote, that his constituents would see through this cheat—he was willing to go as far as he could and sustain himself—it was not principle that sustained him, but he desired a re-election. His constituents would see through this fraud—he could never justify himself before them, and he would lose his re-election if he were a vote for the Bill, unless it contained this famous doctrine of popular sovereignty. We have taken some pains to hunt up the speech he made when he offered his amendment, and we lay it before our readers in full.

The following proceedings on Mr. Fuller's amendment are copied from the Globe:

MR. FULLER—I propose an amendment to the first section of the bill, to come in after the word "Nebraska," in the 18th line.

"And the Territorial Legislature shall have the power to establish or exclude or abolish slavery as to them shall seem proper."

As a National Democrat, and the only one that came into the Thirty First Congress from New England, as an anti-Wilmot Proviso man, I am anxious to vote for this bill. If the amendment which I have offered shall be adopted, I shall vote for it; if it does not prevail, I shall vote against it, as at present advised. And, sir, in the spirit of kindness, I ask some of these gentlemen who stood by me in the Thirty-First Congress, and there are several such from the Southern section of the Union upon this floor now, to yield a little for the sake of harmony. I helped to make the compromise of that period. I, sir, voted for every one of the five so-called compromise measures of 1850, and when three men only from the slave states did vote for all of them, and only twenty seven men in that Congress voted for all of them.

This bill has been advocated at the North solely upon the ground that it gives to the people of the Territory a right to legislate for themselves upon the subject of slavery while in a territorial state. I declare myself here to be the friend and advocate of this doctrine; and it is because this bill does not establish this great American principle, and vindicate this doctrine, that I am opposed to it in its present shape.

The distinguished gentlemen from Alabama, [Mr. Phillips] in his speech upon this subject, has stated the true reading of this bill, and the reason why it was made so. I quote his remarks:

"Now, it is admitted that a difference of opinion exists between the different sections of the Confederacy as to the period when the right of the people of the Territory to act upon the subject of the admission or exclusion of slavery arises. On the one hand, it is said that this right exists as soon as the territorial organization takes place; on the other it is maintained that it is in abeyance until the people proceed to establish a State Government."

Again he says:

"The bill refers the question of legislation on the subject of slavery to the people of the Territories. One side maintains that such legislation would not be authorized, until the formation of a State Government; the other, that it would be as soon as the Territorial Government is organized. But whether the one or the other be correct, depends upon the Constitution. The bill expressly (though unnecessarily) declares that their legislation shall be subject to the Constitution of the United States. And the difference thus existing as to the appropriate period of legislating on this subject is left to be decided by the judicial tribunals of the country, according to constitutional right, and the support of the bill involves no compromise or concession by either side."

The right of popular sovereignty, or the right of the people to legislate upon this vexed question for themselves, is the thing, the idea in dispute, and is left by the bill still in doubt, and is referred not to the people but to the Courts for settlement. In other words, "it is the play of Hamlet," with the character of Hamlet omitted by special request! The men in my State who are in favor of this bill support it upon the ground and with the entire belief, that when the Territory is organized, then is the point of time that the people have a right to determine that question for themselves. Now, sir, I wash my hands of any attempts to deceive them upon this vital point in the bill.

With this amendment voted down, the equivocal language of the bill, and the quoted construction placed upon it by an able jurist, who heretofore will contend that this bill gives the right, which is claimed for it? My constituents shall not be deceived by me. I avow here in my place, that I am an advocate of the doctrine of popular sovereignty upon the ground of expediency and the fitness of things; and when the bill shall be made to conform to it, it shall have my vote; but unless it does I vote against it. If we of the North give up the restriction of 1821, give up the Utah and New Mexico bills, canonized as is their language, by the lighted faith of the country expressed in their two great presidential conventions, what do we get in exchange? Why, the chance of a law suit, if the question shall be raised.

Mr. Riddle—I am opposed to the amendment of the gentleman from Maine, but I will not take up the time of the committee by giving my reasons why I am opposed to it.

The amendment was again repeated; and the question being upon its adoption.

Mr. Washburn, of Maine, demanded tellers; which were ordered.

The question was taken; and the tellers reported—ayes 75, noes 91. So the amendment was not agreed to.

But there were enough found to carry the bill through without Mr. Fuller's vote, and so his amendment was voted down, and he excused for

vote under the peculiar circumstances. His vote against the bill, saved him from defeat in his District, although the most sagacious friends of freedom knew very well then, what his subsequent course has since confirmed, viz:— that if he would have voted for the bill with "popular sovereignty" in it, he was influenced by policy rather than principle, and could not be depended upon for effectual and continued resistance to the slave power. But his amendment, his speech and the vote furnish a complete refutation of the humbug the Argus is trying to palm off upon its readers. "The thing, the idea in dispute," was "omitted by special request," and the Argus is now doing what Mr. Fuller then said he would not do—it is trying to deceive its readers into the belief that what the supporters of the bill twice voted for, should not be inserted, is actually contained in it.

Now let us see how stands the argument between us and the Argus.

The Democratic party has endorsed the principles of the Nebraska Bill. It is committed to those principles both by its platform and its candidate. The Argus, also approving the bill, contends that by virtue of its provisions, the people of Kansas may admit or exclude slavery, while it remains a Territory; and it presents this as the doctrine of popular sovereignty embodied in the Nebraska Bill, and indorsed, both by the platform and candidate of the Democratic party. Now this we deny. We deny that the right of the people to exclude slavery from a Territory, before they make it a State, is embodied in the Nebraska bill, or asserted by either the Cincinnati platform or by James Buchanan. On the contrary, we assert that it is either openly or tacitly repudiated by both.

The Argus quotes the language of the Bill itself upon which we have already commented.—The Bill declares its "true intent and meaning" to be, to leave the people of any State or Territory "perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way," subject only to the Constitution of the United States." Now these last words either mean something or nothing—and as to what they mean, as interpreted by the leading friends of the bill, we are not left in doubt. They contend that the people of the territories have no right, under "the Constitution of the United States," to prohibit slavery—and they have relied on Border Ruffians and Border Ruffian Judges to enforce this construction. Nay more, this very doctrine is overtly contained in the Cincinnati Platform in which it is

Resolved, That we recognize the right of the people of all the Territories, including Kansas and Nebraska, acting through the legally and fairly expressed will of a majority of actual residents, and whenever the number of their inhabitants justifies it, to form a Constitution, with or without domestic slavery, and be admitted into the Union upon terms of perfect equality with the other States.

The right of the people to exclude Slavery from the Territory is not even alluded to. On the contrary, that right is virtually denied, by the declaration that it begins to exist only when the people reach a certain number, and when they cease to be inhabitants of a Territory, and become citizens of a State. The platform, therefore, which is the authoritative exponent of the views of the party, tacitly and by strong implication, asserts the doctrine that the Constitution does not permit the people of a Territory to exclude slavery therefrom.

And now, how is it with the other authority; and how does the Candidate of the party stand on the issue? Does he believe that the people of a Territory may exclude Slavery, under the Constitution? The following is his own answer to this inquiry. We commend it to the special attention of the Argus, as we fear it has heretofore escaped the notice of that paper:—

WASHINGTON, Aug. 21, 1848.

DEAR SIR:—I have just received yours of the 12th inst., in which you submit to me the following paragraph, and ask whether it contains an accurate version of the conversation between us, concerning my Berks County letter, on the occasion to which you refer:

"Happening to meet Mr. Buchanan at the President's levee, on Friday evening, I called his attention to this letter, and asked him if he intended to be understood as claiming that the population of a Territory in an unorganized capacity had the right to control the question of Slavery in such Territory. He declared that no such idea had ever been maintained by him; that the construction put upon his language by Mr. Yancy was a perversion of its plain and obvious meaning; that, in his opinion, the inhabitants of a Territory, as such, had no political rights, [although they possessed all the private rights of American citizens;] that they had no power whatever over the SUBJECT OF SLAVERY, and they could neither interdict nor establish it, except when assembled in Convention to form a State Constitution. He further authorized and requested me to make any public use of these declarations that I might think proper, to correct any impression which Mr. Yancy's construction of his language in the Berks letter might have made."

With the addition which I have inserted between brackets, this statement is SUBSTANTIALLY AND ALMOST LITERALLY CORRECT, according to my recollection.

Yours, very truly, JAMES BUCHANAN.

We submit that the following points are established:

1. That the Nebraska bill gives the People of the Territory control over Slavery only so far as that control may be held to be constitutional.
2. That leading Southern advocates expressly declare that it is not constitutional for them to prohibit slavery—that those who voted for the bill twice voted down an amendment to give them such authority—and that this pro-slavery construction of the Constitution, the Border Ruffians have enforced, with the approval or at least acquiescence of the present Administration controlled by the slave power.
3. That the Democratic Platform denies explicitly the power of Congress to interfere with Slavery in any Territory, and does not assert the Constitutional right of the People thereof to do so:—but by implication strongly denies it.
4. That the Democratic candidate for the Presidency, in express terms, denies that right, and asserts explicitly that the people of a Territory have, under the Constitution, no control whatever over the subject of Slavery therein.
5. That if Mr. Buchanan should be elected, his Executive action would be governed entirely by this construction of the Constitution:—that he would veto any act of Congress that might prohibit Slavery in any Territory:—that he would appoint officers who would nullify any attempt of the people of a Territory to exclude Slavery therefrom:—and that the whole weight of his position would thus necessarily be thrown in favor of the doctrine, that the Constitution carries Slavery, or protects it when carried by individuals, into any territory of the United States.

Now, if the Argus will meet this fairly, and as we present it, we shall be glad to hear what it may have to say:—if not, let it forever hold its peace about the miserable humbug of "popular sovereignty" as applied to the territories.

"The True Issue."

The Richmond (Va.) Enquirer is the leading Democratic paper of the South. It holds the same position among the Democratic organs in the Slave States, that the Boston Post does among the Nebraska sheets of New England. The opinions of the Enquirer are, in short, the very essence of "Democratic" orthodoxy. This being the case, we respectfully invite the attention of every "Democrat" into whose hands this paper may fall, to the article below. Read it, and reflect on it, and see whither things are tending.

Bath Daily Tribune.

THURSDAY, MORN., JULY 31, 1856.

SIGNS OF REVOLUTION IN THE HOUSE.—The House of Representatives seems to be in earnest in resorting to practical revolution. On the bill making appropriations for the army on Thursday, in Committee of the Whole, an amendment was adopted providing that all the acts of the Kansas Legislature are null and void. If this amendment is adopted in the House, the army bill will go to the Senate, when the amendment will be stricken out. Upon the House's insisting the army bill will fail. It is understood that the same process will be resorted to for the defeat of 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.

The Committee on Elections recognized the revolutionary doctrine that the laws of Kansas are invalid, and for that reason reported that General Whitfield was not legally elected delegate from Kansas. They also report that Gov. Reeder, is the legal delegate, although the committee sent to Kansas say that he was chosen without any legal authority for the election. Mr. Stephens made a minority report. Such are the revolutionary strides which have marked one day's proceedings.

Whig and Courier.

Wheeler & Lynde, Proprietors.

THURSDAY, JULY 31, 1856.

For the Whig & Courier

Campaign Song.

Air: "HAIL TO THE CHIEF."

Hail to the cause that inspires our devotion,
Honored and cherished be Liberty's name;
Sons of Columbia! from ocean to ocean
Rise in your might and defend her fair fame.

Save her from open foes,
Who with relentless blows
Press the wild warfare to conquest or Death.
Save her from traitor bands
Whose perjured hands
Stab her, while loyal words load their false breath.

Hail to the hour now crossing the dial,
Rich with the life-thought of centuries gone,
Bringing its burden of labor and trial,
But bright with the promise of happier dawn.

Oh may that cheering glow
Brighter and brighter grow,
Filling the land with its gladdening light,
Till every Freeman's heart
Prompting a worthy part,
Urge him to battle for God and the right.

Hail to the man who bears our broad banner,
Worthy the cause, and worthy the hour,
Join their loved names with Freedom's hosanna,
By them will we conquer foul tyranny's power.

On, then to victory
Let the bold watch-word fly,
Ringing out clearly o'er land and o'er sea,
FREEDOM for soil and men,
FREEDOM for speech and pen,
FREMONT AND DAYTON the choice of the Free.

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the trust, by not comprehending his duties, particularly in the matter of election certificates, which the Nebraska Law required him to grant only to candidates having the highest number of "legal" votes, and consequently empowered him to determine what votes were and what were not legal. Had he done his duty in this particular, most of the troubles which have since been experienced in Kansas, would have been avoided. But instead of this, he gave certificates of election to a decided majority of pro-slavery men in both Houses,—then recognized the legal character of those bodies by sending Messages to them,—and wound up by declaring them illegal and void, because they adjourned their sessions from a small village in the wilderness, called Pawnee, where he had engaged in city lot speculations, to Shawnee Mission. Thus he created a maze of difficulties which neither he nor his successors have been able to unravel. And as if this were not enough, he became an active abettor of the Topeka rebellion Convention, although he knew at the time that the Legislature which he had constituted under the Nebraska law, and which the said Convention was intended to subvert, was a legal body.—This he proved by his confidential letter to his former private Secretary, Mr. Lowrey, dated Washington City, Feb. 12, 1856, in which he says, "as to putting a set of laws in operation in opposition to the Territorial Government, my opinion is confirmed; we shall be, so far as legality is concerned, in the wrong; and that is no trifling matter in so critical a state of things and in view of such bloody consequences. * * * I may speak my private opinion to our friends in Kansas, for it is my duty, but to the public, you will see by my published letter, I show no divided front."—In short, Governor Reeder has shown himself imprudent as to the effect of his measures,—inconsistent in opinions and acts,—irresolute,—and shall we add, dishonest. Certainly the last clause of the paragraph just quoted, betrays dishonesty, or something akin to it. If he believed the Kansas Legislature to be a legal body, how could he honestly hold a contrary opinion before the public? In short, the President would have been entirely justified in removing him on the ground of incompetency, if for no other reason.

Governor Shannon, although a well disposed man, and possessing many valuable qualifications for the office, is said to have been subject to a serious drawback, which at times disqualified him for the proper discharge of his responsible duties. His resignation, or recall, is on the whole, a matter of congratulation.

Considering how much depended upon the firm, steady and discreet enforcement of the provisions of the Nebraska Law, both as to the popularity of the Law itself, and as to the peace and prosperity of the Territory, it is deeply to be regretted that two unlucky appointments should have been successively made to the important office of Governor, though it must be admitted that most of the troubles of Gov. Shannon were entailed upon him by the mismanagement of Gov. Reeder.

Henceforth we enter upon a new regime: Governor Geary, if we mistake not, will hold an even hand, and endeavor to protect the just rights of all concerned. If now Congress will pass the Senate Bill, or something equivalent to it, by which whatever is unconstitutional or oppressive in the Acts of the Kansas Legislature shall be annulled, and provision made for the full, fair and free expression of the will of the inhabitants as to the formation of a State Constitution, and then as to its provisions, with ample protection to the ballot boxes and to every legal voter, we see no reason why Kansas may not at once be pacified, and at the next session of Congress, (which commences early in December,) be admitted into the Union as a State. Here we are willing to stop; but if any of our readers wish to know our opinion, it is, that three are more than one; and that the aggregate testimony is, that the Free State men of Kansas are to the pro-slavery men about in that proportion. Of course a fair expression of the popular will would result in the adoption of a Free State Constitution.

New-York Daily Tribune

THURSDAY, JULY 31, 1856.

OUR western friends write us in earnest protest against our view of the political prospect in their several States, though we set down none of them as really doubtful but Indiana. We believed, and have since been strengthened in the belief, that every State north-west of the Ohio is for Fremont except Indiana, which we set down as doubtful because the work which is to carry it for Fremont has not yet been done. A remonstrating Indianian writes us from Indianapolis on the 27th inst., as follows:

"In your last Semi-Weekly, your calculation as to what may be the final result of the Indiana Election implies some doubt as to this State going for Fremont. Now, Sir, no possible contingency, short of his death, can happen by which Fremont could be prevented from carrying Indiana by at least twenty-five thousand votes. I offer facts to confirm my statement:

"In 1854, with the whole foreign population almost against us, on account of Know-Nothingism, we carried Indiana by about 12,000 majority. Then our people were very much interested in the Temperance cause, and only somewhat in the Kansas troubles in Congress. But now they are absolutely excited with a spirit of resistance to human despotism, plunder, and murder, which surpasses the excitement of 1854 as much as the tempest can the pleasant breeze. Know-Nothingism is dead. The Germans, and good foreigners of all nations, are joining the Republican party, and are acting like men, to roll back the Southern scourge from the Territories. I will mention that the French of our city, almost to a man, have fallen in with the Republican party. From almost every neighborhood of Indiana, our people went to Kansas. They have been driven home, or hunted like wild beasts through the forests, because they were for Freedom in the Territories. Some of them have come home, and hundreds have written to their relatives and friends; so that every neighborhood has had living witnesses before them of the abuses and outrages introduced by Slavery into Kansas in its struggles for the mastery over Freedom. Many of our people speak to us from the graves where their murdered bodies lie, of the sufferings they endured, of the death they died, at the hands of the ruffians of the Government and of the South. The fathers, the brothers, the sisters, the mothers of men who have been shot down or hung, or who have had their houses burnt and plundered, or who have been chased out of Kansas, or who are in prison, or who have been taken up on the highway in Kansas and chained like felons, insulted and abused, are living in all the Counties of this State, and are ready at a moment's warning for the battle-field or for the polls. Mr. Editor, can it be possible that there is the slightest reason to doubt Indiana after all that has occurred to her children at the hands of a Pro-Slavery terrorism, that is falling to pieces with the weight of its own sin and corruption? Do not believe it."

From Our Own Correspondent.

WASHINGTON, Tuesday, July 29, 1856.

Shannon's removal could not have been unexpected to the readers of this correspondence, for the purpose was intimated pretty clearly a month ago. It was then hoped, however, the necessity for this step would have been obviated by a resignation, and that expectation was encouraged by the publication of his letter to Buford. But as no official assurance of such an intention was received, and almost all communication became suspended, it was decided last week to appoint Col. Geary, and his acceptance was received in time to be submitted to the Cabinet yesterday morning. The two Senators from Pennsylvania—Bigler and Brodhead—speak of the appointment in favorable terms, which does not furnish any particular recommendation. It is quite certain he cannot do worse than Shannon, however willing he may be to descend in the scale of partisan servility.

The virtual power of the Territorial Executive is lodged here, and it makes but little difference who may nominally hold the office if he consents to obey such dictation and instructions as have heretofore issued from Washington. Still, there is a satisfaction in witnessing the scornful humiliation to which Shannon has been exposed, after his mean and degrading submission. Retribution like this was never more deservedly earned or administered, and there is a sense of universal gratification that this craven instrument who was so quick to obey the orders of desperate masters has been spurned by the very hands upon which he so obsequiously fawned. The Administration has not been content with an abrupt and insulting dismissal, but no reserve is manifested in assigning the reasons to be entire unfitness, want of decision and habits of intemperance. These objections were frequently urged, as soon as the original appointment was conferred, and they have been pressed over and again since his tyrannical rule in Kansas subjected peaceable settlers to every sort of outrage and injustice. In selecting a Democrat from Pennsylvania for this delicate position, the object is to throw the responsibility of affairs in that Territory as directly upon Mr. Buchanan as

may be practicable, and to relieve the Administration from a burden of which it is now heavily sick.

REPUBLICAN MASS MEETING IN WILLIAMSBURGH.

At the invitation of the Fremont and Dayton Association, the citizens of Williamsburgh held a rousing mass meeting, at the Odeon, last evening. In spite of the extreme heat of the weather, a delegation came from Greenpoint, and the room was well filled with an intelligent and attentive audience.

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Mr. GEORGE RICARD, President of the Association, occupied the Chair. In calling the meeting to order, he said the attendance was much larger than could have been anticipated during this hot weather. In briefly stating the object of the meeting, he said he hoped that now the ball had been set a rolling no effort would be spared to render the success of the movement certain. Let our war cry be "Free Men, Freedom, and Liberty [Tremendous cheering]."

The Rallying Song was then sung with fine effect, the audience joining heartily in the chorus, and cheering the sentiment over and over again.

RICHARD C. UNDERHILL was then introduced and warmly received. He said he had the best hopes for the success of the Republican Party from the zeal which they manifested in these sweltering dog-days [Applause]. This cause is worthy of this enthusiasm; the prairies are on fire, the mighty West aglow, and the free North aroused in the great cause of universal Freedom [Applause]. In alluding to Mr. Burlingame, he said that the whole Republican party owed a debt of gratitude to him for his punk and nerve and back-bone. He who accepted a challenge even from Brooks rather than see his own State and the free North traduced by Southern braggers—he who had the courage to strip that little bit of lion's skin from that consummate ass Brooks, deserves well of the entire North [Cheers]. In a brief sketch the speaker set before his audience the history of the past three years, denouncing in the strongest terms the demagogues who brought about the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. He said the North, taking the doctrine of Squatter Sovereignty for what it appeared to mean, and seeing that the Senate was thoroughly Pro-Slavery, determined to send free men to Kansas, to secure that Territory to Freedom, never dreaming that ruffian bodys would strike down Freedom at the ballot-box. You know the result. Knowing the wrongs and outrages to which your brethren in Kansas have been subjected, you will never allow that State to be incorporated into this Union except as a Free State [Cries of "No, never!" and loud and prolonged applause]. The speaker proceeded to show the implacable determination of the South to extend Slavery wherever it can, at all hazards, and called upon the freemen of America to say to the Slaveocracy, with inflexible firmness: "Thus far, and no further!" The majority of the House of Representatives is Free, and the time is coming when the Declaration of Independence may be read at the Capital of the country without being thrown back in our teeth as a base lie. The Senate's pacification bill cannot pass the House. The Committee of five that is proposed to be appointed by Pierce would be terrible as an army of locusts in Kansas. No pacification bill emanating from that impudent Southern Tombs can ever be adopted by Republicans. The only pacification that can be effectual is the election of John C. Fremont [Great applause]. Speaking about the bluster and threats of the South Americans about their distant hosts, and with John C. Fremont as our leader we will whip them into the ranks of Union again or cast them before us like the dry leaves of Autumn [Cheers]. We want none of those oily lubberly craft, with their bottoms all covered with barnacles from the ship of state. We want a new clipper craft upon that to spread our Republican canvass, and that craft is John C. Fremont [Great applause]. Elect him and we may hope once more to hear the old bell of Independence Hall ring out, proclaiming Liberty throughout the land, and to all the inhabitants thereof.

A tip-top song was sung by the Glee Club, after which

The Hon. JOHN A. KING was introduced. When the applause had subsided, he said it is not now as it used to be—men of one party on one side, and men of the other party on the other side. It is men of all parties, banded together for the preservation of our liberties [Applause]. It is the old Republican party reorganized [Applause]. The Convention of the party has put in nomination a man worthy of the cause. A man not unknown to fame—a man of the people, whose talents have shed lustre upon the annals of his country. Such is the man and the party. The opponents are also men of character and experience; but they are wrong. The Democratic party is no longer what it was—it is Pro-Slavery and for Slavery extension, and its candidate no longer James Buchanan. The other candidate, Millard Fillmore, is an old friend of mine. New-York loved him, had confidence in him and made him, what he was. But he has not the nerve for the battle—the backbone of intentions he has not the stiffness, the backbone to meet the issue. The Democrats hold that Slavery is the corner-stone of Freedom. We who hold the opposite opinion cannot submit to have such doctrines forced upon us [applause], and if we are true to ourselves, our principles, and our leaders, we shall vanquish them [Great cheering]. Mr. King eloquently narrated the aggressive acts of Slavery during the past 30 years—from the passage of the Missouri Compromise admitting Missouri—the acquisition of Texas, with the power to make four new Slave States out of her—the vain attempt to secure California, Utah, and New-Mexico to Slavery—the passage of the Fugitive Slave law, which, though he admitted it to be constitutional, still grated upon his feelings, and upon those of every true Northern man, when it compelled him to farm out and hunt a poor fugitive, and denied him the right to give him a cup of water, or a piece of bread, under penalty of \$500 and imprisonment—down to the crowning infamy of the Repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and the outrages that have been committed on Kansas. He continued: At length the people of the North are aroused—they see the issue, Freedom or Slavery, plainly, and they will arise as one man and shout, Give us Freedom and Fremont [Great cheering]. He contrasted Northern progress and prosperity with

Southern decadence, and asked if it could be attributed to any other cause than human Slavery? In conclusion, he spoke warmly of the Republican sentiments which were instilled into his mind by those who assisted in framing the Constitution and the Union; those principles, he said, were reproduced in the Republican party of to-day. The duty question before us is Slavery or Freedom. Every slave displaces a freeman—three million five hundred thousand slaves have taken the place of as many freemen. If you understand your duty to yourselves and your country, we shall have Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Press, and Freedom [Great cheering].

Mr. WM. J. COGSWELL of Queens County next addressed the meeting for a few minutes with good effect. Mr. JOHN EVANS followed, in a telling speech. A Committee of three was then appointed to confer with a like Committee from New-York, to get up a Congressional District mass meeting, and the meeting adjourned with three times three hearty cheers for Fremont and Drayton.

EVENING SESSION OF THE HOUSE.

Special Dispatch to The N. Y. Tribune.

WASHINGTON, Tuesday, July 29, 1856.

Mr. Geary, the nominee for Governor of Kansas has not yet been confirmed. He is said to be a weak man and his nomination was dictated by Atobison, Stringfellow & Co.

Mr. Celfax of Indiana, is presiding in Committee of the Whole this evening, and Mr. Tappan of New-Hampshire is making a powerful speech in exposition of the vacillating course of the Administration. Pierce has not suffered so much from the hands of any other man this session. H.

FROM WASHINGTON.

Special Dispatch to The N. Y. Tribune.

WASHINGTON, Tuesday, July 29, 1856.

The House has done a glorious work for Freedom to-day. It has passed the Army Appropriation Bill, by a vote of 91 to 86; with Mr. Sherman's amendment appended, which is as follows:

"Provided, nevertheless, That no part of the military force of the United States herein provided for shall be employed in aid of the enforcement of the enactments of the alleged Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Kansas, recently assembled at Shawnee Mission, until Congress shall have enacted either that it was or was not a valid Legislative Assembly, chosen in conformity with the organic law by the people of the said Territory. And provided, That, until Congress shall have passed on the validity of the said Legislative Assembly of Kansas, it shall be the duty of the President to use the military force in said Territory to preserve the peace, suppress insurrection, repel invasion, and protect persons and property therein, and upon the national highways in the State of Missouri, from unlawful seizures and searches. And be it further provided, That the President is required to disarm the present organized militia of the Territory of Kansas, and recall all the United States arms therein distributed, and to prevent armed men from going into said Territory to disturb the public peace, or aid in the enforcement or resistance of real or pretended laws."

The bill as amended has gone to the Senate, and the responsibility is thrown upon that branch to say whether supplies shall be voted to the Army or not. Not content with this, the House wheeled into line under the lead of Mr. Grow of Pa., and substituted Mr. Dunn's Free Kansas bill for Mr. Grow's and put it through to its final passage by a vote of 88 to 74, and that has gone to the Senate also.

Dunn, Haven, Harrison & Co. voted for it. The bill repeals the Kansas-Nebraska Act, restores the Missouri Compromise, and provides carefully for a thorough reorganization of the Territory, and the Executive power and authority in and over it to be vested in a Governor, who shall hold his office four years; the appointment of a Secretary and the election of a Council and House of Representatives—the first election to be on the Tuesday after the first Monday of November next; that all the laws passed by the Legislative Assembly and Governor shall be submitted to the Congress of the United States, and if disapproved, shall be void and of no effect; and that all laws or pretended laws, whether now existing or hereafter enacted in said Territory, in contravention of the provisions of this Act, shall be void.

The joint amendment of Eschbour and Wakeman to the Appropriation bill was lost by a vote of 88 to 89. This happened through the absence of Free-State men without pair. Some five or six

Free State Members were also present and did not vote, having paired off with Southern men.

The Indian Appropriation bill with Senate amendments were reported by Mr. Campbell from Committee of Ways and Means, and referred to Committee on the Whole.

There is considerable speculation whether the Senate will reject or adopt this Kansas bill. Many believe that it will adopt the bill. If it does not, the House will insist upon the amendment to the Army Appropriation bill. H.

DECIDEDLY COOL.—Horace Greeley says that Col. Lane is not collecting and arming men to go into Kansas with a view of disturbing anybody. All that Col. Lane wants is to set the laws at defiance and be let alone. If the laws are allowed to be a dead letter, Col. Lane graciously agrees that he will hurt nobody. Listen to the cool effrontery of Mr. Greeley:

"Nobody believes or apprehends that Col. Lane or his party will disturb or molest any one in Kansas if they are simply let alone. They deny the right of the Missouri ruffians to impose laws on Kansas, and of course dispute the validity of the bloody code which those ruffians have already enacted for the government of Kansas. But they have and will be let alone to insure peace between them and everybody else."

COMMERCIAL ADVERTISER.

THURSDAY EVENING, JULY 31.

The Commercial betrays itself very needlessly in wondering what we meant by saying that "if the enactments of the Shawnee Mission are really laws of Kansas, then her free state citizens are rebels," &c. We certainly did not mean to intimate any doubt in our own mind on that subject, nor can the Commercial have honestly supposed we did. We have always known, regarded and represented these enactments as impudent, atrocious frauds and impostures, no more rightful validity or authority than the Book of Mormon. (1) What we did mean was to call attention to the fact that the friends of free Kansas in Congress cannot afford to compromise or split the difference on this subject. Any act of theirs which admits or implies the validity of those acts passed at Shawnee Mission, or any rightful power in their authors to bind the people of Kansas, will be putting the necks of Charles Robinson, George W. Brown, Charles W. Deitzler and other noble patriots in a halter. Woe to the professed friend of free Kansas who votes that the acts of that bogus Legislature have any validity or rightful force whatever! (2)

The Commercial will please understand that we recognize no "possibility" that those Shawnee mission enactments may prove valid laws. We knew they were frauds before the House investigating committee proved them so by the affidavits of hundreds. But we do not propose to submit their validity to any Court, but the grand inquest composed of the whole American people. As to the Federal Supreme Court, that body professed last Winter its inability to decide whether a positive act of Congress, by which slavery was excluded from federal territory, was constitutional or not, and ordered a re-argument next Winter. After that confession of inability to perceive or want of courage to declare the right, we would submit the fewest possible questions affecting slavery to that tribunal as now constituted. (3)

We very willingly give the Tribune the benefit of that interpretation of its own words to which it is in fairness entitled. We have no desire to misinterpret an opponent's sentiments. But let us see what the Tribune gains by this further exposition of its views. We incline to think the avowals now made will go far toward opening the people's eyes to the real character of the political movement in which the Tribune and Col. Fremont take the lead. We will, so far as we have the ability, treat these declarations with entire candor and fairness.

1. Very well. But are those laws of "no rightful or authority" merely because the Tribune has "always so regarded and represented them?" We do not contend that the enactments in question are legal. But we do demur to the assumed judicial authority of the Tribune, or any other self elected judges of the legality or constitutionality of any laws of any territory or state or of Congress. No private individual, or public journalist, or assemblage of people other than those empowered by the constitution and the laws, can decide such a question. Neither the Tribune nor the Commercial Advertiser, nor any other newspaper or its conductors, can rightfully decide what enactments are legal or constitutional. Otherwise confusion worse confounded would reign throughout the country. And it is just as much an act of presumption on the Tribune's part to pronounce upon the illegality of enactments and urge disobedience to them, as it would be for this journal to do so. No mere assertion or argument of any newspaper or its conductors can make enactments illegal or exonerate citizens from obedience to them.

2. The Tribune's argument fairly put is this. Certain citizens of Kansas having put the laws of the Legislative Assembly of that territory at defiance, they must be protected in their resistance whether

they are right or wrong. The friends who encouraged them in this resistance cannot now "afford" to admit the validity of the laws they have broken, lest the violators of those laws should be made to bear the penalty of their crimes. This is, to say the least, queer doctrine. Certain laws exist in Kansas territory, and no competent tribunal has yet declared them invalid. The House of Representatives appointed a committee of investigation, but even if Congress were competent to pronounce upon the question, it has not yet done so, in either branch of it.—The committee itself was divided upon the merits of the question, and it is not certainly known which, if either, of the reports will receive the sanction of the federal Legislature. No decision of the matter has been made by any tribunal competent to decide it, or even pretending to be competent to decide it. And yet the Tribune presumes to dictate to the people of the whole Union, through its representatives in Congress, that the decision must be made in a certain way because the men who violated those laws will otherwise be proved to be "rebels, subject to indictment and punishment for heinous crimes." The question is not to be decided on its merits. It is no matter whether these men are in arms against laws constitutionally enacted or not. Whether they were right or wrong the Tribune cares not. "The friends of free Kansas cannot afford to compromise or split the difference on this subject." The violators of the laws must be supported any how.

And that in this interpretation of the Tribune's declarations we do that journal no injustice is very manifest. 3. Our contemporary scorns the idea of submitting the question to the Supreme Court of the United States—that tribunal to which the "American people" have solemnly bound themselves to refer all such questions. The Tribune knew there were frauds before the House investigating committee published testimony. But does the allegation or even the existence of fraud in a Congressional district necessarily invalidate all the laws passed by the Congress to which one member or two may have been elected by such fraud? Surely the Tribune would not contend for any such absurdity of inference, or of what validity are the laws of Congress for the last ten or twenty years? Would frauds practised at the ballot box in this city invalidate the laws passed by our state Legislature? That such frauds have been practised no one doubts. Suppose that when the prohibitory liquor law was passed at Albany, the opponents of that measure had refused to obey it, on the allegation or the proof that any number of the members had been elected by fraud, would the Tribune have conceded their right to repudiate and resist the law and yet claim exemption from the consequences of such resistance?

And how did the opponents of that measure act? They carried the question of the constitutionality of that law to the Courts, and waited its decision. Just so should the free state men in Kansas have done.—But no, says the Tribune, we do not intend to do anything of the sort. We repudiate the constitutional provisions which the American people have made for the settlement of such questions—the tribunal which in solemn convention they established, and the authority of which as the duly exponent of such questions we have again and again acknowledged,—and we appeal to the people themselves. "We do not purpose to submit the validity of those enactments to any Court but the grand inquest composed of the whole American people. As to the federal Supreme Court," &c. In other words the Supreme Court of the United States does not exactly agree with the Tribune in opinion on certain questions affecting slavery, therefore the Supreme Court is wrong. The Supreme Court takes time to consider an important question which the Tribune can decide in a moment, therefore the Supreme Court lacks either perception of the right or courage to do it. The Tribune suspects the Supreme Court of the United States would decide against it, and therefore it refuses to submit the question to it.

It should not be forgotten that in a certain letter to a friend by Governor Rader, not designed for publication, that former co-worker with the Tribune indulged in very similar sentiments. He would, and we think we quite almost his exact words, have far more confidence in a jury with a goodly number of free soil men upon it, than in the Supreme Court!—But what does all this mean? Why this entire repudiation of constitutional tribunals, and the setting up above them of individual and party opinions? By what authority does the Tribune set aside the decision of the people, so solemnly declared in the constitution, that such questions shall be decided, not by the popular masses, but by the Supreme Court? And whither, we ask, is this appealing to "grand inquests of the people" tending? It is rapidly, and of necessity, undermining all our constitutional provisions, safeguards and guarantees; and unless arrested,

ed, will yet overthrow our institutions, and introduce first anarchy and then despotism. There is no safety for a republic but in implicit obedience to constitutional restrictions. Once admit that the illegality of any legislative enactments can be assumed and acted upon before they are so declared by the only constitutional authority, and where are we? Instead of having the popular will, uttered with consideration, solemnity and a sense of responsibility, and with the conviction that its decisions must be binding until changed by an exactly similar and equally solemn act, to fall back upon, we shall be thrown upon the irresponsible humor of the hour, and upon the will of an excited and evanescent party.

And the evil, we repeat, is spreading. In Kansas it takes the form of deciding on the legality or illegality of legislative enactments. In California, of deciding in an equally unconstitutional manner, upon the acts of the judiciary and executive officers of government. In Kansas, and in connection therewith, a party sets itself up as independent of the Supreme Court, resolved upon obeying no laws that it does not approve, and refusing to permit the constituted tribunal to decide whether such laws are constitutional or not. In California, it overturns the government and substitutes an irresponsible despotism. This state of things cannot last—cannot co-exist with our present system of government. One or the other must fall. We are glad that the Tribune has openly declared that its party takes sides with revolution—that it repudiates the constitutional tribunal and proposes a tribunal of its own. We have long suspected this. It is now openly avowed. The issue is no longer to be mistaken. The doctrine of the Tribune, its party, and its candidate is, "We do not propose to submit the validity of the enactments of the Kansas Legislature to any Court, but to the whole American people. As to the Federal Supreme Court, we would submit the fewest possible questions respecting slavery to that tribunal as now constituted." The conservative masses who are rallying around Mr. Fillmore, honor and obey the constitution, whatever their personal views or prejudices, and do propose to submit the validity of all enactments to the proper court of appeal. Which party is right? Reader, judge for yourself, and act accordingly.

THE EVENING MIRROR.

H. FULLER,
EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.

NEW YORK,

THURSDAY EVENING, JULY 31, 1856.

Action Better than Sentiment.

As an abstract proposition, we presume there are few men of common intelligence in the United States, who do not approve of the principle of the non-extension of Slavery, and condemn that wanton outrage on the rights of the freemen of the North—the Repeal of the Missouri Compromise. If the compromises of the Constitution, which by special favor to the South, and against the convictions of her Washingtons, her Jeffersons, and all that host of great names which fill up the measure of her revolutionary glory—accorded to the institution of Slavery a certain degree of toleration in the Union—if those compromises are inviolable, then certainly that solemn compact, which, a quarter of a century afterwards, restored peace to the Union, and was accepted throughout the country, in the spirit of a constitutional compromise, should have remained forever unbroken. There was as little excuse for its violation, as there would be for striking out that clause of the Constitution requiring the return of "fugitives from labor," or any other provision of that instrument which is relied upon as a protection to Slavery. But these are facts so universally admitted, even by the most ultra pro-slavery men," that they only need to be stated to command the acquiescence of the reader.

A great wrong was, therefore, committed, in the passage of the Kansas Nebraska bill, which bared to the inroads of slavery that fair and beautiful territory now known as Kansas, and opened the way to all the anarchy and bloodshed and civil war which have since held undisputed sway on her fertile soil. Indeed, the crimes which followed as a natural sequence to the repeal of the Missouri Restriction, are only equalled in the enormity of their wickedness by the bill itself, the malign influences which presided over its passage, and the unscrupulous proceedings of its authors in the attempt to give it effect and practical operation in Kansas.

Profoundly impressed
overwhelmed by a sense of shame for the disgrace and contumely which a weak and wicked Administration has brought upon the country, the free masses of the North, encouraged and assisted by all truly conservative Southern men, have resolved to attempt a peaceful revolution in the policy of the government, by electing to the highest office in the gift of the people, a man who is free from the taint of the demagogue—untrammelled by factions, and unhampered by pledges to any party or clique—and who was educated, not in the corrupt atmosphere of politics, but in the school of science, and amid the hardships and dangers which beset the explorer of the mountains, the deserts, and the valleys of the West.

But how is this determination on the part of the people received by that large class of Northern men, who, although professing to share zealously in the feelings of opposition to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, are fearful of the evil consequences of Slavery agitation? They tell us that the Nebraska bill is a mischievous measure—a flagrant violation of a solemn compact—a great wrong to the North, and fruitful of danger to the Union. But while they profess to deplore it, and to condemn the Administration under whose evil auspices its passage was effected, they are firmly opposed to every measure of redress. The past cannot be retrieved, reason these timid counsellors—what is done cannot be undone, and we must submit with magnanimity to the perpetration of the outrage. Since a Congressional majority has decided that slavery shall no longer be restricted to its present limits, but may go on and extend itself over territories hitherto conceded to free labor, we are bound to acquiesce, and to offer no resistance to the encroachments of the slave power. Let the troubles in Kansas go on; let the press be manacled, and freedom of speech be prohibited, by the tyrannical laws forced upon the people of that territory by a lawless mob from Missouri. Let the sacred rights of the franchise be trampled upon with impunity, and the ballot box no longer afford a fair expression to the will of the majority. We have no power to interfere; the Slavery propagandists must have their way, and we are content so long as the Union lasts! This is the upshot of the language employed by our old conservative politicians, to dissuade their followers from joining in the great Republican movement, which is destined to sweep from power the whole host of corrupt and wicked demagogues who have grown rich upon public plunder, and who are alone responsible for the perils which encompass the Union, and the rampant violence which disgraces our public councils and overawes the liberty of speech in Kansas.

We are bound to enter our protest against the fallacious doctrine of this school of politicians. We protest against it, because we love the Union and wish to see it preserved, and its different parts cemented in the bonds of amity and mutual respect and affection. It is never too late to repair a wrong. None but a weak and timid, and indolent man, will submit equinely to an outrage which involves his country in disgrace. A brave man, one who is worthy to enjoy the rights of a freeman, will be jealous of the honor of his country, and not suffer her fair fame to be tarnished through his own cowardice and neglect. In this view of the case, what shall we say of those men who indulge in sentimental whinings at the course of the present administration, who acknowledge the matchless wickedness of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, and the subsequent proceedings which have marked its pretended enforcement in Kansas; and yet, with astounding inconsistency, are striving to perpetuate the same policy, by misrepresenting and thwarting the Republican cause, which has for its object the overthrow of the Pierce Administration, and the inauguration of a new regime, fashioned after the wise and salutary examples of Washington, Jefferson, and the early administrators of the Government?

We insist that the time for action has arrived. Sentiment is very well in its place, but it will not do in the present emergency of our public affairs. It will not rescue our liberties from the hands of the spoilers, or restore its faded lustre to the escutcheon of the Republic. Let the tide sweep on, and bear on its crest that candidate who will do honor to the Executive Office, and administer the affairs of the Government with a just consideration for all sections and interests of the country.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Office, No. 561 Seventh street, between D and E,
one square south of City Post Office.
National Era.

THURSDAY, JULY 31, 1866.

For the National Era.

LINES FOR THE HOUR.

"Forget—forgive—unite!"—WHITTIER.

Strike together! Let us be
One in heart and in endeavor;
Make the star of Kansas "free"
On our country's flag forever!

Nerved be every doubting soul—
Flushed be every paltry feeling—
Shadows, that now darkly roll,
Over Freedom's sky are stealing.

Tyrants, now, must be obeyed!
Dastard spirits quail and falter;
Up! and toil—with offerings laid
Now on Freedom's holy altar!

Labor! in the light of day,
Firm, with neither strife nor clamor—
Labor! sacrifice and pray,
Clad in Freedom's shining armor!

Chains are forging—Slavery's cup
To our very lips is pressing!
Labor, stout hearts—hasten up!
Yours be Freedom's holy blessing.

O'er the sunny prairie land,
Now the tyrant's foot is treading—
Let us struggle, heart and hand—
Rescue Freedom, sad and bleeding.

Shall we falter? Shall we stand,
With a mocking lip and craven?
Shall we wear the "traitor" brand,
By insulted Freedom graven?

Shall we pause and bicker now?
See the *CUSA* in Kansas planted?
Shall we to the Ruffian bow,
And live on by Freedom taunted?

By this glorious land of ours,
Whither pilgrim feet are thronging,
Turning from the tyrant powers,
And for Freedom's altars longing—

By our fathers' hopes and fears,
Struggling through a night of peril—
By our mothers' prayers and tears,
In old Freedom's hour of trial—

By the GREAT WORK they began,
By the GREAT WORDS they have spoken—
By their toils, and all they won,
By the chains of Freedom broken—

By the Pilgrim feet that pressed
Plymouth Rock in faith and prayer—
By the God the Pilgrim blessed,
God of Freedom everywhere!—

By the memories of the past—
By each great soul's constant yearning—
Let each sacrifice be cast
Upon FREEDOM'S altar burning!

By the fallen—by the fate
Freemen now are undergoing—
And the hearth-stone desolate
By the Kansas red wave dawning—

By the glorious Martyr's name,
At his post of duty smitten—
By the damning deed of shame,
In the blood of SUMNER written!—

Let us rise, and nobly stand,
Bound in one fraternal feeling—
Heart to heart, and hand to hand,
Unto Freedom's God appealing!

There are traitors, there are knaves.
Basely bowing, basely kneeling—
Bastard sons and craven slaves,
Freedom's life-blood basely stealing.

Up together! all as one,
"With the might which God hath given!"
Let each braggart traitor son
From old Freedom's fame be driven!

Strike together!—all "unite,"
From each mountain home and valley—
Like a bulwark round the Right,
For FREEMONT and FREEDOM rally!

Strike together!—let us be
One in heart and in endeavor—
Strike! till KANSAS riseth Free,
Freedom's glorious child forever!

North Weare, New Hampshire.

M. A. C.

OLIVER'S REPORT.

Mr. Oliver, of Missouri, comes to the following conclusions, in his minority report, as one of the Kansas Investigating Committee:

Mr. Oliver resides on the borders of Kansas; his constituents, though not all, are the very "Border Ruffians" themselves; and it was proven before the Committee, that Mr. Oliver, a Representative in Congress then, as he is now, was at the election at Hays's, in the Fifteenth district, made a speech, and urged or defended the right of his Missouri constituents to vote. Messrs. Howard and Sherman, the majority of the Committee, refer in their report to this matter as follows:

"Fifteenth District.—The election in this district was held in the house of a Mr. Hays. On the day of election, a crowd of from 400 to 500 men collected around the polls, of which the great body were citizens of Missouri. One of the judges of election, in his testimony, states that the strangers commenced crowding around the polls, and then the residents left. Threats were made, before and during the election day, that there should be no Free State candidates, although there were nearly or quite as many Free State as Pro-Slavery men resident in the district. Most of the crowd were drinking and carousing, cursing the Abolitionists, and threatening the only Free State judge of election. A majority of those who voted wore hemp in their button-holes, and their pass-word was 'all right on the hemp!' Many of the Missourians were known and named by the witness. Several speeches were made by them at the polls, and amongst those who spoke were Major Oliver, one of our Committee, Col. Burns, and Lalan Williams, of Platte county. Major Oliver urged upon all present to use no harsh words, and expressed the hope that nothing would be said or done to harm the feelings of the most sensitive on the other side. He gave some grounds, based on the Missouri Compromise, in regard to the right of voting, and was understood to excuse the Missourians for voting. Your Committee are satisfied that he did not vote."

These amiable gentlemen exonerate their colleague from the imputation of so gross a violation of law as that of voting in the Territory would amount to; but is he a whit less culpable for refraining from what he urged others to do? We think not. We think it would have been more manly to have set them the example.

Of course, it could not be expected that Mr. Oliver, thus circumstanced, a representative of the Missouri borderers, and an aider and abettor in their invasions of Kansas, could come to different conclusions. We think there was a manifest impropriety, a want of delicacy, exhibited, in his taking the office of Commissioner, to investigate a matter in which his constituents and himself were the very parties implicated. But he was not a mere passive recipient of the office. He sought it earnestly, and the whole South backed his application, so that Mr. Banks, who in a spirit of magnanimity which has never characterized the Pro-Slavery party, yielded to their urgent solicitations. We think he acted unwisely. The minority member should have been one of the ablest and most upright members from the South, a friend of the Administration; but he should not have been from Missouri. He should have been free from any merely personal bias. A minority report from such a man would have commanded far more attention than one from a *particeps criminis*, as Mr. Oliver is, to say nothing of the undue influence

exerted upon him by the fact that the great body of his constituents are the chief offenders. It is requiring something more than Roman virtue and firmness to expect a man to judge fairly and dispassionately in his own cause.

For the National Era.
PROPERTY IN MAN.

It is now manifest that a tremendous conflict apparently—though perhaps not really—a sectional one, impends over our country, filling the mind of every intelligent citizen with anxiety and alarm; and various proposals are now being made to avert the dreaded catastrophe of this embittered strife. As Kansas is considered the commencing battle-ground of this contest, all eyes are turned to that region; and it is expected that the settlement of the question of Freedom or Slavery there, will bring peace and quiet to this Union. There seems, however, no prospect of any such settlement during the present session of Congress, as the two Houses are opposed to each other, and any proposal from one will be invariably rejected by the other; and should any compromise for conciliation be acceded to, which should secure the rights of the people of Kansas, it would not be likely to be faithfully enforced by the present Administration. The views of the excited meetings at the North, and the hopes of the Republicans, now rest upon the overthrow of this Administration, and the election of Fremont and an Anti-Slavery Congress; but, besides that this happy event is yet uncertain; besides, that if accomplished, there is still but little hope of an Anti-Slavery Senate; it is to be feared that the remedy thus expected is too distant to be effectual. The march of events may not wait eight months, till the 4th of March; and in the interim, by the opposing desperate resolutions of the free and the slave States, the doom of Kansas, and the agony of the political contest, may be precipitated upon us. Any political principle which can be so irremediably demonstrated as to bring both parties to an agreement, is now of momentous importance, and demands the earnest attention of every intelligent citizen of the Republic. To offer such an one, is the object of this communication.

To remove or prevent any evil, it is generally wise to investigate and eradicate its root; and we therefore now inquire, What is the radical cause of the dispute between the free and the slave States, on the now paramount question of Slavery? This does not lie, as is usually imagined, in the opposing political interests of the parties, or the love of power or passions of the statesmen of the South, impelling them to the extension of Slavery. These sentiments undoubtedly serve to invigorate the conflict, but do not constitute its source; this is to be found in mutual misapprehension. It is not want of principle, or grasping ambition, but sincere delusion, which marks the writings and speeches of liberal and intelligent slaveholders: the position of the North is not understood by them; and, on the other hand, the true ground on which the question stands is but little discerned at the North, and seldom or never applied to refute the plausible claims of the South to an equal participation in the Territories; the parties do not really meet each other, even in Congress—each aims at a different and false issue.

In the Convention which formed the Constitution of the United States, it was a well-understood principle, that no recognition should be

given of the rights of property in man. Mr. Madison, himself a slaveholder, declared that he could not, assent to any phrase in it which should imply that recognition, nor would the delegates from the free States have assented to the Constitution, had any such recognition been implied in it. Accordingly, neither the words "slave" nor "slavery" is to be found in it, nor any equivalent phrase, denoting that condition as existing, still less as admitted. On the contrary, there are expressions of universal Freedom, absolutely incompatible with the allowance of involuntary human servitude. It ought, therefore, to be held as a settled principle of our Union, that neither the free States, nor the United States as a whole, are to be considered as admitting the rightfulness of Slavery, of property in man, nor in any way bound to make that admission; and from this it results, that any act of Congress which implicates the United States or the free States in the maintenance, increase, or extension of Slavery, is unconstitutional—in violation of the original compact of the Union.

These propositions are undeniable; and if true, we can directly meet with them the claim of slaveholders, of the right to carry their slaves into the Territories, as well as that of the people of the free States to carry their property there. We can say to them that, not acknowledging these negroes to be property, we can consider them only as freemen; and the United States Government have no more right to prevent the ingress of these men into the Territories, than the migration of any other free citizens, and have nothing to do with the compulsion by which they are carried. All laws in a Territory, which forbid the entrance of black or colored people, are unconstitutional and void. Carry your slaves, then, into the Territories by thousands, if you please! We do not seek to prevent it, nor pretend a right to do so.

But now the question arises, In what character shall these alleged slaves be considered by the Federal Government, which has the full and exclusive rule of the Territories, when they arrive in them, and are settled there? According to the above principles, they could not be allowed to be property, and consequently must be deemed to be free citizens; and if any such person should quit his alleged master, and claim his freedom, no honest judge, acting on the principles of the Constitution, could remand him into involuntary servitude—all who so claim must be set at liberty. It is obvious that this decision would at once and forever abolish Slavery in all the Territories; this was the mode in which it was abolished in Massachusetts, and this judgment is applicable to every community, where the right of Slavery is not acknowledged. Let this principle and this measure be urged upon slaveholders in Congress, and there is not a point in it they can rationally withstand.

But the perpetual blindness of legislation, and the long course of erroneous judicial decisions and precedents, have so obscured the subject, that the plain principle of the denial of the right of property in man, under the jurisdiction of the General Government, is not discerned by our statesmen or our courts; and the prospect is hopeless, that any Territorial Judge will decide on this principle, however clearly its truth may be demonstrated; and therefore an act of Congress should be passed, declaring this principle, and positively enjoining the courts everywhere to disallow the claim of human property, and to liberate persons held under that claim. If the Slave Power in Congress would consent to pass such an act, our

contests and dangers would cease, and the peace and harmony of the Union might be again restored; but, if no majority could be found to pass such an act, then the plain duty of the free States, in conscience and integrity, would be to separate themselves from the South; they could not without guilt remain in a connection in which their fellow-men were held as chattels, under a Territorial Government, for the exercise of which they are responsible. Our Revolutionary fathers, in a comparatively feeble state, seceded from a powerful Government, on the mere theoretical principle of representation with taxation, from the violation of which they suffered but little practical injury, and sustained their secession with a calamitous and bloody war. *A fortiori*, if the people of the free States have not come to absolute degeneracy, should they hesitate to dissolve the Confederacy in which they are placed, when they are powerful enough to stand by themselves, and when no war is to be apprehended, rather than participate in the guilt and the disgrace before the world of the maintenance of Slavery? J. P. B.

While we cordially approve and commend to the public the body of this article, we must dissent from the author's suggestion of a secession from the Union, on the part of the North, in the event of being unable to exclude Slavery from the Territories. The North has the majority, and, if united, it can exclude Slavery. If not united on this point, it cannot prohibit Slavery, and cannot, for the same reason, secede in a body. Certain States might break off, but they would leave the South with a sufficient number of free States attached to give the preponderance to the Southern Confederacy, which would then appropriate the Territories in dispute to Slavery. The true position for Northern men, and for the friends of Freedom everywhere, is, never to flinch from discharging a public duty, in consequence of threats of disunion by Southern men or others. But let the responsibility of a dissolution of the Union rest on the friends of Slavery, and we hazard nothing in asserting that the South can never unite in favor of that measure, so long as the constitutional rights of the States are respected. Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, (maugre the border ruffians,) Tennessee, and North Carolina, will not assent to a dissolution of the Union, or follow the fire-eaters, in consequence of the prohibition of Slavery in the Territories. We venture to assert, further, that the remaining Southern States will not venture to secede without these. So the Union will be preserved.

We take the following letter, with the comments thereon, from the Richmond *Enquirer*. Let Northern supporters of Mr. Buchanan compare the letter and the commentary of the *Enquirer* with their Cincinnati platform, and with the stereotyped speeches of Douglas, Cass, and their leaders generally, on the right of the people of the Territories to govern themselves:

BUCHANAN ON SQUATTER SOVEREIGNTY.

Another Important Document.

It is a remarkable fact, that while the opposition press of Virginia accuses Mr. Buchanan of teaching the doctrine of Squatter Sovereignty, another Know Nothing paper in Alabama arraigns him for professing directly the contrary principle. The *Mobile Advertiser* reproduces the following letter, for the purpose of proving that the Democratic candidate maintains that the sovereignty over the Territories resides in the Federal Government:

WASHINGTON, August 21, 1848.

DEAR SIR: I have just received yours of the 12th instant, in which you submit to me the

following paragraph, and ask whether it contains an accurate version of the conversation between us, concerning my Berks county letter, on the occasion to which you refer:

"Happening to meet Mr. Buchanan at the President's levee, on Friday evening, I called his attention to this letter, and asked him if he intended to be understood as claiming that the population of a Territory in an unorganized capacity had the right to control the question of Slavery in such Territory. He declared that no such idea had ever been maintained by him; that the construction put upon his language by Mr. Yancey was a perversion of its plain and obvious meaning; that, in his opinion, the inhabitants of a Territory, as such, had no political rights, [although they possessed all the private rights of American citizens;] that they had no power whatever over the subject of Slavery; and they could neither interdict nor establish it, except when assembled in Convention to form a State Constitution. He further authorized and requested me to make any public use of these declarations that I might think proper, to correct any impression which Mr. Yancey's construction of his language in the Berks letter might have made."

With the addition which I have inserted between brackets, this statement is substantially and almost literally correct, according to my recollection.

In my letter to Berks county of the 25th August, 1847, I had said, "under the Missouri Compromise, Slavery was forever prohibited north of the parallel of 36 degrees 30 minutes, and south of this parallel the question was left to be decided by the people." What people? Undoubtedly the people of the Territory assembled in Convention to form a State Constitution, and ask admission into the Union; and not the first adventurers, or "first comers," who might happen to arrive in the Territory assembled in public meeting. If a doubt on this subject could possibly exist, it is removed by the next succeeding sentence of my letter. I proceeded to state: "Congress, on the admission of Texas, adopted the same rule," &c. And what was this rule? "The joint resolution for annexing Texas to the United States," approved March 1st, 1845, answers the question in the following words: "And such States as may be formed out of that portion of said Territory lying south of 36 degrees 30 minutes north latitude, commonly known as the Missouri Compromise line, shall be admitted into the Union with or without Slavery, as the people of each State asking admission may desire." Such was the description of the people to whom I referred in my Berks county letter.

Any other construction of the letter would render it essentially inconsistent with itself. 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. What an absurdity, would it then be, if, whilst asserting this SOVEREIGN POWER IN CONGRESS, which power from its nature must be EXCLUSIVE, I should in the very same breath also claim this identical power "for the population of a Territory in an unorganized capacity?"

In conclusion, I desire to reiterate and reaffirm every sentiment contained in my Berks county letter. I cling to the Missouri Compromise with greater tenacity than ever, and yet firmly believe that it will be adopted by Congress.

Yours, very respectfully,
JAMES BUCHANAN.

T. Sandford, Esq.

The *Enquirer* remarks:

This is a formal and public exposition of opinion, and presents the deliberate conviction of Mr. Buchanan on the vexed question of the relations of Slavery in the Territories. In claiming for Congress exclusive control over the Territories, Mr. Buchanan emphatically repudiates the idea of squatter sovereignty. But, in claiming for Congress this exclusive sovereignty, he does not imply that the Federal Legislature may prohibit or abolish Slavery in the Territories. It does not follow, that because Congress may legislate for the protection of Slavery in the Territories, that it may legislate for its abolition. The distinction is obvious and incontestable. Indeed, the very fact that power is reserved to the Federal Legislature to protect property with-

in the Territories, implies that Congress has no power to destroy it.

The most vigorous action which the Anti-Nebraska party has yet displayed in the House, in relation to Kansas, was the adoption, in Committee of the Whole, on Thursday last, of Mr. Barbour's amendment to the Army bill. It is in the following words:

"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.

But it will be seen that the attendance was thin; and it may be that the vote in Committee of the Whole will not be ratified by the House. We sincerely trust that it may be; as the country will then see whether Cass, Douglas, and Toombs, are really in earnest in proposing to repeal the pretended laws of Kansas, and whether they really desire peace and fairness. In truth, a measure like this is, the only one which can reach the source of the evil under present circumstances, with the Senate and President on the side of the ruffian invaders of Kansas. When they find that the Representatives of the People will not vote the public money to carry out the infamous scheme of making Kansas a slave State, by usurpation, fraud, and force, they will quickly be compelled to acquiesce in the popular demands; just as the tyrannical Charles and Georges of England, in days of yore, succumbed to our Anglo-Saxon ancestors. "Withhold the supplies" is the true remedy, and the time-honored check-mate to tyrants. It is the palladium of the English people; the very stronghold of Freedom in the British Isles.

This is the fourth great victory of the session. First, was the election of Speaker Banks, after a struggle of two months; next, came the appointment of the Investigating Committee, which was achieved with less difficulty; then, the admission of Kansas, with her Free State Constitution, with no great effort; and now, the true remedy for tyranny has gone through its preliminary stage of adoption in Committee of the Whole, by a majority of fifteen votes! Let the Representatives of the People stand firm, and they will command victory!

Removal of Gov. Shannon.

The President has appointed John W. Geary, of Pa., Governor of Kansas, in place of Wilson Shannon, removed. The causes for the removal are not given. The President seems to be unfortunate in his Kansas appointments. First, Reeder was appointed, but he was soon removed; next came Shannon, and he is removed, and now Mr. Geary is placed in charge. How soon he will be turned out remains to be seen.



PUBLISHED DAILY AND TRI-WEEKLY BY
EDGAR SNOWDEN.

ALEXANDRIA:

THURSDAY MORNING, JULY 31, 1856.

The Union, speaking of Mr. Sherman's amendment to the Army Appropriation bill, which has been adopted in the House of Representatives, says that the meaning of it is, that anybody in Kansas who chooses to violate the laws of the Territory may do so with impunity, provided he can muster force enough to resist their execution by the officers appointed by the territorial legislature to execute them. In other words, the federal troops in Kansas are not to be used for the execution of the laws if they are resisted; but if they are resisted, and the territorial officers have strength enough to overcome the resistance by force, then the federal troops are to interfere to prevent their enforcement, under the plea of preserving the peace. All such amendments, are offered with the knowledge that they will be defeated, and that the persistence in them by the House will defeat the army appropriation.

CHARLESTON

Thursday Morning, July 31, 1856.

THE MERCURY.

BY HEART & TABER.

Kansas Meeting in St. Bartholomew's.

In pursuance of a call to that effect, a meeting of the citizens of St. Bartholomew's Parish was held at Bell's Cross Roads, on Monday, 25th inst. to raise means for the aid of the Southern cause in Kansas. Dr. RICHARD B. RICE was called to the Chair, and opened the meeting by a few suitable remarks. JOSIAH B. PERRY, Esq., then addressed the meeting, and moved that a Committee be appointed to prepare resolutions for its consideration. In accordance with this motion, JOSIAH B. PERRY, W. GLEN GREEN, JNO. BELL, Dr. JAS. W. STEVENS, MAJ. D. L. SMITH, SAM'L DAVIS, and J. C. D. BOATWRIGHT having been appointed, the Committee retired for a few moments, and, returning, submitted the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the persevering efforts of the Black Republicans of the North to drive our Southern brethren from the Territory of Kansas, and to appropriate the same to their sole and exclusive use, is in violation of the letter and spirit of the Constitution of the United States, subversive of our rights and privileges, as co-equal in the Confederacy, and should be met and opposed by a corresponding resistance throughout every portion of the Southern States.

Resolved, That the issue forced upon us in Kansas is one of a fearful character, involving a dissolution of the Union, or the longer continuance of the Southern States therein, as co-equals in the Confederacy.

Resolved, That a Committee of fourteen be appointed to receive the names of such of our fellow-citizens as may be disposed to emigrate to Kansas, and to receive contributions from the people of this Parish for defraying their expenses.

Which resolutions having been seconded by HEN-

RY STEVENS, Esq., were unanimously adopted.

Mr. TRACY being then called on, addressed the meeting, and on the conclusion of his remarks, the following resolutions were submitted by JOSIAH B. PERRY, Esq., and after being seconded by Major D. L. SMITH, were unanimously carried.

Resolved, That the resolution of censure recently passed by the Black Republicans and Abolitionists of Congress, against our Representative, the Hon. L. M. KEITT, is noticed by us, his immediate constituents, only with indignation and contempt.

Resolved, That in declining to betray the confidence of his friend, by warning the Abolitionist Summer of his approaching merited chastisement, our Representative deserves the unqualified commendation of every honorable citizen.

Resolved, That as evidence of our cordial approbation of the conduct of our said Representative, we, a portion of his constituents, assembled at Bell's Cross Roads, this day, tender him a large and unanimous vote for re-election.

In compliance with the third resolution, relating to Kansas, the Chair appointed as the Committee, the following persons, who, when occasion arises, will please correspond with their Chairman, the gentleman first on the list.

HON. M. E. CARN.
Capt. DAVID CROSBY.
CALVIN FOLK.
R. B. RICE, Jr.
G. W. HOLLMAN.
ELIAS VANDERHORST.
MARTIN JACQUES.

ROBT. BLACK.
Dr. J. W. STEVENS.
JOHN BELL.
EDWIN McFEER.
NATHANIEL HEYWARD.
Capt. J. D. SHIEDER.
HENRY GLOVER.

On motion of Major SMITH, seconded by F. STEVENS, Esq.

Resolved, That the proceedings of the meeting be published in the Mercury.

The meeting then adjourned.

R. B. RICE, Chairman.

THE WEEKLY

NEW BEDFORD.

WEDNESDAY MORNING JULY 30, 1856.

Kansas,—shall it be a Slave State?

There can be now, but very few men left in the Free States, who, whatever party they may belong to, fail to recognize the imminent danger that exists for Kansas, for its freedom, and if this great and fertile territory is swallowed up.—what may not be predicted of evil for the future? Suppose the Toombs' bill should pass, a concoction produced by the united wits of Pierce, Cushing, Douglas, and those worshippers of the African slave-holder,—we must then conclude, that hopes for freedom in Kansas are poor indeed! Not referring to the great probability, that this law will be unjustly executed, it is, in its inception base, its origin is base, and efforts are now in progress to make this bill the means of enslaving Kansas.

Proclamations like the following, are now placarded about Western Missouri. We see at once, how much influence they must exert on the prospects of the election.

Reflect upon this bill, a three months' residence, enables a man to vote, on the most important question ever put before the American people. We trust this bill will not be passed, by the House; we regard it, at the best as a piece of complicity, as a bargain, all of which is against of the North.

Let every Northern man in Congress, bear in mind clearly and distinctly, that in voting for Toombs' bill, he is doing a direct action and lending his influence, towards making Kansas slave territory, and extending the dominions of a fearful and destructive social plague. That these conclusions, as to the result in case that the Toombs' bill passes, are just is evident, from the single fact, that not only is it difficult for Northern emigrants to enter Kansas, and in fact impossible in a Southern direction, the Free State men, now in the territory, appear to have lost hope, and are becoming more and more dispirited. They are helped out of Kansas very rapidly.—At a distance from home, unprotected in their just rights, by the government, and exposed to the treacherous emissaries of Border ruffianism our people have been reduced in hope, in life, in all motive to remain in the territory; unless they have a prospect, and that not very distant, of a Free home, a Free location for themselves and their families,

On no account, then, in the present position of affairs, on no account should the House of Representatives pass the Toombs' bill. In Western Missouri, this bill is already regarded as a fixed fact, it is hailed as a blessing; here, is something which will enable us to pour in during the next month, thousands of persons, and in the meantime, we can pursue the old policy of driving out all the Free State men, who can be forced out at all, and by force, by fraud, by corruption, nothing is too bad to stoop to, we can execute our purpose, and Kansas be enslaved.

When the nomination of Fremont was heard in Kansas, it was received as a joyful omen. And when the subscriptions at the East were made, and so many warm and legal hearts were beating for the freedom of Kansas, the poor and worn out New England settler, felt something like a momentary joy in his weary heart. But the prospect of passing the Toombs' bill, which is now printed,—that there are men from the north who will be purchased for this end, that Congress is getting tired and wants to do something let it be what it may,—these dire forebodings should and must be dissipated.

What we need at the North, at the South, all over the whole united country, is to organize ourselves in one great Fremont club for freedom, and to make the greatest republic in the world, a model in its laws, institutions and principles. But the time is short, and the need of action, is imminent. God be thanked! the women are in favor, heartily in favor of Fremont and Free Kansas. Rum and slavery, are equally detestable to them. Let them exert their in-

fluence to make Kansas free, to elect that candidate who goes into the campaign, with the holy principle of Free States, as his watch-word and sheet-anchor. First, not to have the Toombs' bill passed, and Second, to have Fremont and Dayton elected, to carry out the laws of this republic, justly, according to their original intent. Such should be the dearest hope of every American, north or south, for such is the need of America, to-day.

PROGRESS OF COLONEL BENTON.

Twenty-first and Twenty-second Days of the Campaign.

THE MEETINGS IN LONE JACK AND INDEPENDENCE.

KANSAS CITY, Jackson Co., }
Friday, July 18th. }
KANSAS CITY.

We left Independence at four o'clock yesterday evening, and arrived here—the head quarters of border ruffians—four hours later. The Kansas river flows into the Missouri at this point, and there is a confluence of races in it as well as a confluence of waters, including the Wyandott Indians who live close by, in the territory. Many of these Indians are nearly white, and I have seen a Wyandott lady, the wife of one of the citizens here, having the Caucasian contour and complexion perfectly. There are many such mixed marriages in this region. The "border ruffians" who congregate here are known by the leather belt, from which hangs the bowie, and revolver. They are very numerous. Wyandott city is in view from Kansas city. The surveyor general's office is located there. The river for several miles along the territory is commanded by cannon—I mean the Missouri river. I was informed by a border ruffian chief, and a fine fellow too, that both Atchison and Stringfellow are despised by the border ruffians. Kansas city has about six hundred inhabitants. Its business suffered severely from the commotion in the territory.

DAILY TRIBUNE.

DETROIT :
FRIDAY EVENING, AUGUST 1, 1856.

A Good Suggestion.

We can cordially endorse the suggestions contained in the following letter. They are timely, and we would suggest that our friends at once act upon them:

Correspondence of the Detroit Tribune.

KALAMAZOO, July 31, 1856.

EDITORS OF TRIBUNE: Every chance of emigration to Kansas by the Missouri River being prevented by the private machinery of the Administration, I would suggest, whether it is not a crime of sufficient enormity, to be characterized by a remonstrance, accompanied with a glowing petition of the citizens of the State of Michigan, addressed to the President and Senate of the United States, for the immediate removal of all obstructions of a hostile nature from this natural highway to the territory. The effect of such petition would be to unmask villainy to the inspection of the freemen of the North, ripen just indignation, sharpen the issues, and expose more fully and universally the glaring outrages and the foul intent of the slave power of this nation. It would disabuse thousands of honest minds in the North of the utter want of principle of all those men in and out of Congress who profess so much sympathy for the Territory—who urge the last Bill of Toombs and Douglas, under the hypocritical pretence of instituting peace by its passage. It is plain, that every man of whatever party, favorable to free institutions, would not hesitate but gladly urge such a petition.

Such a movement, in the Northern States, peaceable in its design, would develop new evidence in the minds of millions, of the malignant enmity of the entire Bludgeon Democracy, North and South, to the existence of free institutions and the sacred rights of humanity.

Should the land of Washington breed tyrants and cherish the assassin in his brutal work—Shame on us to know it!

Kindred blood mingles in the ever free tides of our majestic rivers. The defenceless and innocent are butchered, while on their journeys, by their brethren, while the President and his despicable cronies trifle with their dying agonies and shield the shameless villain in his tortures, exulting over and rewarding murder, rapine, and piracy, with official patronage and honor. The groans of our own friends and neighbors linger in supplication upon the western gale—death intercepts the noble pioneer with forms ungratified in cruelty and insolence. How

long, oh, how long shall silence reign. The mutterings of woe plead unredressed. Let the entire North flood the halls of Congress with petitions and remonstrances, and invoke the God of Freedom to turn back the waves of Slavery now rushing madly over the land. Let freemen everywhere at once enroll their names, in mammoth protests, the old, the young, male and female, unite in appeals that shall startle tyrants in high places and low, and cheer our crushed countrymen, now bleeding and fallen, to our dishonor and shame.

Invaluable results will come from our efforts. Yours for Freedom, now and ever, universal and glorious.

SAMUEL M. HUBBARD.

DAILY TRIBUNE

(From the N. Y. Tribune.)
THE CALL OF KANSAS.

BY REV. JOHN PIERPONT.

Sons of the men who, long ago,
Planted their feet on Plymouth Rock,
There stood and faced a savage foe,
There braved and bore the battle shock,
Hear ye the cry from Kansas' plains?
Does your blood boil not in your veins?
That cry! does it not make you start?
The murderous shot came from the South!
The ball has struck your brother's heart!
The life-blood gushes from his mouth!
No more that brother shall you see;
He spoke, he dies for Liberty!

Who'er of Freedom dares to blab,
Where Kansas for free labor calls,
Feels the Missourian's ruffian stab,
And, dead, on his own threshold falls.
The freeman, there, must bate his breath;
To speak of Freedom there, is death!

SLAVERY demands the sacrifice!
Her bullies deal the blow; and while
The murdered freeman gasps and dies;
Her perjured paunders sit and smile,
On her high places, where they swore
That she should agitate no more.

Grasping and bloody is the hand,
That Slavery stretches forth, to clutch
A region that she vowed should stand
Unscorched forever by her touch!
Look at the Fury's faith—her oath!
Her bloody hand has torn them both!

The bond, that bore her hated name,
That Freedom gave an empire for,
She's snatched, to light with it a flame—
The baleful flame of civil war!
Her troops, e'en now, are in the lists,
And "war exists!" ay, "war exists!"

Yes, it is WAR—the war of Cain!
Where Right is stricken down by Wrong,
Religion at her altar slain,
And the weak dies beneath the strong.
Let HIM, then, bear Cain's forehead brand,
Who sees the blow, nor lifts his hand!

Who, sitting in the highest seat,
And wielding a whole nation's might,
Sees Freedom bleeding at his feet,
And Wrong triumphing over Right,
And throws his sword into the scale,
To make red-handed Wrong prevail!

'Tis war! Then be it so! For aye
Has there been peace—or can there be—
'Twixt God and Satan? Night and Day?
'Twixt black and white? the bond and free?
Belial with Christ in concord dwell!
Freedom with Slavery! Heaven with Hell!

Ay! let WAR come, for me it must,
Or Slavery must her steps retrace;
Let hostile hosts the scales adjust,
Looking each other in the face!
In battle let the feeble fall,
And let the stronger have it all.

For Kansas' plains, to Freedom vowed,
To Freedom shall belong—unless
When the wind drives the battle cloud
Away, they're left a wilderness;
Far better make those plains our graves,
Than leave them to be tilled by slaves!

Far better fall, in such a strife,
Than still to Slavery's claims concede:
Than crouch beneath her frown, for life,
Far better on the field to bleed.
To live thus is a life-long shame!
To die thus, victory and fame!

ROCHESTER, N. Y.

FRIDAY MORNING, AUG. 1, 1856.

The Border Ruffian Laws of Kansas.

The Cincinnati Convention put into its platform a resolution aimed at the Free State men in Kansas, and denouncing as "treason" all attempts to resist the laws passed by the Border Ruffian Legislature. These laws which are carried out at the point of the bayonet, by order of HIERCE, were declared by Gen. CASS to be a disgrace to the age. They were passed by an illegal and bogus Legislature elected by non-residents, and without that free discussion which is essential to impartial legislation. But, infamous as they are—and a despotism, even that of Russia, does not need harsher enactments to sustain itself—they are now pretty generally sustained by the Black Democracy represented by BUCHANAN. This they are required to do by the South. It is demanded as a condition of fidelity to BUCHANAN, and those who have made up their minds to be the most abject doughfaces, dare not refuse compliance.

But a decision just reached in the House of Representatives will go far towards sustaining the Free State men in resisting these disgraceful enactments. The Representatives of the people have pronounced against them, and whether they are repealed or not, they will not be respected or treated as valid laws.

The vote was given upon the following amendment, offered by Mr. SHERMAN, of Ohio, to the Army Appropriation bill, on the 28th:

On the 29th, this amendment was adopted by ayes 91, noes 86.

Doubtless the people of Monroe county would be glad to know how their Representative voted on this proposition, and since a coalition of Hards, Softs and Know Nothings is beginning to be hinted at to attempt his re-election, it is proper that his votes on the various Kansas measures should be known. It is significant that the doughface organs which will support him if he ruas, are in no hurry to give his votes on the side of Slavery. They know he has violated the wishes of nearly all the voters in the county, and if they are to undertake the job of his re-election, they would like as few as possible of such embarrassments.

On examining the yeas and noes upon Mr. SHERMAN's amendment, we find the name of WILLIAMS in the negative! So that, if his vote is the index of his opinions, he deems it best to let the Border Ruffian Laws remain un repealed, and to let the gangs of robbers who have been mustered into the service of the United States, go on to enforce them, and continue to haul up the citizens on charges of treason, &c.

Let this vote, and some previous ones, be borne in mind.

The Daily Republic.

BUFFALO, N. Y.

FRIDAY EVENING, AUGUST 1.

The New Governor of Kansas.

The appointment of Col. JOHN W. GEARY, to be Governor of Kansas, is a concession to Pennsylvania, and proves the imminent danger of the democracy in that state. Col. GEARY is a democrat of the Pharisaic order, who has been a good soldier, fought well in Mexico, and is devoted to JAMES BUCHANAN, to use the pronunciation of the late JOHN BARBOUR of Virginia. It will be the effort of Col. GEARY to practice on the soothing system in Kansas, so as to advance BUCHANAN's prospects. The pretence that will be stated for the dismissal of SHANNON,

is his proclivity to strong drink, just as it was pretended that Governor REEDER was removed for his land speculations. There is not much feeling in the Pennsylvania democracy, but they have been a little sulky for a year past over Gov. REEDER'S dismissal. The real cause of SHANNON'S disgrace is, that he has so utterly disgusted the free states that the party cannot carry his weight.

Troy Daily Whig.

TROY:

FRIDAY MORNING, AUGUST 1.

Kansas Outrages—Southern Edition.

The public at the North has long been regaled with accounts of "horrible outrages," "murders," and "burnings" by the Missouri Border Ruffians in Kansas. The charms of rhetoric and graphic description have been united with every possible typographical display, to give piquancy to the accounts. With us here, at the North, the accounts have all read one way. The villains have all been from the South, and the victims all from the North. On the part of the Free State men, all has been order, peace, and amiability, while the Missourians have been pictured as blood thirsty wretches, never so happy as when putting the knife to the throat of the Abolitionist, or in hanging one up at the first tree.

While all this has been going on at the North, for the purpose of creating and keeping up a political excitement for the Presidential election, Southern writers and newspapers have not allowed the game to pass without having a hand in it. The Northern agitators profit by "shrieking for freedom," while the same class at the South get office and consequence by doing the same thing for slavery. "The horrible outrages in Kansas," published in the *Times* and *Tribune*, have an exact counterpart in the Southern newspapers. With the latter, the crimes are just as atrocious as the actors are changed. Their accounts make the Abolitionists of Kansas the aggressive party in all cases; and the details of the atrocities committed by them make the blood run cold, even in this exceedingly warm weather. The other day we gave some extracts from these accounts. We continue them to-day. In a *Macon* (Georgia) paper, now before us, we find the following account. It is equal to anything which has appeared in the *Times*, *Tribune*, or *N. Y. Independent*. Read,—(only mind that we would no sooner endorse the probability of these statements than we would half of the hob-goblin stories about "Kansas Outrages" which have appeared at the North):

THE MASSACRE BY THE FREE STATE MEN.

The massacre of Ossawatimie, by Free State men will, for atrocity, much more than match anything which can be charged against their opponents: See p. 5.

"Good News from Kansas! Five more Free-State Men Killed!"

A single circumstance will sometimes illustrate the spirit that animates a man, or a party, better than anything else. We have a case in point. A short time since, a number of Freedom Shriekers, in a certain town in the western part of the State, were congregated together, to "sympathize" over the acts of Ruffianism in Kansas, and to consult how they might turn things to the best account. In the midst of their deliberations, a brother "shrieker" much excited, came rushing in exclaiming, "Good news from Kansas—Five more Free-State men killed!" Thereupon the Shriekers rejoiced together and took courage, because five murders would keep alive the excitement a week longer, or until more of the same sort could be dispatched. Now this is a fact, and the incident illustrates completely the spirit at the bottom of this nefarious "Republican movement"—a movement that dies whenever there is a paucity of murder, outrage and violence in Kansas, and rejoices over "five more Free-State men killed!"

In connection with this, we will state another fact of a similar nature: When the Philadelphia Convention had concluded its labors—Fremont having been nominated—a person more or less distinguished as a leading Shrieker in his neighborhood, in the ecstasy of his feeling said—"Now all we want is more murders in Kansas, or, what would be better still, a murder of a Northern by a Southern man on the floor of Congress; I would give half I possess if that could happen, for it would make our success certain. Give us a murder in Congress, or enough of them in Kansas, and the Republican party will sweep the country!"

These two incidents tell the whole story. We leave honest people to draw their own conclusions.—*Albany Statesman*.

Of course, when Southern men read such accounts, and believe them, they begin to talk of shouldering their muskets, and starting for Kansas. They think it is about time to "let the Union slide," when Northern men there murder Southerners in cold blood. And Southern newspapers inflame the minds of their readers by constantly recurring to these accounts, and Southern stump orators froth at the mouth over them. Let sensible men think of these things.

The Courant.

HARTFORD:
FRIDAY MORNING, AUGUST 1, 1856.

THERE ARE ONLY 347,325 slave-holders in this Union; and more than one-half of those own less than 5 slaves each; but the *Hartford Times* would put this paltry fraction on a level with the 13 millions of whites in the Free States. We are not "wooly" enough to stand that; we like EQUALITY, before the law; and MAJORITIES MUST RULE—but the *Hartford Times* thinks it all right. Property in railroads, or banks, or manufactories, does not entitle its owner to extra votes; but the *Times* considers the ownership of a few negroes such a badge of nobility that its possessors should not stand on a level with common white folks. The *Times* and its party are laboring with all their might to extend this odious distinction between men of the North and South—this sectional distinction over Kansas. The wooly-head is true to his master.

THE FREE KANSAS BILL of Mr. Dunn of Indiana, passed the House by a vote of 88 to 74, and is now in the hands of the Senate. It repeals the Kansas-Nebraska Act, restores the Missouri Compromise, and provides carefully for a thorough re-organization of the Territory. The people are to choose their Legislature in November. All the laws passed by them and approved by the Governor are to be submitted to Congress, and, unless approved by that body, to be void, and all laws or pretended laws, whether now existing or hereafter to be enacted in the Territory, in contravention of this Act, are to be void. It is thought by some that rather than lose the Appropriation Bills, the Senate will compromise by accepting this bill. We hope the House will be firm and give the Senate a chance to show their patriotism.

Berkshire County Eagle.

PITTSFIELD:
FRIDAY MORNING, AUGUST 1, 1856

A Practical Defence of Kansas.

The House of Representatives have at last brought their power, as the immediate representatives of the people, to bear directly on the Kansas question. It being notorious that the army of the United States has been lately employed in overthrowing the rights of the citizens of the Republic now in Kansas, it was of course incumbent upon the House of Representatives, when called upon to appropriate money to the support of the army, to take cognizance of its illegal acts. Accordingly on Thursday, the House being in com-

mittee of the whole—the army appropriations being under consideration—Mr. Barbour of Indiana, 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 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 citizen of Kansas be compelled to act as a *posse comitatus* of any officer acting as Marshal or Sheriff in the Territory.

This was a telling shot, and instantly brought the members to their feet—especially the Pierce democracy—in explanations, apologies, protestations, equivocations and artful dodges. 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.

On Monday, in Committee, 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; until Congress so declares 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.

On Tuesday the several resolutions from the Committee of the whole coming up in the House, Mr. Barbour's amendment, declaring the laws of Kansas null and void, was rejected—yeas 88, nays 89.

Mr. Sherman's amendment was concurred in—yeas 91, nays 86.

It is hoped that this amendment may be pressed through the Senate.

On the same day Mr. Dunn of Indiana, moved a substitute to the bill annulling certain acts of the Kansas Legislature, &c., which was agreed to. The bill was passed by a vote of 88 to 74. It re-organizes the territory, provides for the restoration of the Missouri restriction, prohibits test oaths, and all cruel and unusual punishments, and provides for the release of persons confined for political offences, and for the dismissal of all the prosecutions now pending.

This action of the House instead of the acceptance of the Senate's bill, to give the fate of Kansas into the hands of five commissioners to be appointed by Pierce, has given new courage to the friends of Liberty.

Berkshire County Eagle.

Published every Friday Morning,
in Barbank Block, North Street, Pittsfield, Me.

VOLUNTEERS FOR KANSAS.—There are two men of the right sort—intelligent, respectable and skillful mechanics—in this town, who are ready to go out as permanent settlers in Kansas, if means are furnished them. Shall it not be given them? Already a beginning has been made. We take the liberty to suggest that those disposed to furnish money for the purpose, place it in the hands of Walter Laffin, Esq.

KANSAS MEETING.—In accordance with the recommendation of several distinguished clergymen in Boston, addressed to their brethren throughout the State, Rev. Mr. Boynton of the South Congregational Church, last Sunday evening, preached a sermon having reference to Slavery, and especially to the position of those

who have gone to Kansas to aid in keeping it out of that territory. Mr. B. announced as his text, Exodus 21, 16. "And he that stealeth a man and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death." From this and other scriptures, he proceeded to show that slavery was a sin expressly forbidden by God, and which as thus forbidden, was no to be winked at by Christians, or permitted in the Christian Church.

He then showed that the Constitution of the United States was not opposed to the law of God, and that allegiance to it does not require us to aid or protect slavery in any way; that the fathers of the Revolution, the framers of the Constitution, did not require us to perpetuate it, but on the contrary hoped and expected that it would speedily disappear.

He closed with an eloquent appeal in behalf of those who had gone out to fulfil their duty to God and their country, in protecting Kansas from the great curse of the South. We do not attempt any synopsis, even, of Mr. Boynton's remarks, conscious that nothing short of a verbatim report could do justice to it, and that anything less would be extremely liable to misunderstanding and perversion.

After the sermon, a collection of one hundred and twenty dollars was taken up.

The Republican.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.
FRIDAY MORNING, AUGUST 1, 1856.

Rev T. H. Stockton, in his Bible Times, Baltimore, puts squatter sovereignty and Douglas through thus:—

"See again! Apparently for purposes of personal ambition alone, without sectional call or national occasion, and through the agency of a northern senator seeking southern patronage, the compact of peace is broken, and a new, vast and attractive territory is involved in the horrors of civil war, with fear of its extension into all the states of the confederacy. And what is the apology? The rights of squatter sovereignty! The unembarrassed exercise of private judgment on the part of actual settlers! True democracy—the rule of the people! And those rights are acknowledged—are they? And private judgment is left unembarrassed—is it? And the rule of the people is established—is it? Let mob-invasion, and mob-anarchy, and mob-oligarchy, and mob-legislation, and mob-administration, with mob-confagurations and mob-assassinations, answer. For one to say he is a free state man justifies his being hung on the nearest tree! and to be a free state matron or maid warrants infinitely worse than hanging! Oh repentance! repentance! repentance! hast thou lost thy power?"

Things in Kansas.

Deputy U. S. marshal Fain, recently of Georgia, who has just returned to Kansas from a visit to Washington, tells the border ruffians that the Toombs bill is all right; that under it things will be arranged satisfactorily to them, and that it is settled that he (Fain) is to be one of the commissioners appointed by the president to administer the bill. Fain figured conspicuously in the sack and pillage of Lawrence, and is a very proper person to make sure of the real intent and purpose of the Toombs and Douglas scheme for making Kansas a slave state, if it should become a law.

The Chicago Tribune has direct advices from Col Lane and his company of emigrants, who were within twelve miles of Nebraska city on the 20th of July. They had sent forward a messenger to Fort Leavenworth to ask Gen Smith to protect them against companies of ruffians who had threatened to attack them if they entered Kansas. They represented to Gen Smith that their purpose was peaceful settlement in the territory; that a majority of the company were unarmed, and that if he could not protect them they would arm themselves before proceeding farther. They intended to go forward to the Kansas line and await there the reply of Gen Smith.

Near Topeka recently, Col Titus of Florida, a captain of the pro-slavery guerrillas, attacked an unarmed free state man named Smith, burned down his house and took forcible possession of his claim. The claim was a valuable one, and Gov Shannon endeavored to buy it, but Smith's price was \$1,000, and the governor would not give

so much. Smith is seeking redress from the authorities, but nobody supposes he can get justice.—A man driving a team from Westport, Mo. to Lawrence, on the 10th of July, was attacked by the ruffians, who took his team and \$400 in money, and fired several shots at him.—The Boston Post has a Kansas correspondent, who represents everything as very quiet now in the territory, and speaks of the robbery of emigrants at Leavenworth and their expulsion from the territory as a very proper proceeding—just the thing in fact to keep things quiet. The Post is of course delighted that these operations of its ruffian friends are carried through so strongly that there is no resistance and consequently no disturbance. But is that exactly the process to give the political repose to the country that the Buchaneers so earnestly desire? We shall see.

From Washington.

The adjournment of Congress on the 18th inst., as promised by both branches, is yet doubtful. There are numerous important matters pressing for discussion and decision. Besides the appropriation bills and the Kansas difficulties, which are pressed in all forms by the different parties, there are the Pacific railroad question, the struggle of Vanderbilt against Collins for government patronage for ocean mail steamers, a hundred and one bills for internal improvements whose advocates have taken fresh encouragement at the passage of a couple over the president's veto, with possibly the tariff, and schemes of nominal public but real private interest without number. The prospect is not bright for anything but the appropriation bills, nor for all of them without something is done for righting Kansas. On this the administration party grows more and more anxious and more and more conciliatory. But for party pride we believe they would concede the whole thing for the sake of getting out of the bad scrape into which slavery and its border ruffian allies have led them. The pressure is great for the Pacific railroad schemes, but there is less promise now than recently of anything being done for them. It is clear that little or nothing useful to the country can be done by Congress at this session; and the sooner it separates, and lays its case before the people, the better for all concerned. Legislation will be easier after a little popular light from the November ballot boxes.

The Atlas.

FRIDAY MORNING, AUGUST 1, 1856.

WASHINGTON MATTERS.—The correspondent of the N. Y. Courier writes:

"The great question of stopping supplies, as a means of rolling back usurpation and tyranny, again agitated the House this morning. The measure is an extreme and vigorous one, and difference of opinion in the Republican and American ranks was inevitable. Mr. Campbell, Chairman of Ways and Means, the able and energetic financial organ of the majority, took ground today in the most decided manner, in favor of the principle, but objected to the exercise of the power in connection with the army appropriations. Begging the pardon of such distinguished authority, it appears to me that the military supply bill is the very one, of all others, to which to apply the principle, because it is from the military power that proceeds the danger to liberty and private right, which it is the object of the movement to guard against.

Mr. Barbour's proviso, simply prohibiting the enforcement of the spurious territorial acts by the military, modified by Mr. Wakeman's amendment, declaring all those acts null and void, was rejected. Mr. Wakeman's amendment, which went at once to the root of the matter, was objected to by some of the most sincere and steadfast of the Republican members, who thoroughly approved of it in form and principle, but doubted the propriety of appending it to a general appropriation bill. I very much regret that they permitted their scruples to defeat a great reform, but doubt not that they acted according to their convictions of duty. I confess that I can easily excuse an overstepping of the rules of the House when they stand in the way of a vital measure of public policy, essential to the preservation of the public peace. Sherman's amendment, however, completely crushes the power of the Border-ruffian party, and their infamous mob committee, self-styled a legislature—and although it is not so simple as Mr. Barbour's, yet it will effectually suppress the influence of the slaves

faction and restore the rights of the Free State people of Kansas. The army bill, with this proviso, was then finally passed, 89 to 80.

The appointment of Col. John W. Geary, to be Governor of Kansas, is a concession to Pennsylvania, and proves the imminent danger of Democracy in that State. Col. Geary is a Democrat of the Pharisaic order, who has been a good soldier, fought well in Mexico, and is devoted to James Buchanan, to use the pronouncement of the late lamented John Barbour, of Virginia. It will be the effort of Col. Geary to practise on the soothing system in Kansas, so as to advance Buchanan's prospects. The pretence that will be stated for the dismissal of Shannon, is his proclivity to strong drink, just as it was pretended that Governor Reeder was removed for his land speculations. There is not much feeling in the Pennsylvania Democracy, but they have been a little sulky for a year past over Gov. Reeder's dismissal. The real cause of Shannon's disgrace is, that he has so utterly disgusted the free States that the party cannot carry his weight.

The Washington correspondence of the New York Tribune says.—The Kansas election case will be called up tomorrow at 11 o'clock, and the previous question will be demanded at 3 o'clock. So the whole question will be settled tomorrow. Gov. Reeder would have been present and addressed the House, but he is sick at Philadelphia, and will be heard, if at all, by letter.

Gen. Lane is preparing a reply to Mr. Burlingame's card, in defence of Mr. Brooks.

It is reported that the President has expressed himself favorably toward liberating Gov. Robinson and his companions in Kansas."

Washington Correspondence of the Atlas. WASHINGTON, July 29, 1856.

Shannon has been removed from the Governorship of Kansas, because he did not go far enough, and act promptly enough, to suit the border ruffians. He has been removed because Atchison and Stringfellow and Buford demanded his removal. He has been removed, in short, to gratify the same class of men who brought about the removal of Reeder. Gov. Shannon has done all the mischief he was capable of, but those Missourians want somebody whose capacity for mischief is greater. Gov. Shannon is weak, vacillating, and "maudlin." The Missourians wanted a man of the same purposes and of the same principles, but of a different character. This is the true explanation of the recent appointment of Col. Geary as Governor of Kansas. It presages a more vigorous and uncompromising tyranny over the free citizens. The change in the Governorship was brought about by the same men and for the same purposes, as was the change in the command of the military in Kansas. In none of these changes does the President consult the rights, or the interests, or the wishes, of the free State men of Kansas.

The provisos put upon the Army bill in Committee of the whole House, came up in the House this morning. The one moved by Mr. Barbour of Indiana was lost on the yeas and nays by one vote. The one moved by Mr. Sherman of Ohio, was agreed to, yeas 91, nays 86. The proviso adopted retains all the valuable and important features of the proviso rejected, with some additional ones of great interest, such as requiring the President to open the Missouri River, a national highway now obstructed by pirates, and disarming and disbanding Buford's ruffians, now organized under the name and pretence of being a territorial militia.

On the passage of the bill, with the proviso fastened upon it, the democrats voted in the negative, and we thus have the spectacle of the friends of the administration endeavoring to defeat the appropriation bills and stop the wheels of the government. It would seem that in their estimation, if the Army cannot be used to enforce the bogus laws of Kansas, it is worthless and ought to be disbanded. Their reckless, factious and revolutionary votes will be noted by the people.

How.—The Kansas contested election case was taken up.

Mr. Washburn of Maine, contended that the election of Mr. Whitfield was without authority of law, and he comes here as the choice only of the minority of the resident citizens of Kansas; therefore he is not entitled to the seat. The election under which Mr. Reeder claims was equally without authority of law, but inasmuch as he is the choice of a larger number of residents than those who voted for Whitfield, the Committee recommend that he be admitted to a seat. To deny to Kansas the right to be her true 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 Kansas the right to be heard on the floor of the House.

Mr. Smith of Tennessee, called attention to the fact that the Committee on Elections, in other cases, reported a resolution that the contestant was entitled to the seat, but in this they recommend that Reeder be admitted. Was might or right here to prevail?

Mr. Washburn repeated that neither Whitfield nor Reeder had been chosen by existing law. In the present case the Committee had followed the precedent act concerning Wisconsin and Minnesota Territories. It was competent to the House to admit Mr. Reeder as a delegate.

Mr. Smith said that Mr. Reeder had no legal right, but yet he would admit him.

Mr. Stephens, taking issue with Mr. Washburn, remarked, where there is a legally organized Territorial government, some person must be under the law legally entitled. In the case referred to by the gentleman from Maine, there was no organized government. But in Kansas provision is made by law for the election of a delegate. Therefore, the precedent did not apply. In the course of his remarks, he alluded to the adoption of Mr. Sherman's amendment to the Army bill, saying that a majority of the House thus evinced their desire to strike down the main pillar of liberty, namely, the right of the people to bear arms as secured by the Constitution. When he saw such things, he almost despaired any thing being done in behalf of law and order, the Constitution being regarded as no longer binding.

Mr. Sherman replied to Mr. Oliver's minority report of the Kansas Investigating Committee, and maintained the truth of the statements set forth by the majority, concerning the invasion of Kansas by Missourians, and their violent control of the elections, by trampling on the rights of resident voters. He argued that the remedy for Free State men by judicial process, was utterly futile. He would vote for unseating Mr. Whitfield, because the latter represents the forces who invaded Kansas. The laws of that Territory, illegally passed, ought to be repealed, the militia disarmed, and the whole federal treasure, if necessary, expended to keep the peace.

Mr. Savage insisted that the whole transaction, in its origin, was an assault upon the Constitution and laws of the United States, and in its progress was an assault upon justice and truth. Instead of facts, the report of the majority of the Kansas Investigating Committee was a compound of the grossest partiality, misrepresentation and falsehood, not to say perjury. He proceeded to show that the report was entitled to no credit, as it was contradicted by the record in the case. The statements were base, and surpassed the fictitious stories of Munchausen, Gulliver, and the Arabian Nights. To the traitorous and bloody movements of the Emigrant Aid Society, and others who supported them, must be attributed all the horrid events of Kansas. Like gamblers, they resort to the bowie knife, and grab 400,000,000 of the federal treasure, being the stake for which they were now conducting their Presidential schemes. If any Northern men say they have better men, women, and agriculture than the South, he was willing to tell them they lie from the very bottom of their shoes.

Mr. Oliver, of Missouri, contended that under the resolution providing for the Kansas Investigating Committee, they had no authority to inquire into the validity of the Legislative assembly. It was a violation of every principle of law, and degrading in his colleagues on the Committee thus to transcend their powers. He asked whether the House was willing to trample on law by admitting Mr. Reeder. Were men so lost to justice and decency as to be guilty of such a monstrosity. He should not believe until it was so recorded, and then he should see it with shame and mortification.

Mr. Washburn, of Maine, asked that the statement of Mr. Reeder be read.

Several objections were interposed, but were finally withdrawn.

A letter from Mr. H. Green, dated Merchants' Hotel, Philadelphia, was first read, stating that Mr. Reeder was confined there by sickness, and wishing some gentleman to write to Mr. Reeder, informing him what day the debate on the Kansas election case would be closed.

The speaker remarked that Mr. Reeder's statement was without date.

The Clerk then commenced reading the statement, which is to the effect that a great mass of evidence renders it indisputable that the Legislative Assembly of Kansas was a fraudulent, usurping body, elected in a manner disgraceful to the age. He assumes that the law under which Mr. Whitfield was elected, was absolutely void, and calls for stern condemnation of such a stupendous fraud. His own election, so far as the time and place was concerned, he says, was not in accordance with previous law. He claims, however, that he received a large majority of the legal voters, and that his opponent, though sustained by bands of voters and accessions from Missouri, falls short in the aggregate of his legal votes. He expresses his high gratification that his previous positions relative to the alleged election, have been sustained by the recent investigation, and repeats that Mr. Whitfield has no shadow of right to the seat.

Ineffectual attempts were made by Mr. Phelps and Mr. Humphrey Marshall, to dispense with further reading.

Mr. Campbell of Ohio wanted the House to go into Committee of the Whole on the fortification bill. He said the public business demanded that they should work after 4 o'clock. The clerk then resumed the reading of the statement of Mr. Reeder, but before he had finished, a motion to adjourn prevailed.

Adjourned.

DAILY CHRONICLE.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 1, 1856.

The Russian Rally.

BY THE REV. JOHN PIERCE.

Brother ruffians! ye who dwell
In your shanties built of logs,
All along the brink of hell,
Chain year "boys!" unleash your dogs!
Don't remain at home for trifles!
Mount your horses! load your rifles!

All the winds from Kansas bring
Sounds that fill our souls with dread:
Woodmen's axes—hear 'em ring!
Labor, earning its own bread.
That's a church bell clanking yonder—
We must stop it—blood and thunder.

Children, at their a, b, abs!
Hear 'em in the wilderness!
That's a steam-mill sawing slabs—
That's a Free-Soil printing press:
They'll destroy our Institution;
They're our Union's dissolution!

Up and at 'em for your lives!
Kill their cattle—burn their sheds!
Stab 'em with your bowie-knives!
With your bludgeons break their heads!
If we let 'em grow much bigger,
They will leave us not a nigger.

Free State heroes at the East
Pass their Resolutions strong;
Lawyer, Politician, Priest
And Professor swell the song.
They are mighty brave revolvers!
We have faith in Colt's revolvers.

Puritanic Yankee fools—
A psalm-singing, canting squad—
Meeting-houses build, and schools,
Trust in Christ and pray to God.
Let 'em see, while at their altars,
Russian rifles, hangmen's halters!

String upon the nearest tree
The damned Abolitionist,
Prating here of liberty;
Give his cursed neck a twist!
Never fear, they dar n't attack us;
We have Uncle Sam to back us.

At elections we will crowd,
With our pistols, round the polls,
And not let 'em think aloud,
At the peril of their souls:
And with our own votes and proxies
Stuff or smash their ballot-boxes.

Trust they in their laws, or God's?
What care we for them or Him?
Our faith is in hickory rods,
Hemp well twisted, and a limb
Stout enough to hang a man on;
We believe in Pierce and Shannon!

While we plant, at every bend
Of Missouri's rushing flood,
Guns, whose every shot shall send
Down the stream their brains and blood,
Think ye that the lily livers
Will get up our king of rivers?

Alabama! Carolina!
Our dear sister Arkansas!
Send your ruffians; help us twine a
Rope to throttle Freedom's jaw!
For, if we don't stop her clamor,
She'll dissolve the Union, d— her!

Thus, on Kansas's cotton plains,
Shall triumphant Slavery stand,
Crack her whips and clank her chains,
Lording it o'er all the land—
And, along her smoking border,
Shout "Hurrah for Law and Order!"

BOSTON POST.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 1, 1856.

Kansas and Fremont in Newtonville.—At a meeting on Monday a committee of fourteen was appointed to canvass the town and collect money "for the relief of the necessities of the citizens of Kansas." The resolution unanimously passed by the convention of free state delegates at Topeka on the 3d of July (for the appointment of an agent at Chicago to receive and take charge of Kansas subscriptions) was offered at the Newtonville meeting and voted down; and as some of the members of the committee are also on a committee to get up a Fremont demonstration in connection with adjacent towns, and were the prime movers of this Kansas meeting, a correspondent asks—"Will they not think it more for the good of the citizens of Kansas to have a jollification here themselves than to send the money so far away from home for others?"

Bath Daily Tribune.

FRIDAY, MORN., AUG. 1, 1856.

Kansas in Congress.

Our readers without doubt recollect the precise position of the bills relating to Kansas, in the two houses of Congress, each house having passed its own bill. The House bill provides for the immediate admission of Kansas as a State, under the Constitution formed at Topeka. The Senate bill contains a large number of provisions, proposing substantially to risk the whole question of the admission of Kansas as a State, and the character of her Constitution, to the decision of a single election to be held on the day of the presidential election in the territory, only those persons who were actual settlers therein on or before the fourth of July last are to vote, their names having been first registered by five commissioners appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate; and these commissioners being entrusted with general plenary powers to regulate and manage everything relating to the election. These bills were passed, one by each house, just before the fourth of July. The Senate, on receiving the House bill, amended it by the substitution of its own bill and sent it down again.

On Monday last a motion to take up the Kansas bill in the House, was lost by a vote of 103 to 72. The subject of Kansas affairs was acted on in the House on Tuesday, as we have already informed our readers by telegraph.

On Monday the 21st a debate occurred in the House, upon the motion fixing a day for the adjournment of Congress. Among the participants in the debate was the Hon. S. G. Haven of New York, who was formerly a law partner of Mr. Fillmore, and who is supposed to represent to a considerable extent the opinions of the Ex-President on the floor of Congress. The following we extract from the remarks made by Mr. Haven:—

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 judgement 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 dis-

pute 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—1188 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 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 berth 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—in-
deed, I think there is no mistaking the evidences—that the majority here intend there shall be no final disposition of the Kansas question during the 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 sound 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 into the resolution of adjournment an expression of the sense of the House that something should be done here in that way that 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 session. We have talked about Kansas and her wrongs until the whole country has become excited, and that before we have a word of the proofs which we have sent for bearing upon the subject. We have talked wisely and 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 offices, and let Kansas bleed.

Mr. Haven also proposed a bill, (but a copy of it we have not seen) providing for the admission of Kansas. The following is the synopsis of the bill which Mr. Haven presents in his speech:

It provides, in substance and in brief, for commissioners to take charge of the whole matter of an election in Kansas; for an enumeration of the inhabitants; for a new apportionment for a new 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 un-

less 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 and 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.

Forming an opinion from the above, the bill must be pronounced a most reasonable one,—and one that steers pretty clear of prejudices in the north and in the south. It originates with neither of the extreme sides of the House, and presents some manifest advantages over the Senate bill. The functions of the commissioners are partially less vast, as under Mr. Haven's bill, a legislature is to be elected, and a convention for the formation of the constitution to be afterwards chosen, under the provisions of law enacted by this legislature. It seems hardly possible that the commissioners could have any direct influence on these two elections, while they might act with effect on the single election provided for in the Senate bill. But we will not comment on Haven's bill, as we have not its provisions before us; we may remark, however, that if any disposition exists in Congress, to settle the Kansas affairs, the house will at once set itself at work on this bill. Continues Mr. Haven:

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.

Mr. Campbell—I desire to understand whether my friend from New York (Mr. Haven) regards the restoration of the Missouri Compromise as an extreme measure?

Mr. Haven—What I did say and what I believe to be true, and what I believe the country will find will turn out to be true, is this—whether it is an extreme measure or not, it is a measure which will never go through the present Senate, for the present Senate set the country in a blaze to repeal it. The majority of the House, I think, know it will never go through the Senate: and they know, that to pass a bill with that provision in it here would be making the Senate an offer which they know it will most certainly reject, and Kansas, as I said, be left to bleed.

The House on Tuesday did pass a bill with the Missouri restriction restored and precisely with the intimation, charged upon them by Mr. Haven to clog legislation and leave Kansas in a bleeding state, that the whole subject may go into the Presidential canvass.

Whig and Courier.

Wheeler & Lynde, Proprietors.

FRIDAY, AUG. 1, 1856.

Only one Issue at the South.

At a meeting held at Point Isabel, Texas, on the 27th of June the following resolution was passed:

"Resolved, That harmony ought now be one of our watchwords. Whatever have heretofore been the opinions of Southern men, or divisions in Southern politics, the day has come when there ought to be no division in the South—when we should stand shoulder to shoulder, to drive back those blood thirsty demagogues, who even now are spilling the blood of freemen on the reddened plains of Kansas."

in other words, when the whole South ought to unite in forcing slavery into Kansas, and driving out free emigrants.

While the feeling and sentiment of the people in the slave holding States, is thus strongly in favor of burying all political differences there in favor of the ruling idea of extending slavery, there are certain politicians in the North, who shrink away from the issue presented between freedom and slavery, and insist upon old party lines being maintained at the North! Divide and conquer, is an old and potential system, and those who oppose a union of all men at the North, to maintain freedom in the territories, are aiding the slave power; and aiding it generally for the pay they get or hope to get.

A large proportion of the people of the North however, have become thoroughly convinced of the necessity of union of action among the friends of freedom if we would prevent the subversion of every republican principle in this country; and they are coming out by scores, by hundreds and by thousands to act with the great Republican organization, which is the only practical means by which there is any hope of instituting a check to the growth of civil despotism. In thus casting aside former party names which have become mere empty sounds, and uniting upon the great and only issue, the people of the North are but following the example set them by the propagandists of slavery.

[For the Ellsworth American.]
AUG. 1. FREMONT. '56.

Hurrah for brave Fremont! O he is the man
To carry out boldly each generous plan;
For saving from ruin our beautiful land;

The hero beloved of the patriot-band,
O who in the wide world is worthier to be
The president of our loved country than he?
The choice of the people, the friend of the
slave

The patriot-hero, the true and the brave!

O Mr. Buchanan excuse us if we
Should say that we never with you could
agree;

We've slave states enough for a shame and a
curse

We will not elect you to make matters worse.
Ho, lovers of freedom come let us unite
And rally and fight with true hearts for the
right!

For Fremont so nobly has pledged himself to
Preserve both the Union and liberty too.

The ladies can't vote but they'll do all they can
To get in the "White House" this truly
great man

Their powerful influence on his side will be
For he is their FAVORITE the bold and the
free.

Hurrah then for Fremont! the man for the
times,

His great name we'll honor in story and
rhyme;

The pride of the country, the choice of the free
In spite of all foes he'll our president be.

GOULDSBORO'.

[For the Ellsworth American.]

FREMONT COMES!

He comes! He comes from a far off land
From California's golden strand.

He comes! vile slavery's hand to stay
And lead us on to victory.

He comes to guide our ship across
The stormy oceans foaming breast;
He comes our liberty to gain,
He comes to free us from our chains.

He comes this mighty land to save
From the hand of the ruffian and the slave.

49
He comes our Senate halls to clear
From the Southern assassins who gather
there.

He comes the bogus laws to end,
The free statesmen he will defend.
He comes! and Kansas will yet be free,
Free from the curse of slavery.

He comes! He comes! pour forth your songs,
Arise! Awake! for Fremont comes.
Our Flag aloft! there let it fly
Beneath it let us do or die.

I ask you all! can FREEDOM dwell
In this blessed land we love so well,
With slavery: that black deceiver
My answer, this; No, NEVER, NEVER.

BUCK SHOOTING.

Att.—Will They Miss Me.

O why should we vote for Buchanan,
For Breckenridge why should we go?
Are they any better than Douglas,
Or Pierce and his Stringfellow crew?
No! the people in triumph will thunder,
From mountains and prairies to sea.
Our platform is FREEDOM FOR KANSAS!
Our motto FREE HOMES FOR THE FREE!

Old Buck's an old fogy, a BLUE LIGHT,
A FEDERALIST yet he remains.
All the Democratic blood in his body,
Long ago he let out of his veins!
Will Democrats turn to be Buck-tails,
A party of Buck-tails! we'll see!
Our platform is "Freedom for Kansas!"
Our motto "Free Homes for the Free!"

Can poor men forget to remember,
When Old Buck was willing to greet,
The day when mechanics should labor,
For TEN CENTS a day and no meat?
He may take in his horns and forswear it,
Can he blot out the record? Not he?
Our platform is Freedom for Kansas!
Our motto, Free Homes for the Free!

The free working men of the Union,
Can think and will act for themselves,
They'll slaughter old buck for his antlers
And let him dry up on the shelves,
The Slav'ry chain soon will be broken,
A regular ruin it will be.
Our platform is Freedom for Kansas!
Our motto, Free Homes for the Free!

Oh? who has forgotten the slanders,
The libels of Adams' day—
Of bargain, intrigue and corruption,
Set afloat by Old Buck upon Clay?
Then how can you vote for Buchanan—
Old Whigs can you answer it? Say:
Our platform is Freedom for Kansas?
Our motto, Free Homes for the Free!

The Semi-Weekly Times.

NEW-YORK, FRIDAY, AUGUST 1, 1856.

AFFAIRS IN KANSAS.

The Territory Still in a Disturbed State—A Free Fight at Franklin—More Free-State Men Under Indictment—A Poster from the Regulators.

Correspondence of the New-York Daily Times.

LAWRENCE, Kansas, Monday, July 21, 1856.

Companies of Dragoons are stationed at Lecompton, Blanton, Palmyra and Cedar Creek. In their immediate neighborhood and generally throughout the Territory, affairs appear quiet and peaceful. This appearance, however, is deceptive. The same feelings—the same desire to fight—exists now as did exist before the appearance of the Dragoons. Travelers here and there are stopped and robbed, and cabins, where arms are secreted and men stationed, are assaulted and rifled of their arms and ammunition. These attacks on the part of the Free-State party are conducted in a more quiet and orderly manner than heretofore. When done, it is done so that no bogus Sheriff backed by United States Dragoons, knows upon whom to put his finger. Within a few days arms and ammunition have been taken from different

places where they had been stored by the Pro-Slavery regulators, and expeditions are now on foot looking to further captures. We are frequently in receipt of rumors from different parts of the Territory, giving account of the encampments of armed men. Enough daily happens, to keep alive the excitement and give healthful encouragement to the war-spirit.

COL. TITUS OF THE KANSAS MILITIA.

On Friday last, a Col. TITUS, who resides near Lecompton, in company with others, went to the claim of a Mr. SMITH, committed an aggravated assault upon him and then burned his cabin. SMITH's claim adjoins that of TRUS, who, it is said, wants to get possession of it, by driving SMITH away and placing a man in his employ upon it. TRUS is one of the Buford party and a Colonel of the Kansas Militia. He figured conspicuously in the attack upon Lawrence and takes a leading part in every outrage committed against the Free-State people. This outrage he committed on Friday—SHANNON and other officials were informed of it—and yesterday, instead of his being visited by a Sheriff, as he would have been were he a Free-State man, a company of Dragoons encamp at his house for his protection.

ROW AT FRANKLIN.

Yesterday afternoon there was a disturbance at Franklin. It is said that some of the citizens there have expressed doubts as to which party is the strongest, the Free-State or Pro-Slavery party, so yesterday an attempt was made to settle the matter by a free fight. The Pro-Slavery party having received an accession of numbers the day before, in the shape of a small party of Georgians, commenced the row by "pitching in" to a Mr. PRATHER, who was obnoxious to them because of the unpalatable truths he testified to concerning them before the Commission. PRATHER stood the fire of fists and oaths bravely, and was immediately assisted by his friends. The row becoming general, it was found necessary to close the Sunday School then in session near by. One of the teachers, a man full six feet in height, suggested to the Superintendent the necessity of closing the school, then calmly took off his coat and cravat, rolled up his sleeves, went out, and with his fists made way through the crowd with a zeal worthy of a soldier of the cross. The result of the row is known only by this message sent up here by the Franklin boys: "You need not come down—we are enough for them."

MARSHAL FAIN AND DOUGLAS' BILL.

Deputy United States Marshal FAIN visited the prisoners at the camp near Lecompton last Friday. In conversation with them on DOUGLAS' bill, he expressed himself as strongly in its favor. They told him of the utter impossibility of carrying out its provisions, under present circumstances, with impartiality and justice; and expressed their fears that, if passed, Commissioners would be selected under it, who would be dishonest in the performance of their duties. To this FAIN replied, that "he should be honest." "Ah! then you are to be one," said the prisoners. "Yes," said FAIN, "I am to be one." It is not for us to say how FAIN received this important information—nor shall we judge of its reliability. We only know that the demands of the Border Ruffians have heretofore been answered by the Administration; and that FAIN, who figured in the attempt to arrest Gov. REIDER in the sack of Lawrence, and was present at the dispersion of the People's Legislature on the 4th of July, is just the man to carry out the desires of Dr. STRINGFELLOW and DAVY ARCHERSON—men whose views and principles were more respected in Cincinnati and are now in the Senate Chamber, than those of any other men.

MRS. SHANNON.

Gov. SHANNON, on his return from St. Louis, brought his wife with him. Last week he passed through this place with her, en route for Leavenworth, where she was to take a boat and return to Ohio. We hate to meddle with the gossip of the ladies; but as the Border Ruffian prints received so much consolation from the letter of a Connecticut schoolmarm, written from Western Missouri last Autumn, we presume it is our duty generously to bestow upon them the "crumb of comfort" which Madame Rumor says the conversation of Mrs. SHANNON affords them. Mrs. SHANNON expressed herself highly pleased with the Territory, but the society in it was not exactly to her liking. She is a member of the Border society of the Border, and was called, to that of the Massachusetts society more congenial.

TAXES.

It is rumored that the assessors appointed under the Territorial statutes are to commence assessing taxes shortly. It will be one thing to assess them—another to collect them. They cannot be collected without trouble. If FRANK PIEROR wants civil war, let him instruct his Territorial appointees to enforce the collection of taxes.

NEWS FROM THE NORTH.

We have just seen a letter from the northern part of the Territory stating that nearly every active Free-State man there is under indictment and bound in the sum of five hundred dollars to appear at the next term of Court. The letter also states that there is a party of one hundred of BUFORD's men quartered there. The writer earnestly calls for settlers, and says that employment can be furnished for one hundred men.

The following poster was circulated throughout Jackson County. This county adjoins the Territory and contains Westport, Kansas City, Independence, and other towns celebrated in the annals of Border Ruffianism.

Citizens of Jackson County: As one man, in your might arise and say, if free-niggerism shall be any longer backed up to exclusive patronage, and the toleration of a weekly black mail line from Independence to Lawrence, *via* Leavenworth City. The crisis has at last been forced upon us, to purge our city and county of the clogs that entangle us with worse than Free-Soil and Abolition thraldom, and let the beam be removed from amongst us ere we be beaten to remove the mote from Kansas. Already the insulting threat has been made by a few to rout from our county those who have lately endeavored to remedy this evil and curse in our midst. It is now for you to determine how long these things shall last. Remember, too, that forbearance long and patiently endured has ceased to be a virtue. Meet, therefore, *en masse*, at the Court House in Independence, on Thursday evening, the 17th inst., and execute your resolves to the letter.

REGULATORS.

What this poster means we can hardly tell. There is a weekly mail from Leavenworth to Lawrence, but we cannot tell how black it is. These regulators control that great national highway—

Career and Close of Doughfacery.

On the 13th of May last, Gen. CASS concluded the delivery in the United States Senate of a well-conned essay on his favorite absurdity of Squatter Sovereignty. The opportunity was favorable for apology and repentance. Many friends of the old politician hoped that he would make a clean breast of it, and confess that, having deceived and cajoled himself, he had aided in deluding and cajoling others. Indeed, had he desired to make a decent and dignified ending, the occasion was most appropriate for a confession of guilt and a prayer for pardon; and what other *finale* could be more fitting to such a life? We find in the speech, however, nothing of this sort; indeed, we find nothing at all but words; not an idea; not a novel expression; not even a pledge against future explanations.

In the dreary waste of repetition traversed by the speaker, we can discern that he professes to discover in the act repealing the Missouri Compromise a substantive assertion and confirmation of the principle of self-government by the people of the Territories. He rejoices that this principle has settled the question of Slavery, and he regards with quiet gratification the condition of affairs in Kansas. He censures the Emigrant Aid Societies of the North, omits to refer to those of the South, and gently expostulates with the Missourians against the renewal of their wild sports in the West—not forgetting, however, to inform them that the murders, arson and robberies which they have practiced on so grand a scale were excusable, being provoked by resistance to the Fugitive law and by Sharpe-rifle sermons, at the North. It is not very material to observe that the orator was himself afraid or ashamed to vote for this same Fugitive law, that he deprecated the repeal of the Compromise when first proposed, and that it is an utterly unfounded pretence that any sort of Popular Sovereignty is conceded by the Kansas act, or that the question of

Slavery is resorted to the people of the Territories by it. All these things have been blazoned forth in the light of demonstration a thousand times, and are as well established in the mind and memory of Gen. Cass as in those of any man in the country. But, to vindicate the truth of history, it ought to be noticed that immediately after declaring his devotion to Popular Sovereignty, and his conviction that it was guaranteed and fully secured in the Kansas bill, and that the so-called Kansas Legislature was a valid and legal body, he stepped forward and affirmed that the laws it had passed on the subject of Slavery were a disgrace to Christianity and civilization, and a blot upon our republican name, and he voted to abolish such of those laws as could be repealed without defeating the object of them; thus showing his utter contempt for the two principles by which he professed to be guided, to wit: non-intervention by Congress, and leaving to the people the full power of legislation over their domestic concerns.

Gen. Cass is the best preserved specimen of a class of politicians which the South has supported at the North for its special purposes, and which is rapidly passing away. We do not like to use disrespectful terms, however expressive, and therefore do not say that Gen. Cass is the most conspicuous of the Doughfaces. Roman armies of invasion were always accompanied by numerous bodies of auxiliaries called *Mercenarii*, (from *Mex*, defined as "any kind of merchandise," "a slave dearly bought,") composed of the natives of the country about to be conquered and annexed to the Empire. Gen. Cass will be described by impartial biographers as a chief of those auxiliaries which the South in the Nineteenth Century contrived by various means to maintain in the Free States, and whom she paid by contributions upon the people among whom they were stationed. His life has a beautiful consistency. From its early beginning to its venerable close he has known but one service, that of the South and of Slavery. Others who have distinguished themselves in the same career have not always worn the same livery. Mr. BUCHANAN was, up to thirty years of age, a Federalist, openly hostile to the encroachments of Slavery upon free territory. Mr. DOUGLAS, as late as 1848, was loud and decided in his protest against any removal of the metes and bounds by which its ambition was limited and its insolence curbed. Mr. WEBSTER acquiesced in their disturbance only at the end of a long life devoted mainly to Freedom, and died, broken-hearted, two years after his fall. Mr. FILLMORE was once an Erie County Abolitionist, and MARTIN VAN BUREN for a short time allowed personal malice to break the chain of his subserviency, and interject into his record a ray of light and manliness.

Entering upon the mission of his life more than half a century ago, Gen. Cass has risen by regular gradations from a schoolmaster in Delaware to the post of chief apologist and defender of Border Ruffianism in Kansas, and chief defamer of the Free States and their people. The South could reward his devotion, and did it at each stage of the service imposed upon him. For more than forty years he has been in public employment, and has grown rich upon salary and the opportunities of gain which his offices gave him. As Indian Agent, Governor, Militia Colonel, Secretary of War, Foreign Minister, Senator, and candidate for the Presidency, Gen. Cass has looked to the South for his instructions and his pay. His service has been marked with steady perseverance and ability; but it is manifest that, though the South will continue to need such servants, the school in which they were formed has been

broken up, and it is doubtful whether it will henceforth find them.

The Northwest has been heretofore a nursery of Southern mercenaries. This was owing to peculiar and temporary causes. Many of the early settlers of the Territories covered by the Ordinance of 1787 were from Virginia and other slaveholding States, and carried with them the feelings and prejudices of their section. The French settlers in Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan, all held slaves under the colonial law of the mother country. The Federal Administration was, during the first half century of the existence of the Government, with the exception of eight years, under the absolute control of the slaveholding interest. Nearly all the Territorial officers held slaves, in spite of the Ordinance, and were incessant in their efforts to break down that prohibition, and very nearly succeeded. The power and the influence of Government were all on the side of Slavery, and nothing but the organic law of 1787 saved the States west of Ohio from the institution. But, about thirty-five years ago, a change took place. Freedom vindicated herself, and her final triumph in that region is about to produce the most important political results.

The generation of Pro-Slavery emigrants into the Northwest is passing away. Public sentiment against Slavery has been consolidated, and is already nearly unanimous. The Southern mercenary will be sustained by nothing but his official pay. When, therefore, Gen. Cass dies, there will be no more Casses. The mercenaries of a later generation, as DOUGLAS, BRIGHT and AUGUSTUS CASSAR DODGE, will be first silenced, and then banished. The case of the rising demagogue, DOUGLAS, is exceptional; he may last a little longer, because his talents are far greater than any of his associates possess; but his fate is clear. He will be compelled to retire to North Carolina or Mississippi, where he has negroes and estates, and may represent one or both in the Senate; but his place is no longer in the Northwest. The tie of social sympathy being severed, what bond of union will remain between this isolated section and the South?

Admission of Kansas Authorities.

But three weeks remain of the period to which both houses of Congress have agreed to limit the current session. The amount of unfinished business on the calendar was never so great; and the chief end of the session, that question to the adjustment of which everybody supposed the entire energies of the session would be devoted, remains practically untouched. Kansas, the creature and constitutional ward of Congress, is left to be trampled upon by a reckless Executive, and its murderous masters the Border Ruffians, without any Congressional action whatever for its relief.

It is charged by the friends of the Administration policy—the Administration itself has no longer any friends—that the Free-State Party purposely avoid any action, in order to have the wrongs of Kansas left open for political capital until after election. No charge could be more directly in conflict with fact. In passing the act admitting Kansas to the Union as a State, the Republicans in the House, where alone they have influence, have done all that the emergency required. Believing as they do, that the people of Kansas have complied with every constitutional pre-requisite for admission, they have been forced to vote for her admission, discovering nowhere warrant or precedent for postponing that concession to justice. On the other hand, DOUGLAS, TOOMBS, and their fellows in the Senate, insist upon an elaborately evasive bill, enabling the people of

Kansas to do what they claim to have already done, and what the House in passing the bill for admission admits them to have done; and this for the obvious reason that they will thus surrender the new State to Slavery. Of course, they have a variety of objections to the House measure; and those objections we propose to note, with a few citations to show their emptiness.

1. *The action of the Kansas people at Topeka was taken without a previous enabling act of Congress.* So was the action of the people of Florida, of Arkansas, of Michigan, and lastly of California, for whose admission, in spite of that defect, Mr. DOUGLAS throughout the whole session of 1849-50 was unusually urgent, having, as Chairman of the Senate Committee upon Territories, drafted and reported the necessary bill. The House bill admitting Kansas is but a revise of his.

2. *Kansas has not sufficient population.* Iowa, Texas, California, as well as four other preceding States, were admitted into the Union without any enumeration whatever, so that in at least seven cases Congress has pronounced the point immaterial. Certainly Mr. DOUGLAS is precluded from using it, for in the course of a speech in regard to California, addressed to the Senate June 20, 1850, we find him talking thus:

"But, Sir, it has been hinted that if this doctrine be sound, California had not people enough to entitle her to two Representatives at the time she framed her Constitution. * * * But she had population sufficient to entitle her to come into the Union as a State. She had certainly population sufficient to entitle her to one Representative. But, even if she had not, I do not see how that can affect the question of her admission, because NO PARTICULAR AMOUNT OF POPULATION IS REQUISITE TO ENTITLE HER TO COME IN AS A STATE."

3. *That the record of the proceedings of the Topeka Convention contained certain discrepancies, that rendered it liable to a suspicion of fraud.* These variations have been shown to be mere clerical errors of no moment, and again it gives us pleasure to show that Senator DOUGLAS condemns such cavils as discreditable. We quote from some remarks of his to the Senate, June 26, 1850, upon one of the documents accompanying the application of admission.

"The Senator devoted a large portion of his speech to a critical analysis of the ordinance; and in one portion of it, he will pardon me for saying that I think his criticism was hardly justifiable. It was upon that portion in which a verbal error had been committed by the young gentleman who made the copy. A copy was presented here which could not be acted on before the original arrived. A slight discrepancy was detected between the copy furnished and the one in the volume of debates; and that error is seized upon here to excite a prejudice against the innuendo that a stupendous fraud was in contemplation. No direct charge is made upon anybody, but the intimation is thrown out under cover of these two copies of the ordinance, that some enormous fraud might have been perpetrated. Sir, I think if I had made the discovery, and the explanation was given that it was a mere verbal error of the young man in making the copy, I should have dropped it there, without attempting to fasten upon the people of California the odium of an intended fraud upon Government."

4. *That Congress has a right to burden the act of admission with conditions, or to postpone the admission at will; and that the case of Kansas justifies the exercise of that right.* On that point let us quote from a series of resolutions offered to the Senate by Mr. CALHOUN, in February, 1847:

Resolved, That it is a fundamental principle of our political creed, that a people, in forming a Constitution, have the unconditional right to form and adopt the government which they may think best calculated to secure their liberty, prosperity and happiness; and, in conformity thereto, no other condition is imposed by the Federal Constitution on a State in order to be admitted into this Union, except that its Constitution shall be "Republican"; AND THAT THE IMPOSITION OF ANY OTHER BY CONGRESS WOULD NOT ONLY BE A VIOLATION OF THE CONSTITUTION, BUT IN DIRECT CONFLICT WITH THE PRINCIPLES ON WHICH OUR POLITICAL SYSTEM RESTS."

Mr. BUCHANAN, corresponding, as Secretary of State, with the Mexican Minister of Foreign Affairs, uses the following language in a letter dated March 18, 1848. He is referring to the

admission of the territory acquired from Mexico
to the Union as States:

"Congress, under all circumstances, and under the treaties, are the sole judges of this proper time, because they, and they alone, under the Federal Constitution, have power to admit new States into the Union. That they will always exercise this power as soon as the condition of the inhabitants of any acquired territory may render it proper, cannot be doubted. By this means the Federal Treasury can alone be relieved from the expense of supporting Territorial Governments. Besides, CONGRESS WILL NEVER TURN A DEAF EAR TO A PEOPLE ANXIOUS TO ENJOY THE PRIVILEGES OF SELF-GOVERNMENT. THEIR DESIRE TO BECOME ONE OF THE STATES OF THIS UNION WILL BE GRANTED THE MOMENT IT CAN BE DONE WITH SAFETY."

ROBERT TOOMBS, in remarks addressed to the House of Representatives, Feb. 27, 1850,
The Semi-Weekly Times.

GREAT RATIFICATION SONG FOR THE BOOKANIERS;

OR,

Douglas and Wise done into Yankee Doodle.

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 'aving speech,
And told us all 'bout it;
He sent them all 'round 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 's boasts of Washington,
But she is 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 it 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 Sickle, 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 niggers.

KANSAS

From Our Special Correspondent.

LAWRENCE, K. T., July 22, 1856.

Matters do not look quite so smooth as they were but there is no very decided evidence of further fighting now. The inroad of the Southern companies into some parts of the Territory, has stirred the war spirit, for I do not think any far her operations on the part of these braves, or the Missourians, will be tolerated. These parties are in under pretense of "actual settlement," although they have neither the means, industry nor inclination for anything of the kind. I presume they are in the Territory in obedience to Gov. Shannon's kind letter to Col. Buford. They are, in point of fact, army stations. Like the children of Ishmael, they are dwellers in tents, and, like them, I fear "their hand will be against every man," &c. As yet they have taken no active step which would look like war; being here upon their good behavior they will, I suppose, defer very decided action until they can do something. That they are here for peaceable settlement, is of course out of the question. They are regularly provisioned and sustained. It is a somewhat singular thing, that while the Northern States have been ringing with money collected for Kansas, there is yet no means here to sustain any body of men for any length of time. But little money has been sent here for two or three months back. I have had several companies report themselves, and many individuals, as ready to take the field and march to open the Missouri river to guard the entrance into the Territory by Nebraska, and to be ready to meet and repel any attack that might be made, or outrage, but these have been obliged to abandon such idea for want of means to keep a party of any size in the field. As yet, there has been no pressing need, for though outrages have been committed, and there is too good reason to believe these invaders are here for no good, still the Free-State people would prefer that they should begin operations.

There is some little guerrilla going on, and several small parties have started up toward the north part of the Territory to see after the Northern emigrants. We learn that companies of Pro-Slavery men, both Southerners and Missourians, have gone north to intercept the emigration. The moment we learn that they have actually interfered in any shape, the intention is to go up with a considerable force and clear the track. From all these indications you can gather that there is some appearance of a little more stir.

I learned last night that one hundred of the Southern braves are quartered at Doniphan. These fellows are getting pretty nicely posted out at the different points in the Territory. Every day we hear of some new location of them at some new point. Of course this disposition of these men is merely the result of some scheme—a military maneuver.

Yesterday severe orders were again given at Leecompton in regard to the prisoners. Visitors were excluded and a close watch is kept. It is said that Gen. Smith has been sent for and is expected over. What he is to do if he comes I cannot guess. This stringency is attributed by the Pro-Slavery men at Leecompton to the "disturbances in the Territory." Well, take it all in all, the Territory is, I think, at least as quiet as it is likely to be. Those who feel like it can live in tolerable peace just now, except in a few exposed places.

In my last I mentioned the trifling little incident in which Col. Titus of Florida burned down the house of a young Free-State man named Smith. Mr. Smith was attacked while unarmed, by Titus, who is a very powerful man, and another man. They knocked him down and beat him; they burned his house and have taken possession of his claim. It now turns out that the claim in dispute has been very much desired before. Gov. Shannon, I learn, tried to negotiate with Smith for its purchase, as he was anxious to get the claim. Smith wanted \$1,000 for it, but Shannon refused to give that and says it was too much. So matters remained. In the mean time, as the reader sees, the gallant Floridian, Titus, who has been, and I suppose still is an intimate of Shannon, steps in with a more persuasive style of negotiation, and for the time being, has possession. I am a little interested in the future ownership of the coveted "vineyard of Naboth," and intend to watch and note the fact, should I find that Titus has been reading his Buford bible, until he has reached and tried to imitate the character of Jezebel.

From the mode of acting adopted by the Pro-Slavery leaders, I think they expect that the Douglas and Toombs bill will carry. I think that the whole of their efforts lately have been made with an eye single to this prospect. The steps are of

migrants from the river, and coming through Missouri, all of these are very dexterous adjuncts of the bill, and planned by those who planned the bill, or the principle of the bill. Sending in the young Buford men to camp in different parts of the Territory, or in the towns, is another part of the same game. True, they have all come in since the 4th; but then many of them had been in before, at the camp of Lawrence, or in some of the campaigns to the north of the Territory and a course, will be included with the immigration that has "left on account of the troubles." In fact, all of Missourians that have heretofore voted in the Territory are given the elective franchise in precise terms. For, as all know, they have been in the Territory, and that they should leave on account of the troubles" is likely, as there was always trouble when they were here. Indeed hundreds, I might say thousands, of the Missourians, took of pretended to take claims in the Territory during their different raids. These they of course never settled, and in very few instances did they stake them off. They would like to keep them on speculation, no doubt, but under the Douglas and Toombs bill they could all present themselves before the Commissioners as residents who had "claims" in the Territory, and who had left on account of the troubles. I believe the bill in question to have been framed under the advisement of such a prospect, and I feel confident, should any such unfortunate measure prevail, that we will find Missouri again determining the question in that shape.

Let no statesman in the North permit himself to be deceived into the hope that the Slavery question in Kansas can be decided favorably and peaceably by a vote here—I do not care whose bill they pass, I do not care what safeguards are thrown around the polls. I do not care what penalties are affixed—let the question of Slavery be presented to the people here, and the rival claims to settle the dispute by ballot, and we will have a fight and fraud. I do not think the question of Slavery can ever be peaceably settled by vote among those who happen first to settle any Territory, and I feel certain that it will never be done in Kansas.

Were any such bill to pass, the matter would just stand thus: If the Pro-Slavery men find that the Free-State men had been fastig strength, by those imprisoned or leaving the Territory, and by sending emigrants back; if they found, as they certainly design, that Buford's regiment was reinforced sufficiently, and all "listed as voters;" if they found that a considerable number of men living in Missouri, who pretend to take claims in the Territory, could be listed on the census also as voters; if, I say, they found that by all of these means they could outnumber the Free-State men on the census list, then they will be in favor of a "fair election." Should things be still different, and in spite of all, the Free-State men still have a majority, why then we would have to fight, of course. Violence and fraud would be resorted to. What remedy would there be for fraud in such an election? To what does any section inflict imprisonment or fine amount? If the reader has not learned by this time, I will tell him. Under Judge Leecompton and the rest of the Territorial Judges and officers of the Federal Courts, it would amount to nothing, except a new instrument of torture against Free-State men. These Courts, have gone entirely too far already to allow even a fool room for believing that they would stick at trifles. And what good would another Congressional Committee do us? I do not think that a blacker record of fraud could go up than has already gone. If that evidence of the wrongs of Kansas, and the gigantic fraud perpetrated, cannot produce a remedy what can? I have no faith in any party that is willing to sustain the bogus laws, the bogus Legislature, the bogus officers, or even the Federal officers in the Territory. So long as our honorable citizens languish in cruel and tyrannical imprisonment at Leecompton—so long as the gigantic system of fraud and villainy is sustained and made a portion of the party platform, we have nothing but bitter and implacable antagonism to expect from such men. No matter how they may appear to dissemble and yield, they are acting under advisement, and in a way that will not compromise the hopes of Slavery. The endorsement of our "laws" by the Cincinnati Convention, is nothing more than a brazen determination to rivet the chains of those now prisoners. Should such a principle be sustained in the North, and the Federal troops and the Rufians combined, at work for the subjugation of the squatters, it would be a hopeless business. I have no doubt but not only Gov. Robinson, but all of the prisoners, will be executed under such a contingency. They will be as surely condemned as they go into the Territorial Courts, and what power on earth could save them? The settlers of Kansas might be able, but pressed by the troops, the Missourians and Buford's men, it would be doubtful. I fervently trust that the

never will stand up for the Toppa's Office, as they never again can Kansas, involved in difficulties as they are, present as fair a record, as before a testimony of popular sentiment, as is now before them. The country is not, and cannot be placed in a situation to do it.

But I had almost forgot what I was about to narrate. Deputy-Marshal Fain, formerly of Georgia, who figured so extensively in the sacking of Lawrence, and who has since been in the South, engaged in the Buford cause, has returned lately. While visiting the prisoners at Leocompton, he took occasion to express a hope that Toombs's or Douglas's bill would pass. The prisoners all dis-sensuring, he wished to know their objections. All replied that these proposals were full of objections, and one man said that there would be no fair play with the Commissioners.

"Ob, I don't know," said Fain, "I could do honestly."

Something in his tone led one of the prisoners to inquire if he was or would be a Commissioner?

"Yes," replied Fain, "I am to be one of them." The Governor's lady has vouchsafed a visit to the Territory, but, like her lord, only found her companions and her friends among the Pro-Slavery people.

She was quite sprightly, and liked the Territory. I understand she made some remarks contrasting the Pro-Slavery folks with the "Massachusetts papers," much to the disparagement of the latter. As she never afforded herself an opportunity to see them, her opinion is not invaluable.

A gentleman who heard her converse in Leavenworth City the other day, when she was leaving the Territory, told me that he heard her say to one of the Pro-Slavery leaders that she liked the Pro-Slavery ladies of the Territory much better than the society in Ohio. In Ohio, "they were getting so insatiable!" Having further expressed herself in favor of the "institution," the gentleman replied to her: "Madam, all ladies will, of course, prefer the Pro-Slavery party. We do not want any lady to have to work. We intend to have it so that all the ladies in Kansas will have a servant."

These are trifles. Alas! they are cruel trifles.

Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune.

SATURDAY, July 12, 1856.

THE TRIBUNE has a capable and faithful chronicler of events as they transpire in this Territory; his statements are reliable, and his descriptions are not overdrawn. The events of the last week have been so numerous, and of that interest that many may write and yet not cover them all. The Free-State question has passed a crisis in this land more critical than any through which it has gone, in my opinion. And I further believe that it never stood better here than it does at the present moment; and, I think, so our foes thus consider it. They had laid a deep plan to entrap us, out of which great political capital could be made in the present canvass for President in the East and North. In this they failed, and they feel deeply chagrined. They supposed that they had, by their tauntings of cowardice in not defending Lawrence, so aroused the ire of the Free-State men, that they would attack the United States forces when opposed to them at Topeka. And to make our opposition to the Federal powers more clear and unpropitiated, they determined that no bands of Missourians or Southern marauders, should be seen before or in the Fourth, in or about Topeka, and the whole matter of interference with the Legislature should be worked of Col. Sumner with his dragons; believing that the Free-State men had become so reckless and blood thirsty that they would have resumption to attack these forces if they undertook to defeat us in our designs of assembling; and by this act of rashness to be destroyed many of us on the spot, and the balance hunted over those prairies and to the ends of the world as criminals and traitors, the Free-State cause here to be obliterated, and the charge to be rung from one end of the country to the other, that we were just what they have charged us to be—a lawless set of men, taking the laws into our own hands, and treading all authority of every kind, even to the United States, under foot. God be praised, in this plot to ruin us they have been defeated. Their diplomacy is as weak as they are cowardly in arms. They are to be caught in the trap set for us. Let the disgrace and the dishonor rest upon the Government that we were dispersed at the point of the bayonet by United States troops, and at the command of a United States military officer who distinctly stated that he was acting as the agent of the President; and when asked if this dispersion was not at the point of the bayonet he replied that he supposed that it must so be considered, as it was done by authority.

Had it been a Missouri mob instead of dragons, I tell you it would have been a Fourth such as has

never been witnessed in this country, for what I say; that our men would have fought like tigers, and they were prepared. And it was with the greatest difficulty that the many noble young fellows that crowded the broad avenue of Topeka could be restrained from falling on the troops. And this feeling was not produced by great indulgence in drinking, for there was not the least intoxication visible in town on that day.

We do not mean to say that the time will not come when we shall feel it our duty to oppose the United States officials and United States troops. I think I can see such a crisis, when it must be done to save the cause of Freedom. As true as there is a God in heaven and a sun in the firmament, if the North does not change the Administration, and Congress refuses to abrogate these Satanic laws or mitigate their violence, the people of this Territory will assert their independence and throw themselves upon the North for support. I most sincerely believe that our people can never again be restrained in their desire to take vengeance as far as they can upon those that oppress them. And I can see no day ahead in which I should feel justified in doing as I rejoice to say I did do at Topeka in trying to prevent a collision.

It is thought by some that our Legislature is now defunct, and that the Free State Governmental movement is dead. Not so, not at all. I consider it in a better state than ever before. There is nothing in this movement to prevent this body from meeting on the day fixed for its annual meeting, the first of January. And it can be called together earlier, if necessary, by the Governor or acting Governor. I think this altogether better than so being sitting for months through this hot weather, with no money in the Treasury, and no other having sufficient money to pay his board. And further, passing laws that no one pretends to have the ability to enforce. Each now has gone to his home with a glad heart, to tend his cows, gather his wheat, cut hay, and prepare a home for another winter.

In the way of farming, I have planted sixty acres of corn, just finished the cutting of forty acres of wheat, and it is pretty good; and we are now engaged in getting up a mill to cut lumber and grind our corn and wheat. We have a thrashing-machine and mow, lately brought in by one of our settlers. We have had quite frequent showers, which have brought forward the corn, with all other vegetation very rapidly, for man and beast, for the coming winter if we are permitted to gather them. As for climate, nothing can exceed it. My opinion of the country for a residence far surpasses anything I have ever said of it. If God and the North will only give us Freedom instead of slavery as the basis of our political institutions I believe it will be one of the States most sought after for the next ten years.

Will you give us Fremont for the next President? If you don't, I had almost said give us death. A man standing at this point of observation is astonished beyond measure at the old fogyism and obtuseness of the many thousands that call themselves wise and good. The follies of the Northern Church exceed anything. The murders committed upon our plains may be fairly charged to her apologies for Slavery.

Yours, PHOENIX C. SCHUYLER.

[Extracts from Private Letters by a Lady.]

LAWRENCE, June 22, 1856.

MY DEAR FRIENDS: I wish I could give you an adequate idea of my surroundings and my feelings as I sit down once more to address you. Whether way I turn my eye the soft, witching beauty of the fertile, undulating prairie greets me like a morning song of joy and gladness, the tall grass moving in its pride, and the lovely flowers blooming now in all their Summer glory, while the floating clouds cast their ever-varying and fitting shadows on the high bluffs and mounds, and roll them along, like the mighty waves of the ocean, over the far-spread level of the plain. The chirp of the cricket is loud and home-like, reminding me of distant friends and happy scenes that have gilded my heart in the past. For many days I have only read in its tones a dirge of sorrow, a wail for the early dead, the loved, and bright, and beautiful departed. Was it a sad prophecy of what our own hearts must experience, or is it the more cheerful and hopeful sound that it pours forth now—the triumph of faith and hope over fear and doubt. On a rude couch of rough walnut boards, covered with a coarse mattress of prairie hay, and the few plain articles of bedding we could obtain here, lies our darling little Mary, pale and emaciated. She was attacked about three weeks ago with the same fever that prevailed in Lawrence last Summer, which carried off in its ravages some loved ones from nearly every family circle. She came

down slowly, and for more than a week I carried her every day to the pool in the ravine for a bath, which she seemed to enjoy greatly, but then came the raging crisis; she was delirious; tossed about continually in restless agony. Her cry at first was, "Mama, don't let the Kickapoo's shoot me;" and she constantly imagined the Border Ruffians were coming to kill her papa, or that their horses were on the bed, crushing her down. She has had a sad, restless night, but this morning she has sunk into the most quiet slumber she has had for a long time, and we hope she will begin to mend. I am watching her anxiously, with one little, thin hand in mine, as I sit by her bedside, trying to write you between spells of wetting her head. I have five men to cook for, and must keep the everlasting ball of domestic drudgery moving in the midst of war and bloodshed around, and sickness and death in my own house. E. ploughed up and planted to corn fifteen acres of prairie, the gopher or prairie rat cut it all up in the hill, and he has been obliged to replant it; now he with his men are very busy trying to get out some rails to fence it in, and it is so hot, and the air so lifeless in the timber section, and on the bottom lands, that it is almost impossible for even five men to accomplish what, in favorable weather, would be the work of one man. They get along so slowly and suffer so much that E. has concluded to buy wire for fencing and use only one rail spread along the top, and while he must go off for this, then wait to get out and draw all the posts from the Wakeruses, our corn is constantly exposed to the depredations of hordes of cattle which have already trampled up and totally destroyed our garden. But notwithstanding all the disturbances and annoyances, E. still continues to drive ahead his business and improvements, while many of our neighbors have left their work. Some are prisoners in the Pro-Slavery camp; others are driven from their homes, their lives hunted down like wild beasts, and our fair prairie is still defaced with the martial tread of armed men, the clanking of the hoofs, and swords, and salutes of the United States Troops, and the smoking, reeking devastations of the Border-Ruffian hordes still lurking about us, ready for daily plunder and midnight murder. Couriers and messengers are constantly flying past us, and almost every hour of the day accounts of some new outrage reaches us, or we hear some new plan concocting to kill, burn off and drive away every Free State man on this road, or some other violence intended us, so that attention is being again turned to this spot, and they are particularly anxious to expel all the Free State families settled on the road between Lawrence and Leocompton, and are very partial to our locality, it being nearly midway between these two rival towns, and is a charming site for a new town. Not long since, in riding over the farm, I passed over the old Pro-Slavery camp ground near us, and paused awhile to meditate and take a survey. As it might be expected, the lovely flowers were all withered, and even the grass looked soiled and withered. There were hosts of broken whiskey bottles scattered around, and remnants of old coats and shirts that the brave and chivalrous sons of the South had exchanged for the stuff Uncle Sam furnished when, upon the night of their arrival, they were taken into the Marshal and Sheriff's posse, and enrolled as Territorial Militia, to assist in enforcing, at the point of United States bayonets, the bogus laws made by Missourians for us to be governed by here, and to shoot down all the Free-State people to whom these laws were obnoxious. Well, vile as they are, I honor these miscreants in comparison with the traitor dough-faces of the North, who have bowed the knee to Baal and licked the dust and slime from his feet to advance their commercial interests, or in seeking for political place and power. We have far more to fear from their influence here than from all the combined forces of the South. The worst Pro-Slavery men here are mostly from New-York and Pennsylvania; they are leaders in the crime, and always readiest for plunder, ravage and murder. After E. assisted in defending Capt. Walker's house, we were continually hearing that he was to be arrested for it, and many threats were made of burning down our cabin, because we stored some of Capt. Walker's things. So we concluded to go over to Leocompton and see Governor Shannon and state the whole case to him, and learn from his own lips if E. was to be indicted for "high treason," and all his property destroyed, merely because he assisted in driving away incendiaries from the house of our nearest neighbor. We went early in the morning, hoping to find him sober and clothed in his right mind. He was a better looking man than we expected to see from all accounts of him and his proceedings. He was very affable, and, seeming flattered by so much confidence placed in him by Free State people, assured us he should issue no warrant for E.; only for those who had heretofore been prominent in resistance, and who headed the party at Captain Walker's; said he could not be responsible for

any plunder or outrage committed upon us, and asked me why I never came to Leocompton, saying you Free-States ladies seem to be afraid of us. I replied, Oh, no, sir; I have been long wishing and intending to come, and see you, to repeat the outrages of the Pro-Slavery camp so long stationed in our midst. Leocompton is a beautiful town, well located in a charming grove on the Kansas, but it is already teeming with slaves and the Pro-Slavery odor that fills the place. The landlady at the public house where we stopped, is from Virginia, and brought all of her slaves with her. She and I could talk in a rational and friendly way about the difficulties in the Territory, and difference in our opinion and education; but there was a gentleman and his wife who had just come from Pennsylvania, they said, with the intention and determination to hold slaves here, and to assist in driving out every Free-State man, first from this Territory and then from the United States of America. I felt so indignant and annoyed to find people from the vicinity of Philadelphia advocate such sentiments as they did, and excuse or deny all the outrages heaped upon us here, and from which I had suffered so much, that I could hardly forbear expressing my utter contempt for them.

Little Mary has been very feverish all day, but is too weak to be restless, and has lain in a trance, with her eyes half closed, and a seraphic smile on her little face. She evidently is not far from the angels now, and life holds her with a mere brittle thread. How many hours she has spent in gathering flowers since we came here, and arranging them in different bouquets for her absent loved friends! Often each of you all have had one laid aside by her, between the logs. I never taught her how to arrange them, and never saw more correct and beautiful taste displayed even in an amateur.

LAWRENCE, Monday, July 7, 1856.

MY BELOVED FRIENDS: Two weeks have passed since I commenced writing to you—two weeks with all their sad and weary days, and sleepless, dreary nights—two weeks that we have prayed in dark Gethsemane, and known something of the deep agony of him who suffered there, of the heart wrung prayer, "Oh, my Father, let this cup pass from me; nevertheless, not as I will, but as thou wilt!" Yet when the dearest earthly ties are severed, when called to part forever from those who are a part of and dearer than our own lives to us, how hard to say and feel: "Thy will, oh God, be done!" to bow in meek submission and kiss the rod that smites, and look with trusting faith beyond this vale of sorrow to the coming brightness promised to those who triumph in the struggle, and, whatever comes, still bless "the glorious Giver, who doeth all things well." Her little face that was resting by me when I penned the other sheet is now hid from my view. I am now sitting by the little flower-besprinkled mound that covers the remains of our darling, the fair, faultless little form that has so long diffused the light of joy in our hearts, and which since we came here has been a glorious sunbeam gliding all the dark clouds that were lowering upon our troubled skies. Often we have said, "How we should miss her!" as if a strange presentiment of the coming loss was brooding over us. She lies in the loveliest spot of our prairie home, where we can see her resting-place from our window and door, at all times when engaged about our duties—where I can wander away every few hours and moisten the sod with the tears wrung from the yearning, anguished heart. And oh! her little, pattering footsteps in and about the house—her nimble, graceful movements, as she went gaily about plucking the fairest flowers of the prairie—how I miss them now!

Her dying gasps were a commingled sound of mortal agony and immortal triumph—a sound different from anything I ever heard before; there seemed to be a conflict, a lingering of the spirit on the confines of its loved earthly home. Twice we thought the spirit had fled, then she breathed and gasped again. Oh! how lovely she looked in death; her face remained plump and natural; her lips were wreathed in a smile, and her long silken tresses rested so softly on her pale cheeks. We laid her out in her favorite muslin, with a wreath of prairie flowers on her head, and a bunch in her hand, and bouquets strowed around her. I sent for a load of green boughs, and made a bower of our rude cabin—covering up the hewn logs with the rustling leaves and blooming flowers. We had the funeral services at 5 o'clock the 24th, and on so brief a notice called together from our scattered neighborhood a large attendance of friends. Four young men whom she dearly loved, bore her from her home to her last resting-place, with a fresh flower-wreath broken that they laid on her coffin, with children following with bouquets that they showered in her grave. It was a scene for an artist's glowing pencil—that burial of the loved and early dead on the beautiful prairie, with the setting sun shedding its departing luster on the earth, the

flowers blooming around, and the group of persecuted and suffering emigrants gathered together to pay the last tribute of affection to the sweetest flower that has ever bloomed among them.

We went to Topeka on the Fourth of July; saw the great gathering of the Free-State people from Free-State representation; heard the addresses and the proclamation from President Pierce for them to disperse, virtually implying that the poor white slaves of Kansas were committing treason by assembling together to celebrate their liberty, or talk of their cause. We saw Sumner at the head of the United States troops ride fiercely into our very midst. He dismounted and went into the Representatives' Hall and dismissed the Legislature. Then we went on quietly with Free-State speeches, Free-State songs, and the presentation of Free-State banners, and had a very interesting day. Sumner had six companies and six cannon with him, and expected resistance, but the Free-State men nearly all like Sumner, and think he will do all he can for us without running the risk of having his own head taken off by Pierce. When he rode up into town, three deafening cheers of welcome greeted him from our ranks, although we knew he was sent there to shoot us down. Then another three thundering cheers were given upon the head of the poor Charles Robinson, our Free-State Governor; and the troops, some of them lowered darkly upon us, as the sound rang out upon the still air, breaking the awful silence of that moment of suspense, when that formidable United States army first rushed upon us in our peaceful convocation. Oh, what a sight was that! as a few hundred peaceful citizens assembled together, emigrants to Kansas from many different States of the Union, and desirous of encouraging a fraternal feeling; and such a grand division of the army of the United States, ordered out by the Chief Magistrate and drawn out in line and battle array, all ready to assault them and to sweep them down if they persisted in convening the Free-State Legislature, adjourned last March to meet this day. There were ladies from Lawrence, with the United States flag, embroidered for the occasion, all trimmed in mourning, attached to the tops of their parasols, and waving above the heads of the crowd.

Cincinnati
DAILY GAZETTE.
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Letter From a Kansas Prisoner.

A private letter has been received in this city from GEO. W. BROWN, one of the Kansas prisoners, dated Camp of the U. S. Cavalry, near Leocompton, July 22d, from which we make the following extract:

I am still in prison, and it is but quite recently I have been allowed to send away any letters. Our trial is set for the second Monday in September. I am still in hopes Congress will do something for us by which we shall be enabled to get a trial in the States.

I am glad to hear of the enthusiasm in the North for FREMONT. It bids us hope for Kansas. Ohio I am proud of; and I am proud of her Governor. She has a heart, thank Heaven!

Devotion to Slavery.

We find the following passage in the Washington letter of "Independent," to the Philadelphia North American, published on Monday. It contains some interesting points:

During the discussion in the House last night, when the Southern Democrats and Americans were at loggerheads as to the extent of each other's devotion to slavery, there were some amusing passages. The Fillmore gentry were called to account for the expurgation of the Twelfth Section, and that alleged abandonment of the South was charged upon the Northern wing of the party. Some little fluttering was produced among the Kentucky members at this assault, but they were relieved by Mr. Roade, of North Carolina, who carried the war into the enemy's country. He asked if General Pierce was not the favorite of the Democracy in the South for the Presidency, and, being answered in the affirmative, claimed to know if he was not defeated at Cincinnati by just such a Northern combination as had obliterated the twelfth section.

There was no ready answer; but Mr. Barsdale, of Mississippi, and Mr. Houston, of Alabama, claimed that Mr. Buchanan was nominated, because he occupied precisely the same ground as Gen. Pierce did; was equally committed to Southern rights and policy, and because his Northern friends in the Cincinnati Convention pledged themselves distinctly and unequivocally to the whole course of the administration. These are leading members of the party in Congress, and, I believe, were delegates to the Convention. At all events, they are recognized authority here, and such declarations are, therefore, to be considered

as of more than ordinary consequence. It is well to a proper understanding of the position of the different candidates that these responsible assurances should be scrutinized in their true connection. If Mr. Buchanan is prepared to carry the policy of this administration in Kansas, he had better brace up his shoulders and fortify his nerves.

[For the Tribune.]

EDITORS OF THE TRIBUNE: There are published in this country, in the Welsh language, four monthly magazines and two weekly newspapers, the *Mirror* and *Watchman* and the *Cambria Americana*, of New York. Yet not one of them advocates the election of Buchanan, and all go for free speech, free press, free Kansas, and, as a natural consequence, Fremont.

The Cambrians are very numerous in New York, Pennsylvania, and some of the Western States; especially Wisconsin; it is there the tide of emigration has run, and it was very gratifying to learn by your paper, that they have commenced action at Racine, with such men as Revs. Griffith and Fonkles taking the lead. These political "parsons" were fortunate; there was no "Levite" or a "Bishop" to "take their hides off."

CAMBRIAN.

The Scioto Gazette.

CITY OF CHILLICOTHE:

FRIDAY EVENING, AUGUST 1, 1856.

Kansas and Constitutional Rights.
No. 4.

If there ever was cause for the people to cast aside ear marks and collars, and to step off of party platforms, and to turn from party leaders, on to the simple platform of Liberty and Equality, we have it in the repeal of the Missouri Compromise of 1820; that has become to us as a phial of wrath poured out. And if there ever was a case where the burglar brought a charge of felony against the man whose house he had broken open and robbed in the dark, that case has arisen under the traitorously deceptive act of "squatter sovereignty," under cover of which the slave holder has entered Kansas, and, unlike the Babylonians who required their Jewish captives to sing them one of the songs of Zion, rudely and roughly ordered the song of Liberty to cease—pointing to the Penitentiary and the gallows, as the reward of all who dare raise their voices to the God of Liberty, or who dare speak, write or think anything against slavery—anything against this outside covering to these *privileges* of citizen slave holders so inimical to equal rights of Citizenship, that has placed the throne at the foot-stool of the slave power.

And now, on that spot where our fathers planted the tree of Liberty, which Mr. Buchanan says let lay and rot, but which Col. Fremont says, replant and water, stands the Penitentiary and the gallows!

Let the minions of power justify these outrages, and this attack on Liberty as best they may, by charging it as the fruits of Emigrant aid societies; and by other charges against free soilers equally false and unfounded.—For be it remembered, we did not go to Kansas as Burglars, in the dark, but at noon-day, as became free men, and as under our charter of Liberty, whereby slavery and involuntary servitude was power torpid in Kansas, we might of right go.

The parchment of our charter has been defaced and torn by the hands of traitors to our rights; and, though now trailing in the dust and trodden under foot, let us not turn away, but keep our eyes constantly turned towards it, with all that affection of the cap-

MOBILE:

FRIDAY MORNING, AUGUST 1, 1856.
Scenes in Kansas.

the Jews for Jerusalem, that, in extacy caused them to sing forth "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her coming. If I do not remember thee let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, if I prefer not Jerusalem above my chief joy." Not forgetting that we stand in the presence of Him, who in the hour of need first sent our fathers the Widow's son, George Washington, and then again the Widow's son, Andrew Jackson, and who now, in this our hour of gloom, while we call for Help, hath ready trained another widow's son (not unlike Washington and Jackson in very many other respects than that of being the widow's son) to lead us back to our Jerusalem.

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We have published brief accounts of the dispersion of the famous Topeka (Kansas) legislature, by Col. Sumner; but until yesterday, we have not seen any thing like a full account of the affair. A correspondent of the Philadelphia North American gives a detailed description of it; and it is very interesting—reminds one of the Long Parliament which Cromwell so unceremoniously dispersed—although, we are inclined to think, Col. Sumner is not an Oliver Cromwell.

The Topeka legislature, as our readers are aware, was the representative body of the Kansas free-soilers. These gentlemen, in defiance of the law, elected a Governor and delegates to a legislature. This legislature met last March, and did many things in its way; but fearing that it would be summarily broken up, if it continued in session, it determined to adjourn prematurely to meet again on the Fourth of July. The idea was that by the Fourth, it would receive, through the Emigrant Aid Society, sufficient help to surround itself with a rampart of free-soil bayonets—that it would have power enough to defy the government. The letter before us, says:

A great popular convention of the territory had been called to meet at Topeka on the Fourth—the ostensible object a celebration of the Fourth, and an expression of the popular voice of the territory; the real object being the defence of the state legislature against invasion by Missourians and Southerners.

Accordingly, as the Fourth approached, the members of the so-called legislature hurried towards Topeka. Three thousand men were expected to be present on the momentous occasion (so the writer says) but it was found that when the day came only about eight hundred had courage enough to take upon themselves the risk of treason.

The members, backed by these eight hundred, resolved to organize their legislature.—It having been known, however, that the President had issued orders to disperse the body, many of them were reluctant to act.—Some of the more timorous made speeches in favor of dispersion, but there was sufficient boldness, finally, to proceed. And so they went to work to make laws, as though the territory were a state. How they sped in this business is described as follows by the correspondent of the North American, who belongs to the Blacks:

This was the state of affairs at noon.—About the same time two Topeka militia companies were drawn up in front of the hall where the legislature was to assemble, to receive a banner from the ladies. Several ladies stood in front of the building; a small military band was stationed at the head of the company, nearest to the point from which the dragons approached. Several members of the legislature were clustering into the hall as the hour of meeting approached. It lacked a few minutes of twelve o'clock. The convention was proceeding with its business, the national banner was flying from many house-tops, and affairs just in the position I have described, when Col. Sumner, at the head of some two hundred dragons, prepared for battle, with two loaded cannon, made a rapid descent on the place. With true military precision, he had stationed the three Fort Riley companies of dragons on the other side of the town. That force numbered upwards of two hundred men, and were ready to attack the town in flank in case of a fight.

It was a magnificent spectacle as that warlike body of United States troops darted down the street upon the people. Of the crowds assembled, perhaps every eye was turned upon them, but there was no flinching. They dashed right at the companies of volunteers drawn up before the Hall of Legislature; but these kept their position, and the drummers beat and fifers played a national inspiring air, until the dragons were right upon them; nor did they stop until Col. Sumner, who was much agitated, stretched his gloved hand towards them and said "stop if you please we have more important bu-

siness to attend to" and then turning to his dragons, who had ridden right up to the volunteers, forcing the latter to step back from their position to avoid being trampled on, he shouted his orders. "First squadron, form into line!" and the second and third squadrons were thus drawn up in the fearful line of battle, while the change in their position revealed the two deadly looking cannon, their muzzles pointing down the street, and the runners standing prepared, the fuses lit, and their readiness visible. As no one offered to interfere with Col. Sumner, nothing was heard but the loud and hoarse military orders, until the men were thus drawn up in line.—Then Colonel Sumner alighted from his horse and was met by several of the citizens who wished to know if he meant to interfere with the people there assembled. He replied. "No," that they "had a right thus to meet; that his orders were to disperse the Legislature." At this some persons, who evidently wanted to conciliate, cried "three cheers for Col. Sumner!" They were given, but there was a much louder cheer when a voice cried "three cheers for Gov. Robinson!" As the cheering for this rang through the crowd, the dragons looked fiercely at the people, but not intimidated, they gave "three cheers for Liberty."

Col. Sumner entered the Hall of Representatives, and sat down on the platform occupied by the clerks and speaker. The members were hurrying in. The house was soon filled by the crowd. Several of the members, Capt. Walker, Mr. Stephens, Judge Curtis and others stood on the platform. When the hour of 12 arrived, Mr. S. S. Tappan, Clerk of the House, the Speaker being absent, struck the gavel on the desk and called the House to order. He called the roll of members, and marked the names of those who responded.—As a quorum did not respond, he sent the Sergeant at-Arms after the absentees. Again the roll was called, and a third time by the Recording Clerk, Mr. Pratt. More than a quorum were in the Hall, but all did not answer to their names.

Col. Sumner arose and said: "Gentlemen: This is the most disagreeable duty of my whole life. My orders are to disperse this Legislature, and I am here to tell you that it must not meet, and to see it dispersed. God knows I have no partizan feelings in this matter, and I will have none so long as I hold my present position in Kansas. I have just returned from the border, where I have been driving out bands of Missourians, and now I am ordered here to disperse you. You must disperse. This body cannot be permitted to meet—Disperse. Let me again assure you that this is the most disagreeable duty of my whole life."

Several voices here asked if they were to understand themselves driven out by force? to which Col. Sumner replied, "You may so understand it. I am here to execute this order with my whole force."

Having done so, the members and the crowd left the hall, and he went with them. He had forgotten that the Senate chamber was above, but was reminded of it after he had mounted his horse. He dismounted, entered the Senate Chamber, delivered the same address, or something like it, to the Senators.

After Col. Sumner left the hall, and as he was preparing to leave town, he apologized to several citizens for the character of his intrusion on their Fourth of July exercises. Some one gave "three cheers for Col. Sumner," which was responded to. Then there were three hearty cheers for John C. Fremont, three cheers for the Constitution and State Legislature, and just as the Dragons got the word of command "march," three groans were given for Franklin Pierce, and the retreating squadrons of Dragons moved off amidst the deep groaning for the President.

Thus were the Federal troops first applied to a popular government to subdue it. The threat to subdue was proven to be a frightful reality. Under the glorious stripes and stars, which floated from the top of the hall, this first great act of military despotism began to teach the people of America that popular governments must be held in check.

The Daily Creole.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 1, 1856.

THE NEBRASKA BILL A FAILURE.—The Charleston Mercury, a supporter of Buchanan, and an admirer of Douglas, declares that the Nebraska Bill is what the whole country is beginning to think it to be—a failure. Says the Mercury: Senator Douglas has added much to his previous reputation by his reports and speeches, this session, on Kansas affairs. He has been bold, able

AND consistent in his vindication of the principles of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and in his efforts to carry them out in Kansas. But the Fates have been against him. His great measure, which was to settle forever the question of slavery in the Territories, remove agitation from the floors of Congress and give peace to the whole country, has disappointed the expectations of his friends. Upon all these points, the Nebraska-Kansas Bill, so far as Kansas is concerned, has proved a failure—a failure in all that could give it practical value. The question of slavery in the Territories is as far from solution in theory now as it was ten years ago, while practically it is complicated by the intensest excitement on both sides, and by violence and blood. We have before us the startling anomaly of a party actually rejecting all overtures of peace, and staking its success in the Presidential election upon the continuance of the war in Kansas.

Nor is this all. The Kansas-Nebraska bill is not only a practical failure, but Senator Douglas is himself forced to confess it, and even to introduce a bill into the Senate which proposes, in the face of its principles, 'Congressional intervention.' It virtually admits that the people of Kansas cannot take care of themselves, cannot decide peaceably the question of slavery, and that nothing but 'intervention of Congress—the very evil which Mr. Douglas has constantly denounced, and which the Kansas-Nebraska bill aimed to suppress—can save that Territory from anarchy. Mr. Douglas, the great champion of popular sovereignty, is now the advocate of Congressional intervention.

Daily Democrat.

WILLIAM M. KEE, PROPRIETOR.

[From the Kansas Herald.]

The Capital of Kansas.

Immediately after the organization of the Kansas Legislature, a bill was introduced and forthwith passed through both Houses almost unanimously, to adjourn from Pawnee to the Shawnee mission, some two miles from Westport. Gov. Reeder refused to sign the bill for adjournment—but after two days and a half, vetoed it. It was then passed by a unanimous vote, and in two hours afterwards, Legislature visitors and all, made their exit from Pawnee. As to the preparations that had been made at Pawnee for the accommodation of the members and visitors, a correspondent of the Liberty Tribune, who was on the ground says:

There were three "five-cent" drinking establishments; one double log house with four rooms, one of which was supplied with windows and a door for the Governor's department. There is one other house in the far-famed town of Pawnee, at which boarding was tolerable and the lodging less so; but from the fact that the landlord had a beautiful and amiable lady for a wife, no one who stopped there complained of either. Both of these houses are kept by free-soilers, and as both were unfit and incapable of accommodating even a small proportion of the members, to say nothing of the numerous visitors who were present, they were compelled to bivouac on the open prairie, where the sun beamed down with insupportable effulgence, and the earth teemed with hissing gasses and vapors. A few of us who had acquaintances, found elegant and comfortable quarters at Fort Riley; but the large majority had to set around their camp fires, and discuss grave matters of State while they cooked their own suppers, occasionally exposed to copious showers of rain.

The citizens of Pawnee, and especially of the fort, were much elated at the idea of the Legislature holding its session in their town, as they had speculated a great deal about its prospects for the future capital of the territory. But so soon as it spoke out imperatively and unanimously in favor of adjournment, the radiant beams of hope disappeared from their countenances, and the darkness of despair settled upon their brows.

Among the spectators present were a number of gentlemen from Pennsylvania and New York. They expressed much surprise and gratification at the peaceable manner in which everything went off. From what they had heard of Missouri ruffianism, they expected that every member would be a walking arsenal—that he would speak with a revolver in his hand and write with a knife.

Wm. L. White
AUGUST 2, 1856.

Attempt to give Kansas over to Slavery.

We call particular attention to the remarks of the N. Y. Herald on the late vote on Kansas laws in the House. It is an able and clear exposition of the latest scheme of the Democracy to make Kansas a slave state.

But in this connection, we would call attention to a very brief history of the several endeavors of the past pro-slavery party to give Kansas over to slavery.

First the compromise was repealed which would have secured the territory from the curse of slavery. Second, the Missouri ruffians were permitted to enter without the least opposition by the proper authority, the general government, and enact the vilest and most oppressive slave code ever invented.—The present democracy sanctioned this.

Third, the party sustained and even more, approved in the highest degree the action of the president who proclaimed the vile, illegal code, the just law of the land. Fourth, authorized the murder of the inhabitants and the destruction of their houses, to enforce these bogus acts. Fifth, permitted

without the least opposition, the lawless bands of Missourians, to deprive the bona fide free state settlers of all admission to the territory. Sixth, the fraudulent attempt to palm off upon the country the faithless bill of Toombs with Douglas amendment. A transparent scheme to make Kansas a slave state.

This is a short history of the signal zeal with which the present pro-slavery democracy have attempted to make Kansas a slave state and deprive the north of her rights under the sacred compromises of the nation.

What persistent energy democracy has shown for slavery.

Will northern free men vote for a party that has shown so unblemished a record in favor of slavery?

THE APPROPRIATION BILLS IN CONGRESS—BRINGING THE KANSAS QUESTION TO BEAR.

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 \$3,275,000 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 Paixhan 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, in 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 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 tops 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 indorsement 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 and repudiating the Missouri-Kansas Legislature and its bloody code enacted under the auspices of the administration, the United States army and the Missourians—that the 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. Dodge, subterfu-

rowing one way and looking another—are no longer admissible. The secret is out—everybody understands it. Everybody knows the policy of the Cincinnati democracy, and the object and inevitable tendency of the new State, and that this bill has been arrested only 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 at 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. Tombs 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 new Senate bill provides for the admission of the disputed Territory as a slave State. Mr. Tombs so understands it, and for this purpose advocates the bill. Messrs. Douglas, Bigler, Pugh, and other Northern Democratic Senators, support the bill, but deny the soft impeachment. If it could be done, they would like to serve the South and keep their Northern constituents in the dark, like Jacob with his false hair and false voice, fooling his blind old father Isaac. But the secret is out, and as Kansas cannot be given to the North and to the South, the simple issue is, which shall have it.—[N. Y. Herald.

The "Great Principle."

The great principle upon which the Democratic part stands, recognizes the right of the people of each territory to establish or prohibit slavery, as they shall see proper to do.—[Quincy Herald.

The above extract is from a somewhat peculiar article that appeared in the Herald of yesterday, upon the subject of the Wilmot Proviso. This "great principle" alluded to by the Herald, we suppose, is "squatter sovereignty;" but that the Black Democracy now recognize it as a "principle," we think that the recent action of the party clearly disproves. Until 1854, the established democratic doctrine was, that "slavery is the creature of municipal law," and that the Constitution nowhere protected slavery "except in the States." Later, and we need, for authority, to refer no further back than the 3d of July 1856, in the columns of the Herald we find the Democratic doctrine distinctly and unequivocally enunciated as follows: "The truth is, thousands of the people of the North, though opposed to Slavery, see that there is no warrant in the Constitution for its abolition in the States, or its exclusion FROM THE TERRITORIES." Then, if this be true Democratic doctrine and it is the latest, there is no "warrant in the Constitution for its slavery "exclusion from the Territories." A repudiation of the old fashioned doctrine and a repudiation of "Squatter Sovereignty."

A practical illustration of this latest and newest dogma may be readily found in the Territory of Kansas, which was to reap so many blessings from the exercise of squatter sovereignty. In the legislation of that Territory the idea is fully carried out that there is no warrant in the Constitution for the exclusion of slavery from the Territories. The Kansas Legislature acted truly upon the spirit of this doctrine, and ENACTED NO LAW ESTABLISHING SLAVERY IN THAT TERRITORY, BUT DID ENACT LAWS GIVING IT PROTECTION! The fact is becoming well known that the "great principle" upon which the Black Democracy now stand is one which recognises and affirms the constitutional existence of slavery in the Territories. We are told that the Democratic party is the "national party," and that there is no conflict of doctrine among the members of that party, North or South—that their views are everywhere the same. While basing their claim to nationality upon an agreed sentiment North and South, we are sometimes amused at what we see in the Southern papers of the Democratic stamp of politics, in relation to the Herald's "great principle." For instance, take the following from the Richmond (Va.) Enquirer:

"Among the fair but false and fatal theories of the day none attracts so much homage as the "Squatter Sovereignty" courtizan. There are none so radiant with meretricious charms, none so ready with deceitful promise, and none so sure to cover their victim with shame and reproach. The sovereignty of the people is a noble principle, and should command universal homage. "Squatter Sovereignty" is an imposture, a counterfeit copy, an ugly idol wrought by man's hands, and should be kicked off the pedestal where it sits in mock majesty and courts the adoration of fools and demagogues.

This Richmond Enquirer is the same sheet which immediately after the adoption of the Cincinnati Platform, declared that: "In equally clear and conclusive terms, the doctrine of SQUATTER SOVEREIGNTY: REPUDED by the platform of the Democratic party."

No, the dogma is dead—practically and effectually dead, and the people can no longer be deceived by any hosannas sung in its praise.

The Daily Journal.

SATURDAY MORNING, AUGUST 2, 1856.

For the Journal.

The Sentinel and the Germans Again.

"Save us from our friends; our enemies shall not hurt us!" This should be the daily prayer of the Germans in regard to the *Sentinel* and its party. The editors of that paper are curious fellows indeed. Why is it that they again and again harp on that same old string, pretending to be the "friends" of the Germans, and claiming, in exchange, the thanks of the latter?

Now before a man could claim my thanks, he ought to show evidence that he is entitled to receive them, by having merited the same. Let us see by what the slaveholding Democracy is entitled to the thanks of the Germans!

1. The to-day Democracy thrust the Missouri Compromise aside and opened those Territories, which were consecrated to be the home of free settlers, to the negro capitalists of the South. As a slave State has no industry, the

Germans, who own no Slaves, but who rely chiefly upon the tilling of the soil and mechanical employment, would be, as soon as Kansas would become a slave State, virtually excluded from it; and for this the Germans owe their thanks to the *Sentinel* and its party.

2. The slaveholding Democracy pretends that it has saved the Germans from the wrath of Know-Nothingism. This is flat-footed nonsense. Where was this beautiful Democracy at Louisville? The Democratic Mayor was to be seen nowhere, neither could a Democratic police officer be espied, and Diogenes with his lantern would have traversed in vain through the streets of the mob-city in order to find a democratic friend of the belted Germans and Irish.

At Cincinnati, New Orleans, Columbus, it was the same, and at Baltimore it was still worse, because the Democrats had appointed a Vigilance and Aid Committee. Yet this Committee was not to be found on election day, and the Democrats voted with the Know Nothings. For all this they certainly deserve our thanks, which they shall have, but give in our own way.

3. Among the suffering Free State men in Kansas are a good many Germans, who now have opportunity to learn, what Democratic friendship is—by FEELING. Mr. Dietzler, a German is, together with Gov. Robinson, imprisoned for treason, when nothing but the laws given by the Missourians, were high treason against the United States Constitution. The Democratic party in Convention at Cincinnati approved of the acts of Franklin Pierce, and by that, made themselves, one and all, accomplices to those infernal acts, for which also they will get our thanks.

4. Democrats and Know Nothings in beautiful union, voted on the 2d of July in the Senate of the United States for Mr. Adam's amendment, which deprives the foreigners of their former right of suffrage in the Territories (guaranteed by the Nebraska Bill). We know pretty well that when ever French and Russians quarrel, the Turks have to pay the costs, as soon as peace is restored again. And so it is here. Whenever the Democrats need the votes of the Know Nothing, the rights of the Germans are given in exchange. But everything has its end.

Now, editors of the *Sentinel*, this is what you are pleased to call "defending the rights of the foreigners," and which means nothing but that we have to care for ourselves, help ourselves, defend ourselves. Consequently we owe you or your party no thanks whatever.

TH. HIELSCHER.

For the Journal.

INDIANAPOLIS, July 31st, 1856.

The omens. The land and the water bear witness. Is there not an overruling Providence? Are all names arbitrary, and do all things come by chance? What have been the meanings of the times? Darkness, tyranny, slavery! Where do the people flee when oppressed—in time of trouble? To the mountains. Are they not now flying to the mountain of Freedom, from all parts and parties of the stricken district—the oppressed portion of the land? Fremont, is derived from "Froeh"—free, and "Mons"—mountain, or vast treasures; then the term means vast treasures of freedom, or a free mountain. And why should not the people look to such a tower, in such peril?

Pierce, we would not suppose has any "etymology;" but Douglas and Atchison may be derived from significant roots. This, so far as we know, is the first run at these roots, and may not be exactly correct; but the presumption is, Douglas comes from the Saxon "dah"—dough, unbaked bread, and an abbreviation of the Latin word "Laxers"—looseness, flux, &c. So you see, it would mean very soft dough, or batter, which would run any way where there was down hill. Atchison is derived from the common Latin prefix "ad"—to, and the French "chicane"—shift, trick, &c. The "ad" simply gives force or intensity to the trick, so you see the word means intense rascality, as may be seen in his course in the Senate in relation to Nebraska, and since that time in heading border ruffians, &c.

Now is there no meaning in things? Look at Atchison county, the northwest county in Missouri, and Fremont, the southwest county in Iowa, butting against each other—one in free Iowa, and the other in slavery-ridden Missouri. Who, when these counties were named, thought these men would so soon be leaders of great armies of freedom and slavery? How significant! Look again at the tears from the Nebraska

Kansas bill, flowing into Fremont county, Iowa, through the "weeping river." The great emigration for free state men to Kansas strikes the Missouri river in Fremont county, Iowa, and Fort Kearney, named for Fremont's intended destroyer, just opposite. Who ever would have dreamed of such significancies and coincidences? These are only a beginning of the land-wide providences or omens—looking to the triumph of Fremont in the coming election. The finger of God seems to have been writing his name every place, and the eyes of the people are just now being opened to read it.

SAML. W. RITCHEY.

DAILY ADVERTISER.

NO. 121 DETROIT, '56

THE NATIVE AMERICANS FOR FREMONT.—When the Delawares (a noble tribe of Indians) in Kansas heard that Col. Fremont was going to be their next "Great Father," (the name by which they call the President of the United States,) they expressed the most exultant joy. It seems that when the Colonel crossed the beautiful slopes of Kansas he found the Delawares among his best friends. He camped in their midst, traded considerably with them, made them presents, and finally, when about to start upon his celebrated "ride of One Hundred," he selected from among them five of their bravest warriors for his body guard. He is greatly esteemed among the Delawares, and is known among them as the "Iron Man."

Buffalo Commercial Advertiser.

Saturday Evening, August 2, 1856.

MR. HAVEN'S KANSAS BILL.—The Commercial publishes Mr. Haven's bill for reorganizing the territory of Kansas with much laudation. We have hastily looked its provisions over to find if it in any degree meets the Slavery issue which has already caused so much trouble and bloodshed there, and we do not find that it comes any nearer the demands of a correct public sentiment in that regard than the projects of Douglas and Toombs. It permits Slavery to go there, and that is equivalent to inviting it into the territory. It is a poor fabric for the government of a people who are constantly subjected to the power and influence of a bordering Slave State, and cannot be accepted by those who are opposed to the extension of Slavery. The bill is worthy of Douglas himself. It has, however, one redeeming feature—it repeals the Ruffian Statutes already enacted, and prevents their re-enactment, but that goes only a little way towards preserving the soil from the contamination of Slavery. — *Buffalo Express.*

The utter unfairness of the above paragraph will be apparent to any one who has taken the pains to read the excellent bill to which it relates. Where the malignity which the *Express* has always manifested towards Mr. Haven is known, nobody will attach the slightest importance to anything it may say of the merits of any measure in the success of which he is interested. The *Express* says the provisions of Mr. Haven's bill are equivalent to inviting slavery into the territory. It is painful to any honorable mind to witness the moral degradation implied in such unscrupulous assertions. The bill not only repeals all the atrocious enactments of the border ruffian legislature, but fully secures to the people freedom of speech and of the press, and makes ample provision for protecting them in the exercise of their political rights. If, as is admitted on all hands, a majority of the people of Kansas are in favor of free institutions, Mr. Haven's bill secures to them the right to say so through the ballot box. The real ground of the distaste which the Republicans manifest for Mr. Haven's bill, is, that its adoption would immediately settle the Kansas difficulty, and take that subject out of the arena of party politics. "Bleeding Kansas" is too essential to the existence of the Republican party for them to consent to have its wounds healed previous to the Presidential election.

The Evening Press.

Washington August 2, 1856.

It is Time that Freemen Raise a Hand.

Air—'Yankee Doodle.'

When Slavery wages deadly war
Upon our nation's rights, sir,
And our eschatheon seeks to mar
By putting out its lights, sir,
'Tis time that Freemen raise a hand,
And say it shall not be, sir,
Fremont and Dayton lead our band,
And Kansas shall be free, sir.

And when her minions take the polls,
And claim that "night is right," sir,
Electing knives and party tools,
To make her laws, and light, sir,
'Tis time that Freemen, etc.

When legislatures thus elect,
Pass laws to stop the Press, sir,
Or make it Slavery's wrongs protect,
We look for some redress, sir,
'Tis time that Freemen, etc.

When press and types are overthrown
By Jones and Shannon's minions,
Because they dare assert their own—
A Freeman's just opinions,
'Tis time that Freemen, etc.

Since he who dares to use his tongue,
In Slavery pick a flaw, sir—
In loathsome dungeons must be flung,
By juries packed by law, sir,
'Tis time that Freemen, etc.

When settlers from their busy farms,
And tradesmen from their shops, sir,
Are driven forth by force of arms,
Because their mouths won't stop, sir,
'Tis time that Freemen, etc.

Nay, when they're shot in field and shop,
And hung along the border,
By thief, or knave, or fool, or fop,
From Pierce's "Law and Order,"
'Tis time that Freemen, etc.

When Senators, who dare to speak
Of Slavery's bold aggression,
Are beaten down beneath the feet
Of those who love oppression,
'Tis time that Freemen, etc.

When Compromise on Compromise
Has given her promise
Of lands ALL justly Freedom's price,
And still she claims concession,
'Tis time that Freemen, etc.

Since all has failed to satisfy,
We're driven to the wall, sir,
And we must either fight or fly,
At Freedom's earnest call, sir,
'Tis time that Freemen, etc.

Then for free speech we'll rally all,
And for Fremont we'll vote, sir,
And for free labor stand or fall,
Of this please make a note, sir,
'Tis time that Freemen raise a hand,
And say it shall not be, sir,
Fremont and Dayton lead our band,
And Kansas shall be free, sir.

The Memorial of Shannon.

The people of Kansas have suffered innumerable wrongs from the maladministration of WILSON SHANNON, whom President PIERCE appointed to be their Governor, and has persisted in continuing in office. In addition to his general incapacity, his habits were represented to be notoriously bad, and in every respect it was a disgrace to the country, and an outrage upon the people placed under his authority, that he should in the first instance have been appointed, and more grievous still that he should have remained in office after the many and glaring exhibitions of his total unfitness.

While the friends of freedom and the free and independent journals of the country have complained of this great wrong, the Administration was deaf to their remonstrances, and the whole Buchanan press have treated the complaints of the suffering and abused people of Kansas with silence or contempt. So long as the Administration continued this improper and unfit person in office, just so long would the flunkey press and leaders sustain and approve the appointment. Instead of canvassing the true merits of the case, and forming and expressing an honest opinion, worthy of a true American heart, these flunkies have squared their conduct by the arbitrary edicts of party. It would injure the Administration and the sham Democracy to take the part of a wronged and injured people against the intemperate tyrant and tool of the Border Ruffians. It was *Black Republicanism* to expose him and call for his removal.

Mr. Senator TOUCHEY and his associates voted this

very session, and in spite of all remonstrance, to confirm him. They were told his true character on the floor of the Senate, but all was unavailing.

But the Administration has at length been compelled to revoke its own bad appointment, and removed the man whom the Senate only a few months since confirmed—though fully aware of his unfitness. Such is the way in which the government is administered, and it is indorsed by the sham Democracy. The Cincinnati Convention approved the Administration and its course, though the Administration has slowly and reluctantly been compelled to undo the very acts for which it was approved. The Territory had been invaded and Lawrence invested by ruffians from Missouri, under SHANNON'S requisition, before the Senate confirmed him.

Ought not such a party and such abuses to be corrected? Is it surprising that the country is rousing so generally to rid itself of this wretched mismanagement and misgovernment?

Of the successor of SHANNON we know nothing, nor do we find any one that speaks intelligently of his qualifications and fitness for the position. His habits are said to be an improvement upon SHANNON'S, and we hope and trust he will prove a good officer. If so, we shall give him all due credit. We have no high expectations in advance, for we are free to confess that we have little confidence in PIERCE'S appointments. This is the third governor he has appointed for Kansas under the new territorial policy which he and his associates inaugurated with a view of making Kansas a Slave State.

DAILY ADVERTISER.

BOSTON:

SATURDAY MORNING, AUGUST 2, 1856.

KANSAS AFFAIRS AT WASHINGTON.

[Correspondence of the New York Tribune.]

WASHINGTON, July 31, 1856.—The Senate, in executive session today, has confirmed John W. Geary as Governor of Kansas, vice Shannon, removed. I am told that the only Senator who voted against him was Mr. Toombs.

It is reported that Gen. Wilson expressed great surprise at the course the Administration was pursuing in removing Gov. Shannon, and asked to know what great sin he had committed. He said it was only last February that he presented Shannon to the Senate in his true light, and the Administration Senators then pronounced him perfect. He was their idol. He (Wilson) wanted to know what had come over the spirit of the President's dreams to produce this wonderful change, and to recommend his removal.

The Senate was convulsed with laughter, amid which Mr. Jones of Iowa, remarked that the exposition of the Senator of Massachusetts relative to the official conduct of Shannon in Kansas was made in secret session, and of course the President could have no knowledge of the facts he presented, but has since ascertained from other sources that the Senator was correct.

I learn that the President had under consideration for several days the subject of ordering a *nolle prosequi* in the cases of Gov. Robinson and his compatriots, imprisoned for treason in Kansas. In the event that this is not done, Senator Bigler of Pennsylvania will introduce a bill into the Senate, ordering his trials to take place in Pennsylvania instead of Kansas. This is an administration plunge at Leconte, who will be the next victim. The Administration feels the pressure of public opinion.

Mr. Cullom, Clerk of the House, is quite sick at Wilmington, Del. He was on his way to Washington when taken.

BOSTON Post.

AUGUST 2, 1856.

"The Last 'Outrage' in Kansas—A Damning Verdict." We are informed that the Rev. ———, of Chicago, has received from a correspondent in Kansas the full particulars of one of those fiendish outrages which are the natural result of the repeal of the sacred compact of 1820. He will detail them all before his congregation next Sabbath, or the first opportunity. We are only permitted simply to state, that a few days since a number of Missouri ruffians entered the house of a free state man residing on Pottawatomie creek, and stole two hogs. Pierce, Douglas and Buchanan stood by with their hands in their pockets!! Breckinridge and Richardson were not present at the time, but coming up soon after fully endorsed the deed!!! and subsequently ate part of the pork. Is there a north? If there is, why don't it subscribe for freedom? "

The Atlas.

SATURDAY MORNING, AUGUST 2, 1856.

NATURE AND POWER OF THE SLAVE STATES.

On the 6th of June last, the venerable Josiah Quincy, Senior, now at the advanced age of eighty-five though still in the full vigor of his strong intellectual powers, delivered an address to the inhabitants of the town of Quincy on the above subject. An imperfect sketch of this powerful and eloquent address having appeared in the public journals, its author requested us to state that the report by no means did justice to his actual remarks on that occasion. The organ of the government in this city chose to misapprehend Mr. Quincy's obvious meaning, and to infer, from his card, that it was less unfavorable to the sins of the slave power and its facile tools at Washington than would appear from the report in question. We ventured then to assure our contemporary that when the promised report, in full, of Mr. Quincy's address should appear, the Post would derive small comfort from any thing it might find therein. We are now enabled, by the favor of its author, to make some extracts from Mr. Quincy's valuable and most important contribution to our present knowledge, in regard to the grasping nature and the dangerous power of the slave States, from the proof sheets of a handsome pamphlet of 32 pages, 8vo., in the press of Messrs. Ticknor & Fields, and which is to appear early next week. We shall make no apologies to our readers for making so many and such extended extracts from its pages.

The high standing, the great experience and venerable age of Mr. Quincy, bringing the teaching of a long life, spent, though happily not yet exhausted, in combatting the advances of the power of slavery, all impart to this address a more than ordinary interest and attraction.

Since its delivery, Mr. Quincy's address has been much altered, enlarged and improved by the introduction of much new and valuable matter. It is dedicated "to the people of the Free States, who are entreated to consider the views and statements it presents." Its dedication cannot be abridged. It is all too good for a single word to be lost. It is as follows:

"The question to be decided, at the ensuing Presidential election, is, who shall henceforth rule this nation,—the Slave States, or the Free States? All the aspects of our political atmosphere indicate an approaching hurricane. Whether it shall sweep this Union from its foundations, or whether it shall be prosperously weathered, depends, under Heaven, on the man whom the people shall choose to pilot them through the coming storm. In my judgment, that man is JOHN CHARLES FREMONT. I have not, and never had, any connection with the party that selected him. Personally, I know him not; but I have read the history of his life, and believe him to be a man as much marked out by Providence for the present exigency of our nation as Washington was for that of our American Revolution.

He comes, from whence great men usually do come, from the mass of the people. Nursed in difficulties, practised in surmounting them; wise in council; full of resources; self-possessed in danger; fearless and foremost in every useful enterprise; unexceptionable in morals; with an intellect elevated by nature, and cultivated in laborious fields of duty,—I trust he is destined to save this Union from dissolution; to restore the Constitution to its original purity; and to relieve that instrument, which Washington designed for the preservation and enlargement of freedom, from being any longer perverted to the multiplication of Slave States and the extension of slavery."

The following extracts from the address will not fail to commend themselves to the favorable consideration of our readers.

"The blow on the head of Sumner was not intended for him alone. It was struck at Liberty herself, in one of her most sacred temples. It was a public notice and declaration, to every man in the Free States, that liberty of speech no longer existed in Congress, for him or for his Representative; that whoever, coming from the Free States, dare to utter a word in opposition to the views, or in derogation of the power of slaveholders, will speak at the peril of life. There is nothing new in this system of intimidation. Fifty years ago, it was an approved practice of slaveholders. In that day, men from the Free States, who were open opponents to the Administration, often carried pistols in self-defence. Others, urged by their friends to do it, declined; being unwilling, under any circumstances, to have the life of a fellow-being on their consciences. The only difference between our times and the past is this—heretofore they brandished the bludgeon; now they have brought it down. Formerly the Bowie-knife was only seen in its sheath, or half drawn by way of terror; now it is seen glistening in their hands, or steeped in the blood of freemen in Kansas."

"The art by which, for more than fifty years, the Slave States have subjugated the Free States, and vested in their own hands all the power of the Union, they call *policy*. Its proper name is *cunning*; that 'left-handed wisdom,' as Lord Bacon calls it, which the devil practised in the garden of Eden—'divide and conquer.' By this they established the seat of national government in a slave country, and thus surrounded Congress with an atmosphere of slavery, and subjected the Free States to its influences, in the place where the councils of the nation are held, and where the whole public sentiment is hostile to the principles of the Free States; and where, in case of collisions, resulting in actions at law and indictments, slaveholders are judges, jurors, and executioners. This location of the seat of government has been one of the most potent causes of that dominion over the nation which they have acquired.

Again: by *cunning*, they inserted Louisiana into the Union, not only without the concurrence of the Free States, but without so much as asking it—a measure which has been the Pandora's box of all our evils."

"Educated under circumstances which make pride, and exercise of power, the chief elements of their character, they come to Congress with the arrogant spirit of aristocratic despots; looking down on the Representatives of the Free States as an inferior class; jealous, fearful, and hating all talents which they cannot command; courting, coaxing, fawning on all who will become their tools, so long as they are obedient—when their servility is no longer useful, throwing them away with contempt. The different states of society expand this arrogance. It is well known, that, in the Free States, there is no honor in fighting a duel; that, in most of them, to give or accept a challenge would put an end to a man's hope of political advancement. It is also well known that the public sentiment is altogether the reverse in the Slave States. In these, to fight a duel is an evidence of gallantry. To kill a man in a duel is a glory, not a disgrace. Life itself depreciates, where killing a slave is often venial. For shooting a schoolmaster through the brain for whipping a refractory boy, juries acquit according to the standard by which distributive justice is dispensed in a slaveholder's Court in the city of Washington, three hundred dollars is an ample retribution for an assault, endangering life and future usefulness, made by a member of the House of Representatives upon a Senator sitting in his seat in the Senate Chamber of the United States!"

"Several years ago, John Quincy Adams said to me, 'Insult, bullying, and threat characterize the slaveholders in Congress; talk, *timidty*, and submission, the Representatives from the Free States.' What Adams calls '*timidty*,' is in them, for the reasons above stated, for the most part unavoidable. Men, educated under moral, religious, and refined influences, meet in Congress a class of men, of which, at home, they know nothing, and would not willingly meet anywhere; with many of whom, every second word is an oath; and who are always ready, with a pistol, or offer of a duel, to support what they call the slaveholders' strength, but your folly. It is their arguments. This class was always in Congress, and you divide; because they hold in their hands the means of corruption, and half of you perhaps are willing to be corrupted. This is bold language, and will be said. Boldness is one of the privileges of old Free States who dares to retort their obloquy; which, if he does, a duel is thrust into his face, as was repelled, in the temper and demeanor of a mild, firm, and nothing before him but a daily-expected summons to the highest and most solemn of all tribunals."

"Let any man examine the history of the United States, from the reign of Thomas Jefferson to that of Franklin Pierce, and he will find that, when the slaveholders have any particularly odious and obnoxious work to do, they never fail to employ the leaders of

Fifty years ago there were two classes of slaveholders in Congress; the one, generous in spirit, polished in manners, true to the principles of liberty, the Constitution, uniting heart and hand with the Representatives from the Free States in objects and policy; of the same type and character as George Washington, John Marshall, William Pinckney, Henry W. Desaussure, John Stanley, Nicholas Vandyke, Philip Stuart, Alexander Contee Hanson, and a host of others, too numerous to be recapitulated, in principle and views coincident with the Constitution, destitute of all desire to establish the supremacy of slaveholders. They spoke of slavery, like Patrick Henry, as 'a curse,' which blighted the prospects and weakened the strength of the Slave States,—with him deplored the necessity of holding men in bondage, declaring their belief that the time would come when 'an opportunity will be afforded to abolish this lamentable evil;' like Governor Randolph, they regarded themselves 'oppressed by slavery, and treated with disdain the idea that the Slave States could stand by themselves;' with Judge Tucker, of Virginia, they thought, as he declared, that posterity, 'would execrate the memory of those ancestors, who, having the power to avert the evil of slavery, have, like their first parents, entailed a curse on all future generations.'

These men, far from threatening to go out of the Union, regarded and spoke of it as a main hope of dependence against their own slaves. They encouraged and supported every man from the Free States who met the violence of the insolent class with appropriate spirit. They saw and lamented the character and conduct of the lower and baser slaveholders, who, coarse in language, overbearing in manner, caring nothing for the principles of liberty and the Constitution, came to Congress for the purpose of getting office or place, and, to that end, were as subservient to every nod of the administration as any slave to that of his master.

The nobler class of slaveholders foresaw and foretold that the effect of the language and course of conduct of this violent class would gradually wear away the affections of the Free States, and lead to a dissolution of the Union. These higher spirits could not submit to use the arts and language to obtain power to which the baser sort condescended, and, of consequence, lost their influence in their respective districts; to which these political fillibusters succeeded, and came to Washington, some to follow and some to direct the course of the administration, by whom they were rewarded according to their talents, their violence, or their subserviency.

In 1810, John Randolph, in whose mind Virginia included all the South, said to me, 'Virginia is no longer what it once was. The spirit of the old planters is departed or gradually wearing away: we are overrun by time-servers, office-hunters and political blacklegs.' In a letter to me dated 'Richmond, 22d March, 1814,' after giving a melancholy description of a visit he had just made to the seat of his ancestors, in the maternal line, at the confluence of the James and Appomattox Rivers, he adds, 'The curse of slavery, however, an evil daily magnifying, great as it already is, imbibes many a moment of the Virginian landholder, who is not duller than the clod under his feet.' And, recurring to the then-existing state of Virginia, in the same letter he adds, 'In your country, the state of society is not changed, the whole fabric uprooted, as it is with us. Here the rich vulgar are every body and every thing. You can almost smell the rum and cheese and loaf and lump-sugar out of which their mushroom fortunes have sprung, much more offensive to my nostrils than 'muck and merinos.' These fellows will never 'get out of Black Friars;' and they make up in ostentation for other deficiencies of which they are always conscious, and sometimes ashamed.'

Slaveholders have been, for fifty years, a few only excepted, the political masters of these States. Rampant with long-possessed authority, in the natural spirit of the class, they have now put on the lash, and are getting ready for use their fetters and manacles."

"But every body asks, 'What is to be done to throw off this slaveholders' yoke?' The first step is to be free. If there is a will, it will soon find a way. It is not their strength, but your folly. It is because they unite, and you sleep; because they unite, and you divide; because they hold in their hands the means of corruption, and half of you perhaps are willing to be corrupted. This is bold language, and will be said. Boldness is one of the privileges of old Free States who dares to retort their obloquy; which, if he does, a duel is thrust into his face, as was repelled, in the temper and demeanor of a mild, firm, and nothing before him but a daily-expected summons to the highest and most solemn of all tribunals."

"Let any man examine the history of the United States, from the reign of Thomas Jefferson to that of Franklin Pierce, and he will find that, when the slaveholders have any particularly odious and obnoxious work to do, they never fail to employ the leaders of

to the Free States. In all estimates of their future, it should never be forgotten, that every act by which their interests have been sacrificed, and the power of slaveholders increased, has been effected by the treachery of members of the Free States.

"While the Louisiana Bill was in its passage, it was said openly, by the author of this address, in Congress, 'If this bill passes, the bonds of this Union are virtually dissolved; the States which compose it are free from their moral obligations; and that as it will be the right of all, so it will be the duty of some, to prepare definitely for a separation,—peaceably if they can, violently if they must.' The results and duties then stated are as true and incumbent at the present as they were at that day. The only difference is, that what was then but foreseen is now realized; what was then prophecy is now history.

It is, then, manifest to the Free States, that a monstrous usurpation has been effected, and is intended to be enlarged and perpetuated.

The warning voice of Washington, in this state of things, is 'Let there be no change by usurpation.' He adds, 'Change by usurpation is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed.' Again: Washington advises, 'Resist with care the spirit of innovation upon the principles of the Constitution. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all departments in one, and thus to create a real despotism.'

"The Free States are undeniably, at this day, in that very state of things in which the warning voice of Washington declared "RESISTANCE TO BE THEIR DUTY." During more than forty years, the spirit of a continued series of encroachments has established over them the worst of all possible despotisms,—THAT OF SLAVEHOLDERS. The manner in which this duty of resistance, so distinctly advised by Washington, is to be performed in the spirit which he advised, and which his life exemplified, is at this time the subject of earnest and solicitous consideration by the people of the Free States. It will be my endeavor to throw some light on their duties, and on the course to be pursued in performing them."

"The history of our Union is little else than a record of the triumphs of Slavery, through the instrumentality of the ambition, cupidity, and baseness of men from the Free States. They aid the slaveholders in the calumnies and falsehoods by which Washington and his friends were first thrust out of power. When Jefferson, contrary to his avowed convictions, consented to make the Constitution of the United States a dead letter, for the purpose of opening an indefinitely wide field for the extension of the slave power, men from the Free States seconded his plans, and assisted in their execution. Without one trace of democracy in their hearts, more than Louis Napoleon has in his, men from the Free States took up democracy as a trade, thus obtained influence in the Free States, connected themselves with every administration which would accept their services, content even to be suttlers of the camp, since profits would accrue. Through the influence of such men, who have been successively little else than traitors to the great interest of the Free States, to liberty, humanity, and the progress of civilization, the slaveholder has taken possession of every arm of the Union, even of the fountains of justice itself."

"In 1820, when the Missouri Compromise question was in debate, John Calhoun said to John Quincy Adams, 'that he did not believe that the question then pending in Congress would produce a dissolution of the Union; but, if it should, the South would be, from necessity, compelled to form an alliance, offensive and defensive, with Great Britain.' Mr. Adams asked 'if that would not be returning to the Colonial state.' Calhoun said, 'Yes, pretty much; but it would be forced upon them.' Mr. Adams inquired, 'whether he thought, if, by the effect of this alliance, offensive and defensive, the population of the North should be cut off from its natural outlet upon the ocean, it would fall back upon its rocks, bound hand and foot, to starve, or whether it would not retain its powers of locomotion to move southward by land.' Mr. Calhoun replied, 'Then it would be necessary for the South to make their communities all military.' Thus this glorious plan of 'going out of the Union' will result, according to Mr. Calhoun's opinion, first in a return to a state of colonial subjection to Great Britain; and, second, to a hopeful independence under the military prowess of three hundred thousand whites to keep in subjection three million of slaves.

At the coming election, I cannot doubt that the Free States, in which the greatest proportion of practical wisdom, active talent, and efficient virtue exists, will take possession of this government; restore to the Constitution the proportions of power established by Washington; re-instate, in full force, that barrier against the extension of slavery, called 'the Missouri Compromise'; make Kansas a free State; and put an end for ever to the addition of any more slave States to this Union,—duties to be fulfilled at every hazard, even of the dissolution of the Union itself. If this

Union is destined to break to pieces, it cannot fall in a more glorious struggle than in the endeavor to limit the farther extension of slavery,—that disgrace of our nation, and curse of our race.

From the depths of the human heart, Nature, abjuring as she does, all right of one man to have property in another, calls on the people of the free States to be faithful to these duties. The spirit of Liberty, to whom Washington intrusted the preservation of this Union, calls on them to relieve her from the shame of being longer an instrument to propagate slavery, and a pander for oppression. Unborn millions, destined hereafter to fill the earth from the Mississippi to the Pacific, cry to them, from the depths of all future ages, to be faithful to their great trust; exclaiming: 'On your faithfulness it depends, whether we shall become the depraved subjects or ministers of a slave despotism; whether fraud, violence, and an infamous traffic, shall be our destiny, or the enjoyment of the pure light of liberty, morality, and religion.'

Washington Correspondence of the Atlas.

WASHINGTON, July 30, 1856.

The bill offered some time since by Mr. Dunn, of Indiana, as a substitute for the bill of Mr. Toombs, passed by the Senate, was adopted yesterday in the House, as a substitute for a bill reported from the Committee on Territories, to repeal certain laws of Kansas, and was passed and sent to the Senate.

Mr. Dunn's bill is of great length, and provides for an organization *de novo* of a Territory of Kansas, with somewhat different boundaries than those of the present Territory. The Southern line is the parallel of 36° 30', instead of the parallel of 37°. Mr. Dunn's bill repeals so much of the Kansas Nebraska bill of 1854 as abrogates the Missouri Compromise. Its restoration of that Compromise, is, in fact, its most important feature.

Our friends entertain many objections to Mr. Dunn's bill, but still, were willing to send it, as an offer, to the Senate. There is little probability that the Senate will accept it.

Many Republican members, especially at the West, were elected upon the platform of a restoration of the Missouri Compromise. Still others, not elected on that basis, are willing to take it, if it is the best thing which can be obtained.

When this bill is rejected by the Senate, as it probably will be, it will be a confession that nothing will satisfy the slave interest, short of making a slave State out of Kansas.

It has been charged upon the Republicans, that, although denouncing the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, they still make no movement to restore it. They have now, by a bill passed through the House, proposed to the Senate to make its restoration the basis of a settlement of existing difficulties. Let us see what response the Senate will make to the proposition.

In the debate yesterday upon the proviso moved by Mr. Sherman to the Army bill, Mr. Campbell of Ohio opposed it as an extreme measure, not yet justified by anything which had transpired in Congress. He did say, however, most distinctly and emphatically, that if the House should offer a restoration of the Missouri Compromise, and the Senate should be so regardless of public sentiment as to reject such an offer, the time would have arrived when the House would be justified in coercing legislation through the appropriation bills. The contingency described by Mr. Campbell will have occurred, if the South reject this bill of Mr. Dunn, and we may then expect Mr. Campbell's aid in insisting upon the proviso now put on the Army bill.

In every point of view, the passage of Mr. Dunn's bill strengthens the Republicans, both in the House, and before the country.

House.—Mr. Boyce stated that he had received the certificate of the Governor of South Carolina, stating that Preston S. Brooks was re-elected to Congress, and asked that he might be sworn in.

Mr. Brooks then advanced to the chair of the Speaker, who administered the oath to support the Constitution.

The Kansas contested election case was then taken up, and the Clerk finished the reading of Gov. Reeder's letter.

Among other things the letter refers to remarks of Gen. Cass and Mr. Buchanan, to show that a delegate

may be admitted in the absence of a specific law for that purpose. He concludes by arguing in support of the position heretofore assumed by him.

Mr. Crittenden spoke on the case. Mr. Whitfield, the sitting delegate, said his election should not be reversed without a full and impartial hearing. He maintained that he was elected under the statute passed in pursuance of the organic law, and therefore was entitled to remain where he was. There was here no proper legal challenge of his right, test. But apart from this, Gov. Reeder is estopped, having certified the Legislative Assembly as legal, and having the power to right such wrongs as were represented to exist. He insisted that all the testimony in his case had been violated by the Kansas Investigating Committee.

Mr. Washburn replied to Mr. Stephens, contending from uniform principle and precedent, that the House has a right to enquire, as it has enquired in the present case, into the question of fact whether there was or not a Legislature which could pass laws of binding force. It had been proved incontrovertibly that the Kansas Legislature was elected by the aid of citizens of Missouri. He insisted that Mr. Reeder be admitted as the proper representative of a majority of the legal voters of Kansas.

The first resolution reported by the Committee on Elections, that Mr. Whitfield was not entitled to a seat as delegate to Kansas, was adopted by yeas 110, nays 92, as follows:—

YEAS—Messrs. Albright, Allison, Ball, Barbour, Barclay, Bennett of N. Y., Benson, Billingshurst, Bliss, Bradley, Bronson, Broome, Buffington, Campbell of Pa., Campbell of Ohio, Chaffee, Clark of Conn., Clawson, Colfax, Collins, Covode, Cragin, Dan-
reth, Jay, Dean, Dick, Dodd, Dunn, Durfee, Edie, Edwards, Em-
rie, Flagg, Fuller of Pa., Engler, Galway, Giddings, Gilbert,
Granger, Grow, Hall of Mass., Holland, Harrison, Haven, Hic-
kman, Holloway, Horton of N. Y., Horton of O., Hughes, Keisey,
King, Knapp, Knight, Knowlton, Knox, Kunkle, Letter, Mace,
Mather, McCarty, Miller of N. Y., Moore, Morgan, Morrill,
Mott, Nichols, Norton, Oliver of N. Y., Parker, Parker, Felton,
Pennington, Perry, Peut, Pike, Pringle, Farnvance, Ritchie, Rob-
bins, Roberts, Sabin, Sage, Sapp, Scott, Sherman, Simmons,
Spinner, Stranahan, Tappan, Tralton, Tyson, Thurston, Todd,
Thurston, Yale, Wadsworth, Walker, Wallbridge, Waldron, Wash-
burne of Wis., Washburn of Ill., Washburn of Me., Watson,
Welch, Wells, Whitney, Williams, Wood, Woodruff, Woodworth.

NAYS—Messrs. Aiken, Barkdale, Bell, Bennett of Miss., Bo-
cock, Boyce, Boyce, Burnham, Burnett, Caldwell, Campbell of
Ky., Carlisle, Cassius, Coker, Cobb of Ga., Cobb of Ala.,
Craig, Crawford, Cullen, Davidson, Davis of Md., Denver, Flo-
re, I. Edmundson, English, Eussis, Evans, Faulkner, Follen,
Foster, Fuller of Me., Gooch, Greenwood, Harris of Md., Harris
of Ala., Harris of Ill., Herbert, Hoffman, Houston, Jompa, Ten-
n., Kenneth, Kijwell, Lake, Letcher, Lindley, Lumpkin,
A. K. Marshall of Ky., Sam'l S. Marshall of Ill., H. Marshall
of Ky., Maxwell, McMullen, Miller of Ind., Milson, Oliver of
Mo., Orr, Rock, Phelps, Porter, Powell, Farquar, Quinn, Read,
Bicault, Reedy, Richardson, Rivers, Rubin, Russ, Sandeigh, Sav-
age, Seward, Shorter, Smith of Tenn., Smith of Va., South of
Ala., Sneed, Stephens, Stewart, Swope, Tallott, Taylor, Trape,
Underwood, Vail, Walker, Warner, Watkins, Winslow, Wright of
Miss., Wright of Tenn., Zollicoffer.

The second resolution, that Mr. Reeder be admitted to the seat, was rejected by yeas 88, nays 113.

Mr. Washburn, of Maine, asked, but was denied, a unanimous consent, to pay Mr. Reeder mileage and per diem to date.

The House then considered, but passed no private bills.

Adjourned.

DAILY CHRONICLE.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 2, 1856.

WORDS, WORDS, WORDS! The Courier of yesterday loaded itself with seven solid columns of inexpressible twaddle about the dissolution of the Union, from the Hon. C. C. Barnard of Albany, addressed to some other doughface of the same sort, in favor of Fillmore. We do hope the Courier got at least a dollar a square for this delectable job—and the cash in advance at that, for if not we are sure neither Fillmore's nor Buchan-
ners will ever pay for so lead a horse.

There are only two ideas in the whole of it, the first that the election of Buchanan will extend slavery, which Mr. Barnard doubtless utters by the sublime permission of the present power that be, and second, that the election of Fremont will justify the slaveholders in dissolving the Union, which is Fillmore's own patent nationality.

Between these ideas Mr. Barnard flounders on, column after column, to show how both the Union and freedom in the territories are perfectly safe, if Fillmore should be elected. Of course, how can it be less than certain that the troops on the free State men of Kansas should cease when the signer of the Fugitive Slave Law—who telegraphed when Shadrack was rescued, giving authority to the ten dollar Commissioners to put Boston in a state of siege—is at the helm. The Fillmoreans being victorious, according to this pronhet, all the ter-

...aries will become free States by sheer faith. Hear him:—

"I believe the free State party in Kansas would have been immensely stronger to-day, if no Republican party had ever existed. But not the ultra party of slavery in the South, not the Democratic party at the North, not the Government at Washington, abetting invading hordes from Missouri, and aiding a spurious government in Kansas, not all these together, with the Republican party to boot, can in my opinion make Kansas a slave State. We shall see. I believe it will be free. I am sure it will be, if only the peace can be kept and no mad measures precipitated. And with Kansas free, I should be glad to have any Republican tell me if he knows of another territory now belonging to the United States where slavery has the slightest chance of ever going. Is it Utah, or New Mexico, or Nebraska, or Oregon, or Washington, or Minnesota? Nobody, whatever may be pretended, really entertains any such idea."

Don't they, though? What do you think of Saint Brigham's harem, dear Mr. Barnard?

BOSTON POST.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 2, 1856.

NEW GOVERNOR OF KANSAS.

The President has appointed Col. John W. Geary, of Pennsylvania, to be governor of Kansas, in place of Shannon, removed. This appointment is a most excellent one, and will give general satisfaction throughout the country, particularly in Pennsylvania, where Col. Geary is well known and highly esteemed by troops of friends. He is a high minded honorable man, and who will bring to his new duties, a desire to secure equal and exact justice to all the citizens of the new territory, to promote order and tranquility, to perform efficiently and fairly all the trusts committed to his charge. He possesses administrative ability of the highest order, and has been admirably trained for his new duties by his extended experience as a colonel in the Mexican war, as alcalde, and subsequently first mayor of San Francisco, and in other capacities.

A correspondent sends us the following interesting sketch of Col. Geary's life:—*Pennsylvanian.*

The Vermont Phoenix.

BRATTLEBORO, VT.
SATURDAY, AUGUST 2, 1856.

OFF FOR KANSAS.—S. D. Willis and twenty others started from Fitchburg for Kansas, on Tuesday. Another company will start from the same place in August. The Kansas aid collections in Fitchburg amount to about \$15-00. Small parties have been forwarded from Lowell to Kansas, almost every week lately, by R. B. Caverly, agent of the Kansas committee in that city; the next company will leave there on Monday.

THE GAZETTE.

LACONIA:

SATURDAY, AUGUST 2, 1856.

"The Union is in Danger."

This has been the battle cry of the Slaveocracy for years. Southern chivalry has proclaimed it in Congress, and in places where they could get a hearing. When hard pushed, they have threatened to dissolve the Union immediately themselves, unless the North more promptly obeyed their mandates. Now who are disposed to disturb the peace and present prosperous condition of the confederate States? Is it to be found among those who support the principles contained in the Declaration of Inde-

pendence and the rights of man, or those who come down to us from God and our grandsires? Surely not. The non-slaveholding States object to extending slavery into the new territories, and say to their brethren of the South, "Enjoy all you possessed in the beginning when you came into the Union. Be undisturbed and and happy there in the ownership of human chattles and the misery you may inflict upon them so long as God will permit you, but stay this great curse there. We will not consent that you spread this damning blotch spot upon the fair faces of beautiful and innocent territories."

The monarchic and despotic Governments of the old world, have almost all abolished slavery; but all that we of the North ask, is, not to extend it farther.

Is cause to be found here for dissolving the Union? Does it ask any more than justice requires or religion demands?

The United States is annually at great expense in fitting out a Navy charged with the suppression of the slave trade, a traffic pronounced by the laws of the nation as piracy. While such laws exist in this country, it would seem to require more than a common share of impudence in Southern chivalry, to demand of us to dedicate our territories to slavery, or they will dissolve the Union. They now threaten disunion, emboldened, doubtless, by the contract made before the last Baltimore Convention, known to, if not made by Mr. Barbour, of Virginia, in connection with the successful candidate, or his friends. They have felt sure of the support of the administration, let them do whatever they might, and this accounts for the conduct of the Missourians and the late attacks upon Greeley, Sumner, and others.

The Missouri Compromise has been destroyed. Kansas and Nebraska are about to become slave states, in pursuance of a contract, said to have been made between this Mr. Barbour, of Virginia, and the nominee of the Baltimore Convention, long before it assembled. The actual settlers of Kansas have been murdered, and their dwellings burnt to ashes by the myrmidons of Missouri. And all this because they prefer freedom to slavery. This, and more has been done in the sight of our nominal President and his depraved cabinet, without reproof and with apparent satisfaction. Gov. Reeder has been removed for disapproving of such mobocratic conduct on the part of the Missourians, and a noted tool of the slaveocracy appointed in his place. The non-slaveholding states, have, with a strong desire for peace and union, yielded from time to time to the claims of the South, and the more we have yielded, the more and greater have been their demands upon us to give and still give them more, and still more, until we have become little less subservient to them than their own black slaves. We are deprived of the liberty of speech and of the press, both in and out of Congress. The able and patriotic Greeley was beat down in the streets of Washington, for publishing a well known fact in the Daily Tribune. They have committed a murderous assault upon a New England Senator, while in his seat in the Senate chamber, and the cowardly assassin is praised and lauded and the murderous achievement celebrated throughout the entire South. It is an old but true maxim, that "what is bred in the bone stays long in the flesh." The slaveholders, having been accustomed from the cradle through life, to beat, bruise, main and murder their unfortunate Africans, now claim it a matter of right, home-bred, and confirmed by immemorial usage to practice the same domination over those whom they are pleased to call "the white slaves of the

non slaveholding states of the Union." Professing to hold to the doctrine of state rights in its broadest construction, they demand of the non-slaveholding States to hunt their negroes and carry them back to a state of bandage at their own expense, if perchance the poor bondman finds the way to the land of the Free. If our horses & cattle get within their jurisdiction, we must rescue them at our own expense, if at all. This is the South Carolinian construction of State rights.

Again, if a negro of theirs runs from slavery in the pursuit of those rights vouchsafed to him by God and nature, until at length he treads the free soil of patriotic Massachusetts, he must at once be pursued by her citizens and militia and United States troops, until the poor African is caught, bound and hurried back to his barbarian master. All this must be done without expense to the chivalry or they will dissolve the Union. The clergy of the New England States must not be permitted to petition Congress for redress of grievances, for it will give offence to our beloved brethren of the South. We must not complain if the chivalry come up behind us, either in or out of Congress, and with a prepared bludgeon, knock us down and destroy life or limb. Our Constitution and Union is too precious to be endangered by making any complaint of such occasional casualties.— Is freedom of speech, the right of petition, and liberty of the press, dangerous to our institutions?

May God in his infinite mercy spare us from such a state of affairs any longer.

Had our grandsires have known that the liberties they were striving to leave posterity, were to be thus used by them, their bones would never have whitened the plains of Monmouth, nor would their blood have enriched the valleys of Camden. No, nor would they have marched to South Carolina to meet and subdue the British and Tories and her own slaves.— South Carolina, surrounded in the Revolution, by three times as many African slaves, as freemen, seems now to have forgotten what blood purchased her freedom, if freedom she can be said to possess, and secured to her her slaves. Then with what impudence does she threaten to impose the deep damnation of slavery upon old patriotic Massachusetts with an effrontery past forgiveness, and how does Senator Toombs dare to say insultingly, openly, boldly, and defiantly, "I shall yet call the roll of my slaves under Bunker Hill monument!" Does not forbearance now cease to be a virtue? Has it come to this, and must we bear it longer!

"Will freemen of the North e'er bow
Beneath the tyrants rod,
Or grasp in fellowship the hand
Red with a brother's blood?
Shall Plymouth Rock or Bunker's height
By Slavery's heel be trod?
No, never; while the North is true
To Freedom and to God!"

Freemen of the non-slaveholding states, arise— unite for freedom and your triumph is certain. The ballot box will restore your rights and give your rule rable and honest.

The issue is now between Slavery and Freedom, and that alone. Frank Pierce is a Northern man with Southern principles. Every inch of the rope that is given the South, ever has been and will be used by them to bind the North. This Mr. Pierce has always well known and has agreed to, in consideration of the Presidency and a hope of enjoying it a second time. This hope, as to the last, has not been realized. He has found to his mortification that while the slaveholders enjoy the treat-

son they despise the traitor. The slaveholders now nominated James Buchanan as their candidate for the Presidency, who endorses Frank Pierce's administration. If we elect Buchanan and he is pledged to aid the wide spread of slavery, it is in fact the same thing as to elect Douglass, Toombs, or re-elect Frank Pierce, disgraced and despised as he is everywhere, at home and abroad.

The great question then, now addressed to the Freemen of the non-slaveholding states: will you have James Buchanan and slavery, or John C. Fremont and freedom, to command your ship of State? This question must soon be answered at the ballot box. That answer will either make tyrants tremble or liberty rejoice, or it will disgrace our country and make bondmen of our posterity to the last generation. Prepare for action then freemen, lovers of liberty, and as the question, to be decided is between freedom and slavery, throw away all minor considerations and unite together for your country's good and your children's welfare. Demand of those who favor slavery something more than the name of Democrats. Tell them that old fashioned Democracy supported the principles and practice of liberty and equality among men in all stations in life.

By the exercise of this patriotic union of action, victory will perch upon your standards and Freedom triumph gloriously. The American eagle will again spread her broad wings and ascend high in the sun light of constitutional liberty, and, from that elevation, will guard and protect the rights and privileges of her adopted Columbia.

The Mercury.

NEW BEDFORD.

SATURDAY MORNING AUGUST 2, 1856.

Ladies "Jessie Circle."

The formation of the Ladies' "Jessie Circle, in the neighboring city of Fall River, should be imitated in other towns and cities. Women have an unmistakable influence in all social movements, private and public, moral and political. But the ladies of Fall River have not embarked in their enterprise, with *mannish* and unfeminine notions. They feel that they have a right to live and to work for the best impulses of humanity, to do what they can for the good of their fellow beings, and thus assure the approval of their own consciences, and that of all true and honest hearts.

In their address, which we have had the pleasure of reading, they say that the attack on Mr. Sumner, the sufferings of their sisters in Kansas, and South Carolina Butler's remark: "I would trust to the instinct of woman upon subjects of this kind," have induced them to form an organization, to express their faith in the freedom of man, and his rights to express himself on free subjects. They consider Senator Butler's insulting remark, a sufficient reason for them at least, to show that they have a mind and an opinion of their own, quite distinct from his, on the last who endeavored to destroy Charles Sumner.

Believing that the election of Fremont and Dayton will have much influence for good, in the removal of evils and miseries that now afflict a free country, they mean to do, what they can, to forward and promote in every possible manner, the success of the Free State candidates. Certainly, they have undertaken a noble work, in an excellent spirit; they will we doubt not, persevere in this work, and faithfully work to effect their object. There may be those, who affect to believe that intelligent and energetic women have no influence on the popular movements of the times, but it is an affectation which imposes itself upon no one for reality.



NEW YORK, SATURDAY, AUG. 2, 1856.

KANSAS AND NEBRASKA.—A correspondent of the St. Louis Republican, writing from Fort Pierre, Nebraska, communicates some interesting facts respecting the physical geography, climate, &c., of these territories. His statements appear to be impartial.

After leaving Kansas City, our boat soon came in sight of the famous Territory of Kansas. The country upon both sides, for several hundred miles of the windings of the river, presents a fine appearance; but on the Kansas side there is less timber, and therefore the land can be better seen. There are hundreds of places where the prairies terminate upon the river: sometimes we see level plains extending away to the horizon, and again, most beautiful grassy slopes, that slant down to the bottoms in long swells, or by rounded knolls, so graceful in outline that we can hardly believe they have not been formed by the hand of art. In richness of soil, and in beautiful landscape, Kansas, as seen from the river, is unsurpassed: as to climate, it cannot be otherwise than fine—it is not subject to the extreme cold of the North or the heat of the South; on passing into Nebraska, for a long distance, there is the same excellent quality of land, &c., that we find below, except perhaps a smaller proportion of timber, but when we get as high as the mouth of the Big Sioux we find the scene gradually changing, the prairies seem more extensive and the forests are mostly of cottonwood. The Geological character of the country is also different, the cretaceous rocks which underlie the greater part of Nebraska crop out in the bluffs. This is the formation that prevails in that vast extent of country, known as the *mawawies terres* or *bad lands*. These are embraced in a district of country extending from the foot of the Black Hills to the Missouri and the Platte rivers, but this whole region as seen from the river and by ascending the highest points of the bluffs, is nothing but bad lands, and presents an appearance altogether unfavorable to cultivation; scarcely any trees are to be seen except stunted cedars which grow in the ravines. This wretched country never will be and never can be inhabited. Sometimes the view opens out so that we look over a space of many miles in extent; nothing is to be seen but hills on hills, either covered by a sickly growth of grass, or brown from impure ores of iron. Upon thousands of these hills are seen those *pseudo volcanoes*, described by Mr. Nicollet; in many places they are burning, or rather smoking; this is not real volcanic action. Many of these hills are from four to six hundred feet in height, and are composed in great part of *pyrites* or sulphate of iron. It is by the action of water and the atmosphere upon beds of this material, that this apparent volcanic action is produced. For several hundred miles below Fort Pierre these blackened hills, which have ceased to burn, form the most prominent feature of the country. I have obtained some specimens of them nearly resembling pumice stone.

For the Journal of Commerce.

SLAVERY.

In its Religious and Political Aspects.

The friends of sound morality and Constitutional liberty, are called upon to exert their utmost influence, to stay the progress of error and avert the calamities that threaten our political existence, especially should ministers of the gospel be well grounded in the truth, and be actively employed in those things that make for peace. Aside from their character and standing as men, there is a degree of influence attached to their office which should never be perverted to questionable purposes. To ministers, therefore, and to the Christian public, is this appeal directed, the object of which is to inculcate Bible truth respecting slavery, and to define our rights and duties under the Constitution.

Let it be premised respecting slavery, that it is not destined to last always, that it is temporary in its nature and uses, and when it has subserved the purposes which called it into being, it will give place to a higher order of civilization. While therefore we look for the ultimate abolition of slavery, and labor earnestly to secure that end, we should not malign the character and providence of God, or do injustice to the teachings of His word. The idea that slavery is always and necessarily sinful, strikes at the Bible and the Christian church; and in conflict with reason and human experience. In deciding questions of this sort, we must look beyond the surface. There are many stubborn facts not easily accounted for. There are empirics enough who are ready to set the world right on a multitude of points; they can see abundant mistakes in the existing order of things, and they know how to correct them; but their corrections seldom outlive themselves. The sober truth is, we have got to take the world as it is, for better or for worse; and while we make progress in every good work, we must proceed in harmony with the divine plan.

After the fall of man, discord and hate and unhallored ambition were prominent features of human society. Then came in slavery as a necessity, and for aught we can see, as a step in human progress. The weak sought the protection of the strong—absolute individual independence could not be maintained. Men had to arrange themselves into families, clans, tribes and nations, rendering obedience and service to chiefs or masters selected by themselves or elevated by the force of talent, strength and courage. Of course the relations existing between

the superior and the subordinate, are as various as the phases of human society; and here as elsewhere, the imperfections of human nature have manifested themselves, and gross abuses of power have occurred.

Of course these abuses are to be condemned and corrected, but the relationship itself had its foundation in causes beyond our control. Better "owe service" to a master than to live in perpetual fear of the assassin's knife, or be subjected to the horrible uncertainties of barbarian liberty. Slavery has grown milder under the civilizing and refining influence of modern times. Formerly the master had the power of life and death over the slave, and he was often subjected to horrible cruelties and deprivations. Now the master is held in check by law and public sentiment, and gross cruelty is comparatively unrequent. If it is claimed that slavery has done all the good it can, and ought now to be summarily kicked out, I answer, be not hasty or rash in your judgment. We live but a short time, and we expect every thing to be done up in our life time. But *eternity is given for the fulfilment of God's purposes*. Great changes in social order, if hastily effected, are subject to reaction, often leaving matters in a worse state than before. Here, as in our physical systems, disease must be cured by the legitimate and healthful operation of nature's laws. Medicines may be given which will prove more destructive than the disease. If well regulated Christian liberty is better than slavery, so also may slavery be better than anarchy, civil war, and extreme suffering and destitution, among the masses of the people.

Doubtless slavery is not the greatest attainment of which human nature is susceptible. It is not the highest state of man. We may therefore look forward with confident expectation to its final abolition, in consequence of the elevation and improvement of our race, so far as there is love of liberty and a desire to realize it in harmony with Providence and God's word. I rejoice at it. But with Utopian schemes that are at war with reason and revelation, that seek by violent and revolutionary means to overthrow the government and the Christian church,—I have no sympathy.

Doubtless God could have made a different sort of man from what he did make. He could have forced him to a better observance of what is right, and so saved him from the abyss of suffering and sorrow which a depraved heart has brought upon him. But is God to be arraigned for not doing this? He has his own reasons for man's long journey through the wilderness of this world. Compulsions as we may, the great mass of men are in a state of dependence. Subjection of one man to the will of another is the ordinary mode of life. Nor is the difference so very great, if we get to the essence of the thing, between governing by laws and social usage like those of our Southern States, or by some of those appliances that are baptized by the name of freedom. Almost the entire business of the world is carried on through the relations of master and servant. We see it in agriculture, manufactures, commerce, the army and navy, in fact every where. Multitudes in populous countries are putting up their services, whether of mind or body, for sale; and often they lack the essentials of independence about as much as the Southern slave. Disguise it as we may, they are not at liberty to choose their own line of conduct. *Men necessity is constantly at their elbow*, dictating to them—the slave constraint is scarcely greater. It is not surprising, then, that slavery, resulting as it does from the peculiar condition of our race, should have some part to perform in the great drama of life. Nor is it strange that God ordained or permitted it, either as a punishment to offending nations, or as a necessary condition in the development and progress of human society. Accordingly, we find slavery has the unequivocal sanction of the Bible; a book which has not shaped to the tastes of man, out in accord with the essential facts and circumstances of our being. In Lev. 25:44, it is written, "Both thy bond men and thy bond women, which thou shalt have, shall be of the heathen that are round about you; of them shall ye buy bond men and bond maids. And ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you, to inherit for you, to inherit for your bond men for ever. Moreover, of the children of the strangers that do sojourn among you, of them shall you buy, and of their families that are with you which they beget in your land; and they shall be your possession. And ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you, to inherit them for a possession; they shall be your bond men for ever. But over your brethren the children of Israel, ye shall not rule one over another with rigor." Here, slavery might subserve the great purpose of bringing heathen nations under Christian influence. "The heathen round about" could hardly fare worse under the "peculiar institutions" of the Israelites, than they would in their native barbarism and degradation. Hebrew slavery, like ours, provides for the permanent support of the slaves, which it brought them from the shadow of death to the light of God's own government, and put them under training for heaven.

So, too, has slavery in this country been the means of bringing a multitude of men from the most degraded condition possible, to the enjoyment of a better regulated society, and to the protection of laws which, however severe, are to be preferred to benighted ignorance, anarchy and war, that constantly prevail on the African continent. Our slaves, too, had emerged from the darkest regions of heathendom into one of Christian influence, and with the happiest results, as may be seen from the following statistics:—It is stated in the Sixth Report of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, that 99 missionaries have been employed among the people of color during the past year; that in 52 churches there are 30,102 members, and 14,468 children under religious instruction. In the State of Georgia, as appears from the minutes of the last annual convention, there are 14,000 colored members in the Baptist Churches alone. Some of the Presbyterian Churches in Mississippi and Alabama reported from three to five hundred colored communicants. One Presbytery in Virginia embraces nearly 600, and one in South Carolina nearly 1,300. Among these are many acceptable colored preachers, and their number is increasing.

In a sermon by the Rev. J. P. Hendrick, of Tennessee, may be accounted for:—"The number of professing Christians among the negroes of the South, is greater than all the converts in all the heathen lands, in all the missionary stations, or the globe combined. Out of three millions of slaves in this country, at least half a million—one in every six—are professors of religion; which is a proportion greater than can be found in any other class of mankind, where the profession of religion is a voluntary thing on the part of individuals. The number of church members in heathen lands he states is 190,623; the number of professing Christians among the slaves, not less than 500,000. Thus the Providence of God is being made manifest, and we are learning to read its own interpretations. The slave is permitted to enslave the African on his own shore, and bring him to this country, where he is converted, educated, and civilized, and in due time sent back laden with the richest blessings of civilization and Christianity, with which to bless and evangelize Africa."—*Colonization Herald.*

Whenever the master has failed to do what he can to improve the physical and moral condition of the slave, the sin lies at his own door. His position is a responsible one, and if, as is the case with other men, he sometimes neglects his duty, there is good reason to think that multitudes of Christian masters are assiduously laboring for the improvement of their colored brethren. Park, the celebrated traveler, says, "Three-fourths of the descendants of Ham on the Continent of Africa are slaves."

The Abolitionists generally appear willing they should remain slaves to Pagan masters, rather than they should be brought under the influence of the true church, and in the words of the apostle, become "the Lord's freemen" and return as missionaries and rulers to elevate and Christianize their brethren in the interior. But in spite of factions opposition, Providence will doubtless subserve a great end by the introduction of Pagan blacks to the most Christian, free and enlightened country on the face of the globe. The prospect has apparently elevated their character as much as the Hebrew slaves were elevated by the opportunities which they enjoyed.

The time must come when the energy of a great nation will be put forth to return to unfortunate Africa her scattered children, and when they shall go forth from among us freighted with every temporal and spiritual blessing. This enterprise, the colonization of the blacks, has received the aid and countenance of the greatest of patriots and the most devout of Christians. Better by far that Africa's sable sons should be restored to a land to which they are constitutionally adapted, and to which by birth or blood they are entitled, and where they can find free scope and encouragement for their manhood, than that they should be forever "hewers of wood and drawers of water;" among a people who must inevitably distance and discourage them in the race of improvement. Where two distinct races dwell together, if one of them acquires a decided predominance in wealth, social position, education and general intelligence, "equality" becomes forever out of the question. We might wish it were otherwise, but the difficulty, not to say impossibility, of giving the blacks a desirable position in this country, is manifest.

True, the blacks are numerous and increasing, but it is not too much to expect that private and public enterprise are equal to the transmission of their increase, when a systematic plan shall be adopted and an interest felt commensurate with the importance of the object. Jefferson gave his countenance to a project for colonizing the children of the colored population when they should attain the age of 18 or 21. Of course when such as were older than that should die, if the system was carried out, the blacks would be gone. I may say, however, that the colonization of the blacks should proceed no faster than the good of Africa and their own good require.

It is but too manifest that the question of slavery has become one of great danger, and the object of this essay is, to take a candid and Christian view of the subject, so as to aid in the right and forward the designs of Providence in this matter. Men bent upon agitation are busy in circulating false or exaggerated statements respecting this institution, which they represent as so cruel and heart-rending as to justify, in the opinion of some, rejection of the Bible and the church, and the Author of both, because they uphold it. Many of the Abolition leaders are not endowed with much respect for Christian doctrine and ordinances—for they are composed in great part of infidels, pantheists and down right atheists; but my regard for the mass of my fellow citizens is such, that I cannot think they will go to the length of rejecting Revelation, when it is apparent that in doing it, they must reject reason also. The forms of servitude sanctioned and ordained in the Bible are none of them without just cause, and they have a deeper significance than most men are aware of. In Exodus, 21st chapter, minute directions are given to guide those who "buy servants."

Take the case of the Gibeonites. The fear of God's chosen people under the leadership of Joshua, had smitten the Gibeonites with dismay, and they sought by craft and guile to make a league with Joshua, pretending that they were from a far country, altogether beyond the doomed region. Joshua made a covenant to let them live:—"The princes of the congregation swore unto them." But, in three days' time, it was known that they were near neighbors, living in the country devoted to destruction. So Joshua spared them, "because of the oath which he swore unto them." And Joshua called for them, and he spake unto them, saying: "Wherefore have ye beguiled us, saying, we are very far from you; when ye dwell among us? Now, therefore, ye are cursed; and there shall be none of you freed from being bondmen, and hewers of wood and drawers of water for the house of my God." Joshua, chap. vii. vs. 22, 23. Here servitude was given in mercy, as a milder punishment than most otherwise have been inflicted; but they were "bondmen," serving the very temple of God. Some persons, admitting authority from God, for this relationship in the Old Testament, strive to get up a war between the different Persons in the Trinity, by asserting that Christ has uniformly condemned it. Christ and the apostles found slavery prevalent throughout the vast dominion of

Rome and the regions around about it, they never requested the government, "Do we establish the law?"

The apostle says, "Do we establish the law?" "Do we forbid?" Yes, for all who are following the faith? God becomes necessary for all who are following the enemies of the church, and the Bible, to retrace their course or go over to infidelity and atheism with a step as sure as time and fatal as the second death. If they will reject Moses and Joe Smith, they must manufacture like Mahomet and Joe Smith, and carve a God to suit their fancies. Thus will the aliens go forth to fight the great battle of Armageddon.

But all friends of peace and of righteousness will continue faithful to God and his law.

One of the great evils of slavery agitation is, its tendency to bring the laws of the country into contempt, and substitute for peaceful and constitutional reforms, violent and revolutionary measures. Law cannot tolerate a transgression of itself, for then it becomes no law. He that obeys no law but what he likes, obeys no law but his own will.

The United States have made the first successful experiment of deciding all public measures by the peaceful ballot. This sacred principle, like the angel of peace, presides over to bless every locality throughout our broad country.

Our theory of government has its foundation in the sovereign will of the people. They feel all the benefits of good government, and all the evils of bad government. Their interest, therefore, as well as their duty, will incline them to correct all the errors of legislation, and to strive to secure an able and upright judiciary.

The popular will, then, when it finds expression at the ballot box, should be respected. The people are the only legitimate source of authority. The right of dictation to distant civil communities is as fatal to human rights as cutting off a man's head is to his natural life. Mr. Beecher or Mr. Greeley has no more right to dictate a Constitution to Kansas than has the Emperor oulouque or the Mosquito King. The right of dictation is the right of war and conquest. The nearer we approach the Democratic form, the less central power will be exercised, and the more will each civil community be independent of every other community. The Constitution secures absolute equality to each of our States and Territories. It knows no North and no South; the right of the people in every State and Territory to make their own Constitution and control their own local affairs, is the sum total of free government. Should Congress take this right away by legislation, it will annihilate the power of future Congresses, and hold the people in bondage. Human liberty will be outraged in the last degree. In every age, kings and despots have made war upon human rights. Prompted by selfish instincts, they have governed men to gratify their own pride and lust for power. Aggressive war and cruel actions have marked their rule in every period of the world's history. Accordingly, the prophets of the Lord, in all their richness of symbolic phrase, have compared them to "furious beasts." If our institutions can be sustained, we shall command the respect and secure the affection of surrounding nations, and republicanism will extend its benign influence to countries now groaning under despotism; but if disorganizers succeed in their war upon popular sovereignty, and in their efforts at fomenting discord, the world will lose its incentive to freedom.

Much depends upon the success of our great experiment, but we can never succeed unless the Constitution and the laws are held in respect and veneration. The right to resist law does not exist at all, or it is universal. If it is universal, then governments have no binding force, and discord, disunion, and civil commotions, are the natural state of man.

When people make their own laws, they are bound by them, and are precluded from revolutionary measures.

The duty of government to sustain its own authority and faithfully execute the laws till changed by regular legislation, has been recognized ever since the formation of civil government. Especially is the duty of submission to constitutional obligations binding upon those who hold office under the Constitution, and have taken a solemn oath to support it. And ye, members of Congress and other officials are openly engaged in fomenting rebellion, and countenancing and encouraging flagrant violations of law, thus jeopardizing the very existence of free institutions.

Certain it is that the peace promised in Revelations can never come, and Millennial happiness and glory be enjoyed, until we have political order established upon the basis of popular rights. Political discord is inconsistent with religious order. To decide all public measures by the peaceful ballot, is the harbinger of peace on earth and good will to man. Civil Government is ordained by God. Opposition to Government will not abolish slavery; force is not a Christian weapon. Not by might or by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts.

Of the final abolition of slavery, I entertain no doubt. As I have intimated before, slavery belongs to the early stages of man's development, and it will give place to a higher order of civilization, and to the peaceful workings of free institutions. True, its abolition will be retarded by the violence and fanaticism of Abolitionists and infidels, but it will come, when the institution shall have answered the great purposes for which it was permitted to exist. The causes that conspire to this end are numerous. Henry Clay was right when he said "Slavery will go out by the laws of population." Meaning, that in populous countries laborers can be hired cheaper than they can be owned. Slaves are naturally indolent, and work with far less efficiency than free laborers, and in general are less intelligent, and not so well fitted for the higher and more difficult branches of business. The labor to which they are peculiarly adapted is the very labor which under our system of improvement we are learning to do by horse power, steam power, or machinery. Whatever shall cheapen tropical productions, whether it is free trade or the acquisition and improve-

ment, and hasten the emancipation of the slave. Labor, and hasten the emancipation of the slave. For every good object let us learn to "labor and to wait."

Reasonable as this view of the subject is, it is 2000 by manifold sophistries and perversions of scripture. "Do unto others as you would have others do unto you," is boldly brought forward to defame the Patriarchs of old, and prove God in the wrong, in his divine arrangements for governing and regulating the world. If men will set up their wills and their wisdom in contravention of the will of God, no matter by what plausible pretences they seek to justify themselves—they are in essence and substance guilty of all that is diabolical in the rebellion of Satan.

The word and Providence of God stand justified—our duty is submission. BENEDICT BROOKS.

WYOMING, N. Y., July, 1856.

Correspondence of the Journal of Commerce. WASHINGTON, Thursday, July 31.

Considerable anxiety prevails in the city in regard to a prospect of the failure of the Appropriation Bills. The Republicans carried the Sherman proviso by a majority of six only, and this majority they cannot retain; for, when the question becomes critical, some of the Republicans will yield the point. Were it not for the harm which their contemplated movement would inflict upon the country, it might be tolerated, in the belief that with this rope they would hang themselves.

To stop the appropriations would strike a direct and heavy blow at Northern industrial interests. It would cause an accumulation of funds in the Sub-Treasuries, much to the prejudice of Banks and commerce. But still greater injury would it inflict upon the country, by creating distrust in the stability of our institutions.

The Senate will refuse to entertain the Dunn bill for the restoration of the Missouri Compromise, and the Topeka State bill, and the Sherman proviso. They will stand firmly upon their own excellent measure for the pacification of Kansas, and upon the House will rest the responsibility of its failure.

But there is some chance that the House will, through the aid of the "Fuller men," get up a pacification bill in which the Senate will concur; and that it will be passed towards the end of the session—perhaps at the last moment.

Newark Daily Mercury.

SATURDAY MORNING, AUGUST 2, 1856.

THE ELECTION OF MR. BUCHANAN TO FASTEN SLAVERY IN KANSAS.—The Gettysburg Star calls attention to the fact that after Buchanan was nominated, the Locofocos of Richmond, Va., had a ratification meeting at which Henry A. Wise made a speech. In this speech he urged as a main reason why Buchanan should be elected, that his election would result in the admission of Kansas as a slave State, which would open a new market for Virginia negroes and largely increase the profits of the traffic and the value of the article. Under this view, we expect much of the South to go for Buchanan. But will virtuous, respectable, humane Christian people in the North vote for a man whose election is to give a new impetus to the abominable and unholy trade in human beings, as good before God, as James Buchanan or Henry A. Wise? Let no man who votes for Buchanan, with this fact before him, ever dare to talk to his neighbor about Christianity, a love of freedom or regard for the Declaration of Independence.

The Buchanan democracy are determined to dissolve the Union, or "subdue" Freedom in the North. The Richmond Enquirer says:

"Sumner and Sumner's friends must be punished and silenced. Government, which cannot suppress such crimes as theirs, has failed of its purpose. Either such wretches must be hung or put in the penitentiary, or the South should prepare at once to dissolve the Union."

American and Gazette.

PHILADELPHIA:

SATURDAY, AUGUST 2, 1856.

THE REPEAL OF THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE SPRUNG UPON THE NORTH.

In again referring to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, we wish to call special attention to a fact which covers the intrinsic wickedness of that measure with additional infamy—the fact that it was suddenly sprung and fastened upon the people of this country before they had any practicable opportunity to detect it. In this respect, as well as in other respects, it bore a striking resemblance

...of the new-napoleon's coups d'etat. It was a sudden Brooks assault, under which the nation could only make some convulsive movements that amounted to nothing more than the painful expression of its agony, alarm and helplessness.

When President Pierce sent his first annual message to Congress, in the fall of 1853, it will be remembered that he warmly congratulated the country on the quiet and repose which it serenely enjoyed after the fierce storms that had attended the Compromise measures of 1850: and, in a most patriotic strain, thought to be sincere at the time, earnestly deprecated any further agitation of that subject, the discussion of which, at different epochs, had seemed to shake the Union to its centre. Douglas, we think it was, or some kindred spirit, with a malignant relish, had told Mr. Seward in the Senate, that all these disturbing questions being now fully settled, he could no longer thrive at his trade of agitator, 'his occupation was gone,' and he must thenceforth sink down into merited oblivion. The country slept in the golden sunshine of peace; the few dark clouds that lingered on the firmament flitting fast away. In this state of things Congress commenced a session which promised to be, on the one hand, singularly exempt from sectional contention and even party strife; and, on the other hand, unusually fruitful of such measures as would tend to develop the resources of the nation, and add to its prosperity and true glory—a modification of a free trade tariff, a railroad to the Pacific, and other projects equally broad and beneficent. These had already gone through their incipient stages, when, alas, the blossoms untimely perished, and a deadly fruit unexpectedly grew in their place.

On the 4th of January, 1854, democratic Gov. Bigler addressed his regular message to the Pennsylvania Legislature, closing with these words, (that so well chime in with the President's patriotic strain).—"The Compromise measures recently adopted, and sanctioned by the approval of Clay, of King, and of Webster, have quieted the elements of national discord. And to prolong this peace and quiet, it is but necessary to maintain these measures and the requirements of the Constitution; and to discountenance in future the agitation of questions settled by the federal Compact." Of course he refers to the vexed question of slavery; all renewed agitation of which he would have discountenanced for the future. But, on that same fourth of January, it chanced that the Committee on Territories in the Senate, through their chairman, Mr. Douglas, reported a bill for the establishment of the Territorial government of Nebraska, which contained the astounding provision that, when admitted as a State, this Territory should be received into the Union *with or without slavery*, as its constitution might prescribe at the time of admittance. Of course it, in effect, repealed that part of the Missouri Compromise which prohibited slavery forever from all the region lying north of 36 degrees 30 minutes north latitude. But they would not trust even to this constructive repeal of it. Therefore, on the 16th of January, Mr. Dixon, Senator from Kentucky, moved to amend the bill, by inserting a section which expressly repealed the famous prohibitory clause of the Missouri compact. And, finally, on the 24th of January, Mr. Douglas reports the bill anew, in which the Dixon amendment is fully incorporated, and the provisions of the act are made to embrace Kansas, as well as Nebraska.

It will be seen that the measure appeared at first with a little gauze drapery about it, to shade some of its most glaring deformities; but, by being exhibited for a few days, it was presumed to have so familiarized itself to the public that it might stand before them in its naked hideousness, and produce no shock of alarm. Its appearance, however, evoked such violent tempests of party strife and sectional feeling as had not been known from the beginning of the government down to that hour. And who was the commanding Prospero and the ministering Ariels that in such a season of profound tranquillity called forth from their caves all those fierce winds of slavery agitation? The unscrupulous Douglas turns savagely on the opponents of the measure, and thunders out his denunciations against them as factious agitators and traitorous disturbers of the public peace. But the people understand full well, despite this brazen effrontery, who they are that have waked those wild elements which leave the nation now with earthquake throes, threatening to lay this fabric of government in ruins. They are as well known as Cataline, Judas or Arnold, and history will record their names along with those

upon this page which is reserved for our chief apostates to their country and their God. At their door lies the guilt of the present agitation.

But we will not turn aside from our object, which is to show how this measure was sprung upon the nation, by these bold conspirators against our peace and liberties. A legislative measure of importance always asks for deliberation. It of national concern, it is first called for, and expected, before it appears; and then it is framed and matured with the utmost care. But here is a bill, introduced in this summary manner, containing provisions of the very utmost importance, besides momentous principles entirely subversive of those upon which the whole legislation of the country, on the most difficult and delicate subjects, has hitherto been conducted. It repealed the prohibitory clause in the Missouri act, and thus laid open to the inroads of slavery that empire which our fathers had consecrated to freedom, as vast in territorial extent as the thirteen original States. It established the principle of (so-called) popular sovereignty, in lieu of the doctrine of Congressional supremacy and responsibility in the Territories which, up to that time, had uniformly been practised upon even from the origin of our government, the very framers of the Constitution themselves in signal instances setting the example. It also implied (that most dismal and frightful dogma of modern ages) that, in our republic, slavery is just as national as freedom, and has a co-equal right to carry its institutions to all the free territories of the Union.

This act, containing such stupendous revolutionary measures and principles, and all the bitter elements of strife and agitation;—we ask, in regard to it, whether it was called for by the people or by any respectable portion of them, in any quarter of the land? A few metaphysical disciples of Calhoun had transcendently vapored about the abstract right to plant slavery in whatever part of the national domain. But even these dreamers had not embodied their abstractions in the tangible form of any demand. It was nowhere called for. We ask again, was such a measure anticipated by the people? Did they at all expect it? Or did it fall upon them like a thunder-bolt from an unclouded sky? The answer is unequivocal. It was not anticipated by the country; nor yet by any portion of the Senate or House of Representatives; if we except the little cove of conspirators there. Nay, if any suspicions of its approach had existed, they had all been laid to rest by the assurances of these plotters themselves. In the previous session, Douglas, in reporting the Nebraska bill, expressly disclaimed the idea of embodying in it these provisions and principles, lest they would re-open wounds, just beginning to close. And on the last day of the session, Mr. Atchison, now the leading border ruffian, then presiding officer of the Senate, after expressing his dislike of the Missouri Compromise, made this desponding remark about it. "But it is evident that it cannot be repealed." The scheme was not expected by the people till they were suddenly entrapped and fastened in it beyond the power of resistance.

But there is a light in which this unseemly haste to do a great evil appears much more dishonorable and flagrant still. The Missouri Compromise was far more than an ordinary act of legislation—it was a treaty of peace between two deeply interested parties, the North and the South. If it became obnoxious to both, they might readily agree in repealing it. But if the South wanted to take back the equivalents conceded to the North in that compact, without yielding up any of the equivalents which they themselves had received, then they should have given timely notice to the North of their intention; or after introducing the measure they should have so delayed its passage, that the North might have had opportunity to choose a delegation to Congress for the express purpose of representing their views and wishes on this great question. We appeal to all candid men, whether they were not bound by every principle of morality, justice, good faith, and common honor, to do one or the other of these two things?

But they did neither the one, nor the other. They gave no reasonable notice to the other party of their intention to break the compact. Neither did they delay the passage of the bill till that other party could be prepared to act upon it through representatives chosen for such purpose. It was a Caesar's movement, "I came, I saw, I conquered." The plotters found a partisan Congress admirably suited to their purpose, and they rushed through. The eagle eye of Henry Clay, the author of the Compromise, was not there, to make them quail before its lightning glance. It was dim in

the grave. The mighty voice of Daniel Webster was hushed in death. Now was the time for a mousing, scheming race of petty politicians to run riot in wild and wicked legislation; and they improved their opportunity to the utmost. They found a more than willing accomplice in the Chief Magistrate of the nation, who actively and persistently employed all his influence as the head of a political party, and all the influence arising from the high dignity and the vast patronage of his office, to induce members of Congress to vote for the measure; thus drawing black lines around his name, which time will never efface. While that measure was pending, the people of the North, everywhere almost, without distinction of party, by public and private demonstrations, by meetings and petitions, and through the press, manifested their deep and indelible opposition to it. Legislatures instructed their Senators to vote against it. If a vote could then have been taken, four-fifths of the North would have expressed themselves hostile to the abrogation of the Missouri Compromise. The elections that took place even after its passage, changed the political complexion of nearly every Northern State. But what did these conspirators care for popular sovereignty? It was what they dreaded and avoided, as they have since done in Kansas. They stole the march on the people; began and finished the scheme within the fragment of one session of a partisan Congress, and one not elected with the remotest view to this question,—trusting that, before the next presidential contest, it would have become a bygone matter; or, if it were remembered with indignation, it would merely be necessary to use that old quibus, "the Union is in danger," to lull the people of the North into dumb and passive acquiescence.

The people of the North were most foully wronged in having the sole advantage and equivalent which accrued to them in the compact, taken from them by the South, and doubly wronged in having it taken in this manner, suddenly and treacherously snatched from their grasp. The apologists of the outrage contend that it was a boon offered by the North. But Dixon was of the South; and Stephen A. Douglas, even were he not the owner of a slave plantation in Mississippi, was no more the representative of the North, or any portion of it, on this question, than was Benedict Arnold, at the time of his treason, the representative of the American army. He offered a boon to the British. Was it, therefore, offered by the American army? No. He had turned traitor to that ore he made the offer. And Stephen Arnold Douglas turned traitor or renegade to the almost universal northern sentiment, ere he proffered such a boon to the South. It was most clearly a sectional movement. In the face of history, it cannot be denied that the South, in the manner which we have portrayed, annulled the ancient compact without and against the consent of the North. And have the North no right to lay the matter before the people of the United States, asking them to restore again, at least in substance, that which they prized above all price, and which had been fraudulently taken from them?

DAILY GAZETTE

TO PAPER DEALERS AND MAKERS IN AND ABOUT CINCINNATI.—Geo. W. Brown, Editor of the *Kansas Herald of Freedom* on his way to Kansas in the autumn of 1854, purchased a quantity of paper in this City, and to secure payment of the same, mortgaged a house and lot in Conneautville, Crawford Co., Pa. The holder of this mortgage is desired to call on J. Joliffe Esq., on Main street, between Third and Fourth street, and get his pay. Mrs. GEO. W. BROWN.

Mrs. Brown, the wife of Geo. W. Brown, late Editor of the *(Kansas) Herald of Freedom*, and now a prisoner in the Territory, is at the United States Hotel, where she will remain till Munday.

An application has been made before Judge McLean for a Writ of *Habeas Corpus*, for Geo. W. Brown, Editor of the *Herald of Freedom*, Gov. Robinson and others of those who have been held in duresse by the Border Ruffians.

The President of the meeting, Mr. COEWIN, then presented to the audience Mrs. BROWN, wife of the editor of the *Herald of Freedom*, who retired again followed by a spontaneous and long-continued outburst of applause.

Immense Assemblage in Fifth
Street Market Space.

Speech of Hon. Anson
Burlingame.

GREAT ENTHUSIASM!

Remarks of Rev. Mr. St. Clair, of Kan-
sas, and Introduction of Mrs. Brown.

An immense multitude assembled in Fifth street market space, last evening, to hear an address from Mr. Burlingame, of Massachusetts.

The entire space, from Main to Walnut, was a vast sea of human heads.

At a quarter past eight o'clock the meeting was called to order by J. K. Green, Esq., and organized by the appointment of B. M. Corwine, Esq., as Chairman, and Geo. W. Rice as Secretary.

Mr. Corwine then stated that after a brief address from the Rev. Mr. St. Clair, of Kansas, Mr. Burlingame would address the meeting.

Rev. Mr. St. Clair's Speech.

Rev. Mr. St. Clair, of Kansas, was then introduced to the audience:

He spoke of the great insecurity of life in Kansas—this was such that he felt he could not realize it here—he never spent a night in Lawrence without sleeping on a loaded rifle, and with a loaded pistol by his side. When at Leavenworth there was so little safety that though he slept with the Chairman of the investigating Committee sent there by Congress, they both slept with their pistols under their pillows. For while they were pursuing their investigations, under the direction of Congress, a vigilance committee of Missourians was watching their operations.

He then repeated parts of a speech that he had heard from Atchison out there, to an audience of Missourians—some sober, and a good many not sober.

He said: I must give you a specimen of the language of David R. Atchison, of Missouri, formerly Vice President of the United States, otherwise you can form no conception of it. Nearly every sentence closed with the phrase by G—d. That was a favorite oath with Atchison. He was telling what they were doing and meant to do in Kansas. He said "They'd go over into the Territory, and they'd carry the election, by G—d;" next, "they'd elect a Legislature and make laws, by G—d;" and in the third place, "now the had made laws for the Territory, they would enforce them, by G—d;" next, that "now they had conquered the d—d Abolitionists, and burned Lawrence, and shut up its d—d scoundrels and put them under arrest, they'd hang them, by G—d."

He said "they had prevented their planting and now they'd starve 'em out by G—d." This last, Mr. St. Clair said, was unfortunately too true—he never saw but two teams in Kansas at work in a field alone—the ploughman would follow his labor with pistols in his belt, ready for the call of his fellow citizens for protection from the Missourians or from the Buford men, and this case pretty often, so that no systematic or effective labor could be done. Atchison went on to say that, "After they had reduced them to starvation by preventing them from raising any crops, that if the d—d Yankees sent them any provisions, then they would have nothing to do but go over and cut their d—d throats by G—d."

He related the outrages perpetrated upon Geo. W. Brown of the loss of his press, and destruction of his property, and stated that Mrs. Brown was at the United States Hotel, and that any Republican who felt sympathy for her sufferings and indignation at the outrages perpetrated on a free-man, could have an opportunity of testifying in a substantial manner, by calling upon her to-morrow, as she would remain here till Monday.

During Mr. St. Clair's speech the Germans came down in procession with banners, transparencies and music. This caused a momentary interruption, but they soon took their places and Mr. St. Clair proceeded.

Mr. Burlingame's Speech.

At a quarter before 9 Mr. Burlingame was introduced to the audience. He was greeted with the wildest applause.

Mr. Burlingame spoke a little over an hour and a half, and was listened to with the deepest interest and frequently interrupted by irrepressible bursts of applause.

THE COURIER.

CHARLESTON.

SATURDAY MORNING, AUGUST 2, 1856.

DAILY PAPER, Ten Dollars per annum—COUNTRY
COURIER (tri-weekly) Five Dollars per annum.

THE VOICE OF KANSAS.

LET THE SOUTH RESPOND!

APPEAL BY THE LAW AND ORDER PARTY OF KANSAS TERRITORY TO THEIR FRIENDS IN THE SOUTH, AND TO THE LAW-ABIDING PEOPLE OF THE UNION.

One of the Committee, Col. Buford, places the manuscript in our hands, and we commend it to the serious attention of the readers of the Review. The cause is one to which, without loss of a single day, every Southern man should contribute. Alabama, South Carolina, and Georgia, have been lavish in their aid. The loss of Kansas will give to the enemies of Southern institutions a victory more signal and more important than has yet been won over us. To avert the mischief, prompt and concerted action at the South is only needed. Those familiar with the state of affairs in Kansas know that it can only be abolished by the supineness of the people of this section, whose all is at stake in these contests.—*De Bow's Review for August, 1856.*

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

WESTPORT, JUNE 24, 1856.

Colonel Jefferson Buford:

Dear Sir:—Your colleagues of the committee appointed by the "law and order" party in Kansas, to direct and control their action, have unanimously resolved to require you to proceed at once to the South for the purpose of presenting to the people of the South the vital importance of their earnest, early, and efficient action to defeat the lawless purposes of the abolitionists.

You can be of infinite service to our cause by laying before the people a correct exposition of the condition of the Territory. With sentiments of sincere regard, we are your friends,

D. R. ATCHISON.

A. G. BOONE

WM. H. RUSSELL.

JOS. C. ANDERSON.

B. F. STRINGFELLOW.

Mr. Buford is now on a tour through the Southern States, engaged in the duties assigned him in the foregoing letter.

NEW YORK HERALD.

New York, Sunday, August 3, 1856.

PIERCE'S ADMINISTRATION—IS IT TO BE REPEATED?—The people have hitherto generally entertained the opinion that the President of the United States, in the simple execution of his constitutional powers, was at all times competent to preserve internal peace and to maintain our friendly relations with foreign nations. The natural pride attending a high position, the control of the great official patronage of the nation, the line of safe precedent, and a conscientious feeling of responsibility, have also been deemed to be ordinarily sufficient guarantees for at least a respectable administration of the government. These expectations and opinions have had weight with most of the former incumbents of the White House, but with Mr. Pierce they have had little or no influence. A small New Hampshire lawyer, from first to last his career has been one of the most shallow and profitless intrigues. He has not only lost what little public character he had, but he has jeopardized that of the nation, and we have been on the verge of the most serious difficulties, all of them not yet overcome, by his want of statesmanlike views and his own overblowing conceit and vanity.

One of the follies which he fell into was the idea which has been put into his head by unprincipled politicians and pretended friends, that every administration should present some issue to the people, whether they wish it or not. The examples of Jackson, Van Buren and Tyler are, therefore, constantly paraded before such small lights as Pierce. He is made to believe that the restless spirit of party requires a constant addition of fuel to its flames—that the voters must be kept up to fever heat—and that if there be no real cause for excitement a fictitious one should be found. On this principle the Crampton affair was kept alive, and procrastinated from month to month; the Greytown bombardment ordered, and the Kansas difficulty nourished, till at last a burst of general dissatisfaction has not only dismounted the President from his hobby—a reelection to the Presidency—but has followed him with general disapprobation. The English government has luckily taken such a course as to leave no room for apprehension of an immediate war. Whether a regard for its own concerns, or its unsettled European difficulties, or its belief that if we are let alone we shall destroy ourselves, all or either of these have given a favorable turn to our negotiations with England. We are fairly out of that scrape, and we are glad of it. How the Kansas affair is to be settled remains to be seen; but there is no doubt that an honest, independent and fearless Executive would, ere this, have communicated to Congress some plan of adjustment, and some means of pacification. Nothing of the kind on his part has taken place, and the President sits with his finger in his mouth while the most exciting and bloody scenes, both in the Territory and in the capital, are going on before his eyes. Nothing shows the utter imbecility of Franklin Pierce more than his management of this Kansas business. Acting secretly for the South, and at the same time endeavoring to humbug the North, he has, between two stools, come pretty flatly and roughly to the ground, and there he is likely to remain. In the meantime, not without hopes that he will still have influence with the powers to succeed him, he has become a Buchanan man, and the officeholders are made to understand his wishes. But are the people ready to adopt his views? Are they willing to elect in his place any one of his own stamp—a hack horse of party, an Ostend conspirator, an insincere and procrastinating diplomatist, a pledgemaker and a pledgebreaker for the last forty years? Are they willing to be rode over by any steed that has received his last grooming at Cincinnati, well balled to give him a gloss, and well peppered to make him lively?

Appearances do not justify the belief. There is a general desire to cleanse the Augean stable out of which such old nags are spurred by political jockies, to run these four mile heats. We have had enough of the trainers and their broken down coursers. A new and better state of things is demanded and at hand. We have before us for our consideration and support an eminent man, fresh, vigorous, untrammelled, just, conciliatory, talented and heroic, and the administration of public affairs in his hands will be conducted in a manner worthy of the times, of the country, its progress and its destiny. This conviction it is which is uniting so vast a number of votes, irrespective of former party connections, and is rousing the American spirit to action in every State of the confederacy. It is the conviction that our domestic troubles will be allayed, harmony in hitherto conflicting interests be secured, our foreign relations placed in abler keeping and be entrusted to wiser heads—that our representatives abroad will once more do honor to the nation, which has lately been so disgraced at foreign courts. This conviction it is which is spreading from city to city, village to village, and State to State, and which, as far as human foresight can determine, will succeed in revolutionizing our political affairs. Live the republic!

Our Washington Correspondence.
WASHINGTON, July 29, 1856.

The adoption by the House this morning of Sherman's amendment to the Army Appropriation bill will entail much labor and confusion. By this amendment, no part of the military force is to be employed "in aid of the enforcement of the enactments of the alleged legislative assembly of the Territory of Kansas, recently assembled at Shawnee Mission, until Congress shall have passed on the validity of the said legislative assembly of Kansas." The bill thus amended will be rejected by the Senate, and a Committee of Conference will be the result. It is on the report of this committee that the hottest fight will be, and unless the republicans recede from the amendment the bill itself will be defeated. The result would be, forcing upon the executive the necessity of using the public funds to sustain the army, and to see the laws executed as he is sworn to under the constitution, without any regular appropriation by law. The stopping of the wheels of government by defeating the appropriation bills, is ridiculous nonsense. Our government will roll on in spite of factional or sectional disputes, whether they come from the North or South. The working of such legislation is to create a deficiency in the expenditures of the government about double what the expenses would be if the money had been properly and timely appropriated. The army, for instance, might require five millions of dollars. Defeat the Army Appropriation and compel the President to go upon credit, and the result would be a deficiency of twice the amount, and those engaged in the silly policy of defeating the bill would be entitled to the entire credit of entailing upon the country the additional taxation to meet the deficiency.

Grand Rapids Eagle.
CITY OF GRAND RAPIDS:
MONDAY MORNING, AUGUST 4, 1856.

Up Freemen.

Up Freemen—up—the battle call
Throughout the land is ringing,
March your number, bold and brave,
Our starry flag out flaring;
Up from the work-shop,—forge and mill,
From your plows the furrows clearing,
From hill-top, vale, and city's mart,
Your trampled rights retrieving!

From Bunker Hill and Lexington,
Old Massachusetts speaking;
From Hudson's ways and Delaware,
The gathering cry is breaking,
Loud from our Northern lakes it peals,
And "the mighty west is tremoling"
Beneath the thundering tread of hosts
In Freedom's ranks assembling.

Up for the rights our fathers won
On fields all dark and gory;
Free speech, free press, free soil, free toll,
Our heritage of glory!
None shall these be crushed, enslaved,
Nor rescued from us by forcing,
While in our veins the blood of the men
Of seventy-six is coursing!

Lead on, Fremont!—pathfinder bold,
Brave-hearted Western ranger!

For not on pain nor weakness's peak
Hast seen such time of danger:
Fearless and true, we'll stand by thee,
Each Northern traitor dooming
To Arnold's fate—a nation's curse—
A world's reproach and scorning.

GALVESTON, August 4, 1856.

The locofocos tell us that if any one is preeminently to blame for the existence of the Kansas Legislature it is Gov. Reeder, who recognized its members as legally elected.—But they forget to state that Gov. Reeder recognized no member, the legality of whose election was disputed, and that, in we think, thirteen instances, ordered a new election.—But his efforts were thwarted to secure a legal body, and the pro-slavery men under lead of Stringfellow, who were acting as members of the Legislature, themselves elected other pro-slavery men to supply the vacancies declared by Gov. Reeder. But more than this; if Gov. Reeder had the power to declare the legislature legal he also had the power to declare it illegal; this latter he did. The Nebraska bill gave him the power to designate the place of meeting of the Legislature, and he exercised this power, but the legislature refused to obey him and he declared them an illegal body.—From other causes the Kansas Report not only declares but proves them to be an illegal body. This is the legislature Toombs's Pacification bill recognizes, and the majority of whose laws continues in force.

[Det. Tribune.]



MONDAY EVENING, AUG. 4, 1856.
Gerrit Smith and Fremont.

Gerrit Smith stopped in this city yesterday on his way to the late Kansas meeting at Buffalo. While here the following colloquy occurred between him and another gentleman:

"Are you acquainted with Mr. Fremont, Mr. Smith?"

"Very well—he dined with me several times at Washington, and he is a great favorite in my family."

"What kind of a man is he?"

"He is the most modest man I ever knew—he rarely speaks, unless spoken to, a man of talents, generous impulses, and an accomplished scholar."

"Is he firm—has he decision of character—is he reliable, in case he is elected President?"

"Perfectly—if Mr. Fremont is President, he will carry out his convictions promptly, and with unflinching firmness."

"Is he a slaveholder?"

"No, never. Until lately he has been very poor, and in no condition to be a slaveholder—besides, he is anti-slavery."

"Well, what do you think of JESSIE?"

"She is beautiful, highly educated, accomplished. Her mother is the daughter of Governor McDowell, of Virginia, (an abolitionist.) Mrs. Fremont told me her mother taught her to hate slavery, and she did hate it. She said she would never own a slave, nor permit one to do her work. She did her own work rather—it is a shrewd choice, the selection of Fremont. It is of great importance that he be elected—the question is not now a constitutional question—but a question of blows, a war question—and if the first battle is to be in Kansas we should cast aside party, and fight the battle."

[Syracuse Journal.]

The Courant.

HARTFORD:
MONDAY MORNING, AUGUST 4, 1856.

Let It be Remembered.

First, that every Democrat in the Senate voted against the admission of Kansas under her Topeka Constitution.

Second, that every Democrat but one in the House VOTED AGAINST a similar bill, and it was defeated.

Thirdly, that every Democrat but one in the

House VOTED AGAINST a reconsideration of the vote by which the Bill was lost.

Fourthly, that when the reconsideration of the Bill was carried, every Democrat but one in the House AGAIN VOTED AGAINST its passage, but this time the friends of freedom succeeded.

Here the record shows that the Democratic party in Congress has inflexibly opposed, on all occasions, the only measure—a measure alike of justice and good policy—which can secure peace to Kansas, and yet the Republican party is charged by doughfaces as opposed to the pacification of that territory.

The Angels on the Side of Freedom in Kansas.

The women of Illinois have associated themselves together under the title of the "Illinois Women's Aid and Liberty Association," for the purpose of sending aid to the women and children of Kansas who are left destitute of food and clothing, and in many instances separated by violence from their natural protectors.

They have addressed the following appeal to the public:

APPEAL.

Of the Illinois Women's Kansas Aid and Liberty Association to the Women of America.

Beloved Sisters: The time has come when the sacred plea, "I am an American citizen," no more protects the innocent sons and daughters of the North than in the days of the cruel Veres did the cry, "I am a citizen of Rome." Bands of heartless desperadoes, bearing arms by the authority of the United States, paid from their treasury, directed by officials chosen by the Executive to drive out and plunder our sisters and their little ones, slaying unarmed men, and trampling under foot freedom of speech and of the press. Our own liberties are assaulted in the person of a northern senator, and all the horrors of a civil war are now impending, for the purpose of steeping the generous soil of Kansas in the pollution and blood of slavery.

In this terrible emergency, sisters of the North, we appeal to you to follow the example of the women of Illinois, by organizing your moral forces, and giving direct and substantial aid, especially to the suffering women and children of Kansas, many of them already widowed and orphaned, and many others waiting with the most cruel torture for the execution of violence upon their husbands and fathers. Shall they pine for food and raiment, and wander from the smouldering ashes of their homes without where to lay their heads, while you are in the enjoyment of ease and luxury? Remember the self-denial of the mothers of the Revolution.—In the name of the God of justice, rally to the rescue of Kansas.



NEW HAVEN:

MONDAY, AUGUST 4, 1856.

FROM AND ABOUT KANZAS

Col. Geary has accepted the appointment of Governor of Kansas, and will proceed thence as soon as his instructions are made out.

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 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 Toombs' bill in Congress.—The post.

MONDAY MORNING, AUGUST 4, 1856.

Kansas Correspondence of the Atlas.
TOPEKA, Kansas, July 20, 1856.

Mr. Baker, a German, and Capt. Bertram, from Vermillion Creek, came into town on Wednesday morning, on their way to Lawrence, with the intelligence that a party of one hundred—Buford's men and others, had arrived at the Big Blue—that they had four pieces of cannon with them, and that an attack upon the settlement was expected. The people there, a portion of which is a large settlement of Germans, felt strong enough to route them, but were constrained to await orders from head-quarters, and had despatched two men to Gen. Toppliff, 85 miles, for orders. I had been looking for an opportunity to go to Lawrence and concluded to go along with them. Having become acquainted with Baker about two years ago, on a trip to Fort Riley, we whiled away the time as we travelled in recounting the various scenes we had passed through since we last met. When I saw him in 1854, the Missourians were trying to deprive him of his claim, but they have never succeeded in doing it. He said the bogus laws in his part of the country were obsolete, and the proceedings to enforce them were a perfect farce. He told some amusing anecdotes of the functionaries of the law. Like most of those appointed by the six years board of county commissioners, they were supremely ignorant. There was Sam. Salters, "deputy sheriff of Douglas county." Poor Sam! how the Lawrence boys bored him, and how he bored the soldiers, marching them round, after some poor devil who he suspected was among a jolly party of wild ignorant blades, singing in some house for the benefit of Jones—"Rattle his bones over the stones—he's nobody but a sheriff, whom nobody owns"—wicked wretches! or, "Company A and Company G, and Company A of the Artillery;" and vive a la Stubbs. And how alike a stuffed greenhorn he looked as he gallantly placed his dragoons around Union Hall, with two nice birds, (Deitzler and Crocker) in the cage, not allowing his attention to be distracted by the presentation of several old board bills unpaid; but alas for the glory! the birds have flown! What were those soldiers doing? and what are they laughing in the ranks? And Major Searl, "who is a Stubbs himself," who laughed when Jones didn't arrest Wood and Munrot, seen "padding" towards Mt. Oread Bluff, just fast enough to leave the troops, who love at times to perform quick military movements with precision, leaving it incumbent upon the civil officer (save the mark) to step a little in advance of his guard, in order to take his game, who, with a revolver handy, is ready to send poor Sam to his long home, if he can do it without resisting the "boys with the brass buttons." Go and get your horses, (the troops afoot.) By the time the dragoons are mounted, the Major is up to — farm, enjoying the joke and an extra visit to —.

We stopped at Washington, at Capt. Allen's, the half-way house between Lawrence and Topeka, where we are always sure of a good Western dinner. Capt. Allen is a Pennsylvanian, and is now on the Missouri river, in command of the steamer New Lucy. His wife has charge of affairs in his absence, and has just returned from Kansas City, where she had been to meet her husband. The American Hotel, which the mob obliged Col. Eldridge to sell, had passed into other hands, and such a picture as the old lady drew of the company and the treatment she received! She was evidently excited, she was unfortunately born in Pennsylvania, and the snobs and snobesses had outraged her feelings. I'm afraid she is not so high-minded as a free State woman should be, or she would have had no feelings of indignation aroused. I will retract that; she has not seen enough of the great world.

The Hotel was filled with officials, from Gov. Shannon up, surveyors, &c. "How do you like the Territory?" asked a lady, imbued with all the prejudice of the Atechison school. "I like it very much; it is all we can desire, timber and water plenty," &c.—the lady fairly winced. A lady—"I do not see how any one can live in such a country, without the comforts even of civilization; the opening of the country should be left to those who are accustomed to labor and hardships." "It is rather trying, I acknowledge," said Mrs. L., "I have found it so in my own case." Another lady—"I do not see why people persist in coming to Kansas who are prejudiced against our institutions," &c. &c.

The ladies of the borders, who hear only one side of the story, with all the coloring, are many of them most sincere and honest haters of that monster, a Yankee. The ladies of Kansas, on the reverse, having had an opportunity to judge impartially, are more liberal, and have a respect for all men who are manly, and if I mistake not—but it won't do to get into —. We arrived in Lawrence. Business is reviving

master 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 Charleston, 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 1,500 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."

annumeration, is his exposure of the gross corruption of Leecom, and of the immense legislative bribes by which that person was induced to favor the enforcement, and decide in behalf of the validity of the alleged laws. The "laws" as set forth by Mr. Colfax, would, if carried out, make Leecom one of the richest and most powerful men of the Union. He is made by them stockholder, director, and autocrat in four immense corporations, of which one is to have a capital of \$5,000,000, and is proprietor, by a pre-emption claim, of Leecompton, at which the capital was established. It will thus be seen that this immaculate jurist has an almost incalculable stake in the validity of the "laws," which enable him to hang his opponents in politics and speculation, upon suspicion and the oaths of "border ruffians." This man will be impeached at the next session.

From and About Kansas.

We have a letter from Lawrence of the 22d ult. With the exception of an occasional robbery by ruffians near the border, the territory was enjoying comparative quiet. The grain crops came in well, but corn was suffering from drouth. Some twenty-five of the Lawrence boys, hearing that some of the Sharps' rifles stolen by the southern banditti were stored in a cabin of a settler named Hays, made a descent upon the premises. They found however that the robbers had taken away the rifles and left some fifteen of their own heavy arms in their place, which they took, as the only remuneration they were likely to get. Two young men who had been disarmed by the U. S. troops, also succeeded in getting their rifles from Col Sumner, though he was rather reluctant and said he was afraid the war was not yet over.—Indian agent Gay, so brutally murdered by border ruffians, although he declared himself in favor of making Kansas a free state, was a violent partisan of the administration, and, as the special Kansas correspondent of the Detroit Free Press, had frequently written that there was no excitement or trouble in Kansas except what was got up by the free soilers for political effect. His own death at the hands of those to whose cause he gave his partizan support, was a sad but forcible refutation of such misrepresentations.

One of Buford's men wrote from Franklin, Kansas, the 6th of July, to the Mobile Tribune, stating that not one seventh of Buford's company remained in the territory. He says:

"Most of the others have returned home to hang around their mothers' apron strings, leaving the energetic and persevering Yankees to rule Kansas. Yes, these 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 outstretched 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 desert the country, to denounce Col Buford, and what is worse, to desert and leave unprotected the rights of the South."

The central Kansas aid committee, located at Chicago, is entering vigorously and systematically upon its work. Its circular just issued, represents the objects of the committee to be: The retaining of all actual free-state settlers now in Kansas; to induce all free-state absentees forthwith to return to the territory, paying, if necessary for this end, their passage, furnishing them with clothing, &c.; to induce all free-state emigrants to go into the territory as rapidly as possible. To accomplish these ends, so important at the present moment, the friends of the freedom of Kansas should keep the treasury of the committee constantly supplied. The committee say forcibly:

"Kansas can be saved to freedom only by prompt and vigorous action on the part of the free states. Her citizens oppressed and harassed by the border men of Missouri, and the ruffians of the South, without the protection of the general government, are well nigh discouraged. They need food and clothes, and must have money to sustain life and men to encourage them in their heroic struggle. Let us see that they are properly and fully sustained."

The fund which the New York Tribune is collecting from its readers for Kansas, has reached in the few days since it was started, to \$2080.—The Baltimore American of Friday says: "A company of thirty men, under the guidance of Col. Thomas H. Rosser, left Petersburg, Va., on Wednesday afternoon for Kansas. Many other young men were anxious to accompany the party, but were prevented by want of means. The promised subscriptions were not paid, and it was impossible to send a larger number."

The Republican.

Springfield, Monday Morning, August 4.

From Washington.

In the vote on the Kansas delegate question, twelve northern men voted to retain Whitfield in his seat. Messrs DeWitt and Davis of Massachusetts were absent without pair. Brooks declined voting upon either resolution. Herbert voted for Whitfield, and against Reeder. The Herald correspondent says a new election will be immediately ordered in Kansas, under the territorial law, and that Whitfield, the border ruffian candidate, will be returned. He threatens those who voted him out that he will be back in December. He knows that he can depend upon his voters.

The correspondent of the New York Courier and Enquirer thus explains why Gov Reeder was not at Washington to advocate his claims in person:

"Executive tyranny and the impudent perversion of law by an unjust and corrupt judge, keep him away. Gov Reeder has received certain assurance that he will be arrested on his arrival here, and is thereby prevented from prosecuting his claim in person. This fact ought to excite the universal indignation of the country. It is fraught with the greatest alarm and danger. The indictment for treason is a mere judicial fetch, to drive Mr Reeder from the territory, and to exclude him from Washington, by depriving him of his constitutional privilege."

Mr Geary has not yet accepted the governorship of Kansas. He has returned home to Baltimore, and will not accept the office until he has another interview with the president, which will be on Tuesday next.

The Senate territorial committee will report the House bill re-establishing the Missouri compromise, with an amendment striking out all after the enacting clause, and instead inserting Douglas's Kansas bill.

It is a strong indication of the interest taken in the exposure and punishment of the outrages by the spurious legislature of Kansas, that half a million copies of Mr Colfax's speech, on their pretended laws, have been printed and published. Demands are constantly made for more, and they come in so fast that the press of the republican committee cannot supply them. The most important service rendered by Mr Colfax in this

again. There are more buildings starting than ever before. The hotel is to be rebuilt 100 feet square and four stories high. Mr. Hugh O'Neil, who has the contract for removing the rubbish, has a large number of hands at work, and will complete his contract this week. Mr. O'Neil is a builder, and has erected some of the best buildings in Lawrence. He is "heart and soul" in the people's cause. His horses have been at the service of the Free State men, and have borne to every part of the Territory messengers to the people to call them together. A number of the cannon balls which were fired into the hotel, by Atchison and Jones, are in the ruins; and, as he stands by the work constantly, he has secured 4 or 5, which he intends to present to Mrs. Gov. Robinson, and others, as mementoes of the time "when the majesty of the law was vindicated." These relics are highly prized here, and will be more so hereafter. Governor Robinson, Judge Smith, Deitzer, Brown (the editor), Brown (the member of the Legislature), Jenkins, and Williams are still prisoners, under guard of soldiers on the prairie near Lecompton. A number of prisoners, who had been taken with John Brown, Jr., and who had for a long time had the pleasure of being chained two and two, were released a few days since, no charge being sustained against them. The officer of the troops who had them in charge allowed them to carry off their chains. One of them gave his chain and padlock to Miss Hall, of Lawrence. She has sent them on to Henry Ward Beecher, of New York, who will now have a suggestive to talk of white men's wrongs.

I omitted to mention in its proper place a little circumstance that will show how much faith the slavery party have in the tactics of their champion, Douglas. Baker said that a friend of his, who had every opportunity of learning about the movements of the pro-slavery men, had told him that, having asked of a pro-slavery friend what was the object of that company going up into the Territory, received in reply, that a bill was about to pass Congress which would call for another election in about three months, and that they must get in now, or they could not be counted as voters. Baker thought that this was the object of the rabble who had gone up to the Blue, and that the general system of robbing and plundering, which had been carried on in the eastern part of the Territory, will be carried into that quarter.

Gen. Smith, who arrived here a few days since, had a good opportunity to witness a display of "law and order," as such movements are called in Kansas, and on the Missouri river. A party came on board the boat that he was on, inquiring for Abolitionists, Northern men, Yankees, &c., in their usual style, and ready to commence operations at once. The General make himself known, and put a stop to it.

The Free State Central Committee of Kansas will hold a meeting at Topeka on Wednesday. This committee was appointed at the convention of the 2d inst., and will have charge hereafter of the affairs of the Free State party, which in fact is comprised of five-sixths of the bona fide residents of the Territory. They will receive all funds given for the Free State cause, and disburse them at large and through district committees, for the defence and welfare of the people, and to the State Government, if it does not receive funds from other sources. They have now on hand the re-establishment of presses in the State; the opening of a road to the East, via Nebraska, and the establishment of a mail line; preparing and forwarding a memorial, with the signatures of the settlers, to Congress, and an appeal to the voters in the States; establishing an agency in Chicago. They will carry out their plans with energy. If Congress is not disposed to do us justice this session, we are sure of it soon. We want nothing but justice, and have no faith in such measures as Douglas and Toombs propose. We—here on the ground—can judge of the result, and those who propose such a move are kept posted up by Atchison's party constantly. I believe Stringfellow is now in Washington.

Those who hear of Kansas and her wrongs, often, no doubt, overlook the fact that this is the very garden of the United States, hardly an acre that is not capable of cultivation.

As I travel over this country, and my heart fills with emotion, I would fain adopt the language of Columbus, and can appreciate his enthusiasm more deeply when believing he had found the far-famed paradise of the Indies: "his heart filled to overflowing, and, enjoying the fulfilment of his hopes," he says, "the amenity of this river, and the clearness of the water, through which the sand at the bottom may be seen; the multitude of palm trees of various forms, the highest and most beautiful that I have met with, and an infinity of other great and green trees; the birds in rich plumage, and the verdure of the fields, render this country, most serene princess, of such marvellous beauty, that it surpasses all others in charms and graces, as the day doth the night in lustre; for which reason I often say to my people, that, much as I endeavor to give a complete account of it to your majesties, my tongue cannot express the whole truth, nor my pen describe it: and I have been so much over-

whelmed at the sight of, so much beauty, that I have not known how to relate it." But there is danger of exciting too strong an expectation; I have never asked any one yet to come to Kansas; there are too many who come West, who, like some of the followers of Columbus, expect to find "gold and pearls and spices." I will say, not for encouragement to drones, that a man can obtain a house,—a farm,—here, with very slight exertion, he can, with a comparatively small amount of money, surround himself with all the comforts of civilized life. Men and brethren, "here's a home in the waiting West." Sometimes I feel as if it were almost enough to satisfy one to be a pioneer in the vast country over which the hardy sons of the West have planted the star-spangled banner, and sent it floating in the breeze of the highest peaks of its rocky mountains.

"Did the Grecian boat of Athens, and the laurels that she wore?
Did the Romans see no vastness, and Italia's shore?
Then forgive the wild emotion that upheaves in every breast,
As the mind drinks in the vastness of the mighty thought—the West."

THERMOPYLÆAN.

POLITICAL.

"Now, by St. Paul, the work goes bravely on!"

The N. Y. Tribune has spoken of Indiana as a doubtful State. A correspondent of that journal, writing from Indianapolis, tells a very different story. His letter is dated July 27th. In it he says:—

"No possible contingency, short of his death, can happen by which Fremont could be prevented from carrying Indiana by at least twenty-five thousand votes. I offer facts to confirm my statement:

In 1854, with the whole foreign population almost against us, on account of Know Nothingism, we carried Indiana by about 12,000 majority. Then our people were very much interested in the temperance cause, and only somewhat in the Kansas troubles in Congress. But now they are absolutely excited with a spirit of resistance to human despotism, plunder and murder, which surpasses the excitement of 1854 as much as the tempest can the pleasant breeze. Know Nothingism is dead. The Germans, and good foreigners of all nations, are joining the Republican party, and are acting like men, to roll back the Southern scourge from the Territories. I will mention that the French of our city, almost to a man, have fallen in with the Republican party. From almost every neighborhood of Indiana, our people went to Kansas. They have been driven home, or hunted like wild beasts through the forests, because they were for Freedom in the Territories. Some of them have come home, and hundreds have written to their relatives and friends; so that every neighborhood has had living witnesses before them of the abuses and outrages introduced by slavery into Kansas in its struggles for the mastery over Freedom. Many of our people speak to us from the graves, where their murdered bodies lie, of the sufferings they endured, of the death they died, at the hands of the rufians of the Government and of the South. The fathers, the brothers, the sisters, the mothers of men who have been shot down or hung, or who have had their houses burnt and plundered; or who have been chased out of Kansas, or who are in prison, or who have been taken up on the highway in Kansas and chained like felons, insulted and abused, are living in all the Counties of this State, and are ready at a moment's warning for the battlefield or for the polls. Mr. Editor, can it be possible that there is the slightest reason to doubt Indiana, after all that has occurred to her children at the hands of a pro-slavery terrorism, that is falling to pieces with the weight of its own sin and corruption? Do not believe it."

BOSTON HERALD.

FIRST EDITION.

MONDAY MORNING, AUG. 4.

Nebraska As It is—its Future Prospects.

While the spirit of party and intercaste warfare broods over Kansas, that other vast and grand mediterranean territory which adjoins it, seems to have been measurably overlooked. While Kansas has been made the battle ground of wild zealots and fierce bigots, Nebraska has been neglected. Kansas has been selected as the ground on which to decide a great national question, but the true parties in the contest,—the people of the nation—have not yet appeared upon the field of action. The contest thus far has been between guerillas of the North and South. Unjustifiable zeal for slavery and its extension, which finds no response at the South, and equally rash and misguided measures in the name of liberty, which will, ere long, be reprobated at

the North, have been the moving impulses that have transferred the "bloody ground" to the fair and virgin plains of Kansas.

In the struggle thus carried on there have undoubtedly been, there must have been—horrible sufferings, and innocent people have fallen victims. It is always so when wild and ungovernable prejudices break out. The leaders in Kansas matters, on either side, are not patriots, they are not statesmen. They can raise a storm, they cannot direct it. They can hurl denunciations, contribute bowie knives and Sharpe's rifles on the one hand, and organize in Missouri to resist the incoming tide of armed men on the other, and thus precipitate civil war. But they cannot control their ranks any more than a squadron of hyenas can be kept in subjection. Unbridled license and destruction are sure to attend the march of such forces. We have confidence in the wisdom of Congress and the government; and believe that the pacification of Kansas will be speedily accomplished in justice and equity. They, and not till then, will the riches and unbounded resources of both Kansas and Nebraska be developed.

A Virginia gentleman of observation and intelligence who has been travelling extensively in the territory of Nebraska, gives some interesting details concerning that country. We give extracts from his letter: "Nebraska has an area of 335,000 square miles, 224,000,000 acres; more than five times as large as Virginia; one ninth of the territory of the whole United States; it is the geographical centre of the country; it is washed by one of the largest rivers in the world, and has a steamboat navigation of over 2000 miles. Its fertility is unsurpassed, if equalled by any other country on earth. Corn, wheat, potatoes, and hemp all grow luxuriantly, the cultivation of which readily yields per hand from \$1,000 to \$1,200 per annum. The hemp culture is more profitable than any other crop raised in the United States. At this time in Missouri the farmers are making from \$700 to \$800 to the hand from hemp, without materially interfering with their corn and wheat crops. Horses, cattle, hogs, and sheep are raised at a little or no cost; all kinds of poultry do well; deer, wild turkeys, prairie hens, &c., are abundant. The prairies are filled with strawberries, gooseberries, grapes, and hazlenuts."

"The climate cannot be surpassed for salubrity; it is dry and bracing; and the water is as pure as can be found in the mountains of Virginia. The winters are cold, but dry, never much snow; the summers are short, the evenings and nights are pleasant. About 5 o'clock every evening a delightful breeze sets in from the Rocky mountains, which continues all night, rendering a blanket to sleep under pleasant. The country is rolling; no stagnant pools of water, no miasma, and consequently no fevers."

"Every description of mechanics find ready employment at from \$3 to \$5 per day. There is no danger of an over supply. Beautiful towns and cities are going up like magic; hundreds of the most lovely town sites are to be found from the Kansas river to the Yellow Stone, on the western bank of the Missouri. All towns on the western bank flourish, and are built more rapidly than on the eastern bank, for the reason that all the produce raised west of the river must find its way to the river for shipment. The Swiss system prevails of the farmers living in the towns instead of being isolated on their farms. This causes more sociability, and accounts for the number and beauty of Western towns and villages."

"Every person of energy and prudence can make money. No country on earth offers a better field. Lands purchased at Government price in a short time command from \$10 to \$50. Town property increases in a still greater ratio. Every thing is done on the cash principle."

"In no new country have I ever seen a more religious and moral community. We have preaching three times on every Sabbath; and I have seen as respectable, intelligent, and attentive congregations here in the wilder-

ness and heard as good sermons as I ever heard at your fine churches in Richmond."

"There seems, too, to be a fixed purpose to educate the young. One of the first things attended to is providing good schools."

"The vexed question which has caused our twin-sister, Kansas, so much trouble has been left by the Legislature and the people where the organic law placed it. There is no disposition on the part of any one to agitate it; and any effort to do so would at once be frowned down. Nothing will be done with that question until we form a State Constitution; and even then it may be left where it now stands."

"We have fine steamers almost every day from St. Louis. The time required to come up the river is from five to seven days—often, about three days. We can travel from this place (Omaha) to Washington city in less than six days, and at a cost of less than \$50. The recent grant of lands to Iowa will insure the making of four railroads to our territory, and in less than three years the time required to travel to New York will be less than three days! Should Congress be as liberal to the Territories as it has been to the States, we will soon have the "iron horse" on the western side of the Missouri and on his march to the Pacific. It is too late in the day to call in question the wisdom and policy of those grants to the alternate sections. The country is improved by them, and the government makes money. Let Congress only give us a part of the two hundred and twenty-four millions of acres, and we will soon find a suitable route to the Pacific."

Boston Daily Courier.

MONDAY MORNING, AUGUST 4, 1856.

EX-GOVERNOR HUNT ON THE PRESIDENCY.

We give below a letter from Washington Hunt of New York, which has been drawn out by questions propounded to him with regard to the Presidential question, and with the sentiments of which it would be supererogation to say we entirely agree. No apology is needed for the place and room which it occupies in the paper, for it is one of those sound and sensible documents which have oftentimes proceeded from the pen of Governor Hunt, and which have always received the favor of his political friends, and the respect of his opponents. We commend its arguments and its truths to all readers, and most particularly to those who were once proud of belonging to the Whig party, and who still affect to maintain Whig doctrines, though they stand in the ranks of old and uncompromising opponents, and thereby present the singular anomaly of pretending to sail beneath a friendly flag, while they fight beneath a hostile device. When such men as Hunt, Barnard, Granger, Ketchum, and Bradish,—the purest and the wisest of the Whig leaders in the Empire State,—come forward as one man, and give their advice and testimony as to the course which people should take in the forthcoming Presidential controversy, they should be heard with careful attention, and their words and thoughts be well considered by all with whom the good of the country is the first duty of political life:—

LOCKPORT, July 17, 1856.

My Dear Sir,—I have received your letter in relation to the Presidential contest, and have weighed your suggestions with the respect which is due to their source and importance. You are undoubtedly correct in the opinion that the remaining National Whigs are more numerous in all parts of the Union than their disorganized condition would indicate. Amid the angry and jarring discord which convulses the country, there are thousands of sober-minded, reflecting citizens in every state, who still cherish the safe, conservative and patriotic principles which they maintained in brighter days. We will continue to indulge the hope that the present distractions cannot be lasting; that the

warfare between the sections, like all such warfare, must come to an end, and that the day is not distant when a national party, united upon the broad, enduring and beneficent views of the old Whig party, will once more assert its legitimate influence in the public councils.

It is apparent, however, that no practical good can be attained by presenting Whig candidates in the present state of things. Another nomination would but serve to increase the prevailing confusion. It would add another element to the political chaos which even now bewilders and amazes the people. For myself, as I am still a Whig, and do not belong to any of the three parties which have nominated candidates, and cannot fully adopt the views of either, without some surrender of honest convictions, I feel no disposition to take an active or prominent part in the Presidential controversy. The special questions upon which new political organizations have been formed must soon be disposed of in some way. Parties thus constituted contain an inherent principle of decay; they are predestined to an early dissolution, either under the pressure of defeat or in the first ecstasy of triumph.

The Kansas question, which has made one party, will as speedily unmake it, whenever law and order and right are once more established by the innate sense of justice which ultimately prevails, and which has hitherto carried our institutions safely through every conflict which threatened their security. We are not responsible for the present state of affairs. We have borne no part in creating these new political combinations. Neither have we any interest in the result of the Presidential contest, beyond the concern which every good citizen must feel in the national welfare. Surely, we have no personal ends to advance, no ambitious hopes to be gratified. We can indulge no other motive than the desire to secure an honest, patriotic administration, which can be relied on to remedy existing evils so far as this may come within the competency of the executive government. Our position is especially favorable, therefore, for a calm, disinterested and impartial exercise of the right of suffrage. Let us discharge this duty with perfect independence, influenced by no partizan passions, but animated by the same love of country, the same practical views, the same spirit of moderation and self-sacrifice which actuated your father and his illustrious compatriots, when they reared the temple of Union and combined the American states into one free, powerful republic.

Having had no agency in the nomination of the candidates before the country, we are reduced to the alternative of making a selection between them. No choice is allowed us but to vote for Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Fillmore, or Mr. Fremont. The first is a statesman of eminent ability and ripe experience; but it is not allowable to separate the man from the platform; and his political attitude at this time, no less than his devotion to party interests during a large portion of his public career, makes it impossible for Whigs to give him their support, unless they are prepared to accept doctrines which they have honestly combated for years. We cannot sustain him without endorsing some of the worst measures of the present administration, and giving our sanction to views of policy, both foreign and domestic, which our best judgment condemns.

Conceding to Col. Fremont whatever qualifications are claimed for him by his friends and admirers, I cannot by any effort bring my mind to engage in the work of combining sixteen of the united states into a political party against the remaining fifteen.

No man condemns or deprecates more deeply than I do the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, or the whole train of wrongs, usurpations and outrages to which that evil measure has given birth. No one is more anxious to put an end to these calamities, and to prevent, by just and legitimate means, the extension of slavery into Kansas or any other free territory. Many honored friends, toward whom I cherish sentiments of gratitude and respect, conscientiously believe this object is to be secured by arraying the stronger section, in a compact mass, against the weaker, in a Presidential election. I feel, perhaps, as intensely as they, the provocations which have excited the public mind in all the Northern states. But after reflecting well upon the tendency and probable consequences of the proposed conflict between the sections, I cannot regard it as a wise, safe and satisfactory mode of redress of existing grievances. On the other hand it appears to me to be calculated to aggravate the present troubles, and to engender other and more serious evils. Is it necessary, is it best, for one half of the country to cut loose from the other in its political action, and thus expose the federative tie which connects the two classes of states to a new and trying test? Is it indeed true that the alienation between them is so complete and irreconcilable that they can no longer act together in the choice of an Ex-

ecutive, to administer their common government? Have we really become two nations in interest, feeling and purpose? Let us reject this conclusion a little longer. I will not adopt or act upon it while such men as Crittenden, Clayton and Bell, and other conservative patriots in the South, are proposing and inviting remedies for the wrongs we complain of, and pleading for peace, for justice and moderation.

Interding no disparagement of the personal merits of any candidate, I am impelled by a clear sense of duty to the country to give my vote for Mr. Fillmore. I accept him on national and conservative grounds, retaining all my independence, yielding no Whig principle, and without professing any adhesion or allegiance to the party which nominates him. If our opinions do not accord on all points, I prefer him as the candidate whose political principles approximate nearest to my own. Having sustained him for elevated trusts on several occasions, I am prepared to try him again in the present crisis.

In regard to the foreign and domestic policy of the government, our views have ever been substantially the same. I will vote for him because he is a man of moderation, and not an ultraist. He stands midway between the violent agitators in both extremes. I believe him to be governed by an honest desire to render even-handed justice to both sections, according to the Constitution, and to keep the peace between the free states and the slave states, without subjecting either to dishonor or humiliation. It is no objection to him, in my opinion, that he is supported by a portion of the Southern people who did not approve the repeal of the Missouri compact, and whose views are rational and conciliatory on the slavery question; for I still maintain that there are people south of the Chesapeake who are worthy to be called fellow-citizens, and who are disposed to respect the rights and feelings of the free states. What sort of an Executive does the country need in the present posture of affairs?

Not a representative of extreme views, who would regard nearly half the states as enemies and aliens, or a political strategist, who would create or strengthen a party by keeping the North and South in never-ending controversy; but, on the contrary, a statesman of calm temper, wise judgment and honest firmness—a man imbued with a genuine national spirit, who can be relied on to cultivate friendly sentiments between the sections by a proper respect for the rights of each, and a due observance of the federative principles upon which our political compact was formed. Above all, we require at the present juncture an Executive who will enforce the laws with a firm hand everywhere throughout the land, Kansas not excepted. To this end it seems desirable to have a man toward whom reasonable people in both sections can look with some confidence in his justice and impartiality.

Mr. Fillmore has given proof that he is capable of executing law with energy and resolution. In discharge of the oath which requires the President to see that the laws are executed, he enforced unpopular laws in each section, against powerful excitement and resistance. His election would be favorable to domestic peace and tranquility. It would be a fair warning to border ruffians and fillibusters to stay at home and mind their own business. The fact that he is opposed by extremists on both sides is calculated to commend him to the conservative class on both sides, as the best choice that can be made under existing circumstances. It is an expressive tribute to his moderation that many of his assailants have found expedient to aver that they really aim at nothing more than to put the slavery question where he left it at the close of his official term. I will vote for him the more cheerfully because, at a time when free speech in favor of concord and forbearance is denounced as a high misdemeanor, he has had the moral courage to utter bold words of warning and expostulation, in the face of a strong popular tempest. I am aware of the objection that is made to Mr. Fillmore on the question of availability. We are urged not to vote for him because he cannot be elected.

If we were ambitious to ride upon a popular wave, or to display our sagacity by joining the strongest side, perhaps this view of the case might be decisive. But I am not seeking to discover where the majority may be found. Fortunately for our self-respect, you and I must direct our course by very different and more elevated considerations. We must endeavor to discern the path of duty and pursue it regardless of consequences, for which we are not responsible. With me the only questions are, what ought to be done; what is truly best for the country in the present condition of affairs, and by which alternative can we most effectually contribute to repress violence, correct abuses, and revive a healthy national spirit?

If Col. Fremont's election were more certain than any assume it to be, my course would be the

same. On that event I should consider it more than important that there be a body of citizens in both sections of the country who shall have adhered firmly to a national position, and who will still be able to counsel together as friends and fellow countrymen. Without giving way to discouraging forebodings, I am free to say that if the Northern States, by their own exclusive action, are to make a President for the whole country, it is not advisable in my judgment that the Northern people should participate in the work. On the contrary, I deem it of grave importance to the future peace and stability of the Union that some of us should have stood aloof from any such movement. Owing no allegiance to any of the parties or candidates in the field, it is enough for the Old Line Whigs to consider what course is most consistent with their principles, their self-respect and their patriotic convictions. Whether one or another of the candidates shall be preferred is a question for the whole country to decide. They have more than three months left for discussion and deliberation. To whom has it been given to know in advance that calm reflection and a just view of the consequences may not prevail over excited passions and sectional animosity?

Whatever may be the result, let us endeavor to discharge the duty of free and independent citizens with loyal devotion to country, and an earnest solicitude for its safety, prosperity and happiness. Knowing no party but our country, in the present crisis, let us rise superior to temporary passions, and uphold the political fabric which has made us a powerful and united people, never forgetting that the unity of the American republic is identified with the cause of freedom throughout the world, and aiming above all things to extinguish internal dissensions, and to terminate the revolting scenes of anarchy and civil strife, so disgraceful to a nation which boasts of constitutional liberty and government of laws.

I remain, with great respect, your obedient servant,
WASHINGTON HUNT.
JAMES A. HAMILTON, Esq.

Boston Journal.

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KANSAS MEETING IN STOUTINGTON. The citizens of Stoutington held a meeting on Friday evening, August 1, to consider the state of affairs in Kansas. The following gentlemen embracing persons from all the political parties, were chosen officers of the meeting: Dr. Cyrus S. Mann, President; Marvin Water, Esq.; James Swan, Esq.; Dr. S. S. Gifford, Lucius Clapp, Esq., and Amasa Southworth, Esq., Vice Presidents; Samuel W. Hodges and James Hill, Jr., Secretaries. Addresses were made by Rev. J. W. Dennis and Col. J. P. Lowry of Kansas, and a series of resolutions which were presented and advocated by Rev. Thomas Wilson, were unanimously adopted. A committee of thirteen was appointed to canvass the town and obtain subscriptions in aid of Kansas.

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BORDER RUFFIANISM IN KANSAS NOT A RECENT INSTITUTION. Douglas, Pierce and the Buchaners, if incapable of being ashamed of what they have done in Kansas do nevertheless dislike to bear the reputation of it. Therefore they have endeavored to make the impression that the outrages of the border ruffians have been occasioned by the movements of the Emigrant Aid Company. This representation, if correct, would not excuse them. But it is utterly false, and they know it. In another part of this paper, we print a letter from one of the Methodist missionaries who were in Kansas years before the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. Please read it carefully.

It is now some twelve years or more since David R. Atchison and the slavery propagandists began their endeavor to establish slavery in the region known as Kansas. At first their plan was to prevent the organization of a territorial government as long as possible, and meanwhile introduce slaveholding settlers and use the terrors of border ruffianism to keep away all others. Border ruffianism was employed there in the service of Atchison and his confederates long before Congress enacted the Kansas Nebraska bill; and, if

this is not generally known, it is because public attention was not then turned to the matter, having been first drawn to the doings of slavery propagandism in that region, by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. In the letter of Mr. Robbins several cases are mentioned in which this ruffianism was employed against Methodist missionaries. It was employed also against every man who did not go to that region as a creature of the slavery propagandists.

For some time before the Territory was organized, there was an effort to keep out emigrants from the free States by proclaiming in the newspapers that the lands there were not open to settlers—that settlers there would be driven off by United States troops,—that they would be harassed and troubled very seriously if they went there—and the like. These menacing proclamations unquestionably had some influence to check emigration from the North at that time; yet their real significance was not generally understood. The Government at Washington lent itself to the scheme of Atchison, and in 1853 the Indian Commissioner visited that region, and in a speech to the Wyandott Indians, he told them:

"That all white men living in the Indian country, unless authorized by the government, were outlaws, and could claim no protection from the government; and that the Indians could murder or rob them with impunity! An official instigation of the Indians to murder and plunder!"

We make this extract from an account of the speech given at the time by Mr. Abelard Guthrie of Kansas, and circulated in many of the papers. The men in whose interest such things were said and done, constantly opposed and prevented the organization of a territorial government, until they had made sure of a repeal of the Missouri Compromise and persuaded themselves that the "Blue Lodges" were sufficiently numerous and strong to secure their object.

For a long time Atchison has controlled the appointment of Indian Agents in the Kansas region, and allowed none but his own creatures to succeed with the appointing power. Whitfield, the man just disowned at Washington by the House of Representatives, began his service in Kansas under Atchison as one of these Indian Agents.—This fellow was put in training to represent the border ruffians in Congress, sometime before the territory was organized; but even then a large majority of the settlers were opposed to slavery, and at first voted for Mr. Guthrie. Afterwards the settlers were overruled by the maneuvers of the organized ruffianism on the Missouri border. And all this was not only long before the Emigrant Aid Society was heard of, but long before public attention had been turned to what was going on west of Missouri.

In 1853, this Whitfield was active at a meeting of the settlers, where he was assisted by Rev. Thomas Johnson, a missionary of the Methodist Church South, in opposing their endeavor to secure some sort of organization and security against disorder. Whitfield denounced the Missouri Compromise, and intimated that it must be repealed before the desire of the settlers for a territorial government could be gratified:

"He thought men from all parts of the Union should have the privilege of bringing their property with them, from a negro to a spinning jenny; he said they might cry no agitation when slavery was excluded by the Missouri Compromise, but for his part he should agitate and agitate till Southern men were permitted to take their slaves to the territory."

The demand for a territorial organization for that region was urged some eight years before the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill. The conspirators delayed it as long as they could, and gave way only when they had become bold and desperate enough to undertake a repeal of the Missouri Compromise restriction,—when emigration from the free States had begun to flow very strongly in that direction,—and when their rascalities in that quarter could no longer be carried on outside of public observation. And yet some of these men have the hardihood to say to the public that their

DAILY FREE PRESS.

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Previous to the vote, Preston S. Brooks appeared in the House, received the oath of office, and took his seat. Herbert, the Member who was tried for the murder of Keating, was also in his seat. Brooks declined voting upon either resolution. Herbert voted for Whitfield, and against Reeder. An attempt was made to get in a resolution to give Gov. Reeder his per diem and mileage, but general consent was not granted by the Border Ruffians.

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Though there could be no real doubt of that fact in the minds of intelligent and well-informed men when he was admitted to take a seat on his formal return, yet it would have been vain to resist it then; and the carping of some journals, because the republicans did not do battle on the question of his admission on the spot—when not even the organization of the House was complete and not a committee was appointed, was unreasonable and contemptible.

Mr. Reeder preferred a claim for the place and an inquiry into the facts should follow of course. But strange spectacle indeed for a country where all the legislative power is in the hands of those elected by the people, and held to be amenable to their constituents, as well as bound to do justice by their own solemn oaths of office, while the nation rang with accounts of the most flagrant violations of the elective franchise ever heard of in this or any other country. The whole force of the democratic party in the House determined that there should be no inquiry into the facts of the case; and aided by a few who professed to hate the wrong but who were willing by indirection to help

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the wrong doer, they came very near succeeding in their shameful attempt.

Not only so, but when it had been made as clear as the light of the noon-day sun—even from the testimony of the invaders themselves—that the outrages in fact against the elective franchise and the principles of justice and freedom, had far exceeded all previous accounts of them, we find the determination persisted in to override the facts of the case, and to maintain Whitfield in his seat. But one reason can be found for that. The cause of slavery extension demanded it—and to the demands of that cause, law and justice are not allowed to interpose any objection. Though by the exclusion of Whitfield from the House, the cause of slavery loses no vote, for as a mere delegate, he had none to give, yet at least it has been foiled, again; and by so much is its power over the minds of men in Congress and out of it weakened. By so much too, is confidence added to the men who stand side by side there to resist its abuses and its encroachments.

Ebening Standard.

NEW BEDFORD:

Monday Evening, August 4, 1856.

SENATOR WILSON SUSTAINED BY THE PRESIDENT.—In the United States Senate, last winter, Senator Wilson, of this State, in a speech on Kansas affairs, spoke at length upon the character of Gov. Shannon, of Kansas. He accused him of drunkenness, of brutality, of general incompetency, and asked for his discharge from the office on the ground of his disqualification as exhibited in the charges he preferred. The charges our honorable Senator then made, were indignantly denied by the Nebraska press. The Executive gave them no heed. Shannon was shown up in his true colors, but the President and the Senate, although failing to meet the accusations with arguments, exhibited by their conduct a disposition to approve the cruel acts of the Kansas tyrant. But a change has been wrought. The President has finally gone so far as to remove Shannon from the Executive department of the territory. In this act of removal, the charges brought against the border ruffian Governor by Senator Wilson, are fully sustained, or at least that of general incompetency is corroborated, else the President would have continued him in his position.

In the Senate, a few days since, when the nomination of Col. Geary was made as Governor of Kansas, Senator Wilson inquired what great sin Shannon had committed. Last February, he was the idol of the administration Senators. Senator Jones, of Iowa, said that the President had ascertained from other sources that Senator Wilson was correct in his review of Shannon's character.

It is not, however, the conviction that Shannon is an improper person to govern the territory that has caused his removal. It is the general uprising of the people in behalf of oppressed Kansas, which has carried terror to the camp of the Nebrascals. A temporizing policy is therefore adopted, in order to blind the people. But it will have no effect. So thoroughly aroused is the public mind to a sense of border ruffian enormities, that nothing but a clean sweep out of office of all concerned in these great Kansas frauds, will ever satisfy the outraged public sentiment. New governor's may be appointed and new bills may be introduced for the government of the territory, but the movement is too shallow and the motive lies too near the surface to entrap or deceive the people. The object of the free State men is to make Kansas a free State. They will submit to no temporizing policy or a compromise for the hour which

will in the end, be sure to foster slavery upon the territory.

The palpable absurdity of the doctrine of "quarter sovereignty" so pompously set up by the Nebrascals, has been exhibited by its advocates. It has come to its death in the house of its friends from blows which they have inflicted. Mr. Douglas himself in his recent bill in the Senate, repudiated the doctrine in plain terms, while the South by their acts of invasion long since exhibited their contempt for it. The Nebrascals are now taking the back track in view of the popular feeling against them and its influence upon the Presidential election. But it is too late. The iron has entered the souls of the free State men. No temporary application can cure the wounds which ruffian violence has inflicted. Nothing but freedom for Kansas will allay the agitation that the proslaveryites have raised. They have sown the storm; they must reap the whirlwind. Senator Wilson, in his estimate of Shannon's character, has been sustained by the President himself. In the first view taken of the repeal of the Compromise, the present supporters of Fremont and Dayton have been fully sustained by the train of evils which followed that disgraceful act. The time has now arrived when the people can legally, constitutionally, pass in judgment upon the management of affairs in Kansas. That their verdict will be a righteous one, none can doubt.

THE EVENING POST.

MONDAY EVENING, AUGUST 4.

Illustrious Precedents for Bully Brooks.

To the Editor of the Evening Post:

Dear Sir: Are you not a little too hard upon the Hon. P. S. Brooks for his refusal to go to Canada? His refusal is not without good precedents. When Gov. Yates was at Niagara, shortly after his inauguration, he was invited to look at the falls from the British side, but suppressing his curiosity at the dictate of public duty, he firmly replied that he did not think it proper to put the executive in the power of a foreign state. So, too, when cousin Siah was called into the public service.

When a commission he had got
He proved to be a coward
And was afraid to go to Canada
For fear of being devoured.

JERUSAH.

[Correspondence of the Evening Post.]

Political Speeches in Congress—Herbert's Explanation—Mr. Sumner's Health—Stopping the Supplies—Haven's Remedy for Kansas.

WASHINGTON, August 3, 1856. The House has adopted, during the last six or seven weeks, the very useful practice of devoting two days in a week, Friday and Saturday, to the private calendar, by which a large number of bills effecting individual interests are disposed of. This is the first time the experiment has been systematically tried by Congress, and the success which has attended it will amply warrant its continuance.

Another great reform remains to be attempted, which will result still more to the public advantage, namely, the abandonment of electioneering speeches in Committee of the Whole, and the adoption of a rule confining all debate to the business before the House. Every one of these addresses "to my constituents" has to be printed in the *Globe*, at an expense to the nation of seventy dollars a column, which it would answer the purpose quite as well in the form of a communication in the local newspapers in the state or district from which the orator hails. Probably more than half of the *Globe*, the official organ of Congress, is occupied, for the present session, with contents of this irrelevant character.

G. W. Jones, of Tennessee, and Letcher, of Virginia, are noted examples of abstinence from the vice of superfluous political haranguing in Congress, but last night even Letcher violated his consistency by a diatribe garnished with editorials from the northern press against Republican leaders and their policy. It was properly remarked that the cause of Buchanan must be desperate indeed when Letcher could be induced to put his Congressional privileges to such a use. Many members who do not, in the abstract, approve of this custom, conform to it as a sort of necessity, in defence of principles assailed by others who con-

demne this outside method of party warfare. Such, I suppose, was the case with Mr. Wade, the representative from Ohio, who last night delivered a sound and well-reasoned exposition of the pro-slavery policy of our latter-day democracy. I do not mean, of course, that the speeches to which reference is made are not good, but that they are out of place.

Yesterday, the monotony of private bill legislation was varied by a personal explanation from Herbert, the Californian, who, not content with killing the waiter, seemed disposed to make way with himself. It was brief, but suicidal. The House required something besides his own assurances that his character for purity, honor and integrity, would compare favorably with the best in the land. Perhaps the most satisfactory evidence of conscientious rectitude which he could afford would be to resign and throw himself upon his constituents for re-election. If they shall still consider him a fit representative from California, after his recent achievement, the House has no right to object.

A gentleman who saw Mr. Sumner a week ago, says that he was then in a very feeble condition, and that the indications of his improvement were not encouraging. Mr. Sumner still expresses the expectation of a speedy recovery, but it is thought that he, as well as his friends, have made a mistake in concealing the extent and serious nature of his maladies. It must be something beside a mere flesh wound to be followed by a prostration of the nervous system, which at the end of ten weeks seems as far from restoration as at the beginning.

The administration is much alarmed at the prospect of stopping the supplies—an operation which would not only interfere with its own convenience, but sadly diminish the sinews of war for the Presidential campaign. The clerks and Custom-house officers must be paid, or the funds for distributing electioneering "truth" in aid of Mr. Buchanan will fail to meet the exigency which now distresses them. Whether the Republicans will persevere to the bitter end in demanding a remedy for the evils of Kansas, remains to be seen.

The healing measures now under consideration are Sherman's amendment to the Army Appropriation bill, prohibiting the military force of the United States from enforcing the laws of the spurious legislature of Kansas, and Dunn's Reorganizing bill, to restore to the territory the Missouri Compromise restriction. Haven, of New York, also has prepared a bill providing for the appointment by the President of Commissioners to take charge of the election in Kansas, for an enumeration of the inhabitants, a registration of voters, and an apportionment for a new legislature, after the election of which the laws of the present legislature shall be of no force unless re-enacted. A provision is inserted annulling all indictments for treason, and for the release of the free-state men now under indictment for that offence.

This is the plan of the Northern Fillmore men. So far as it goes, it would be acceptable to the Republicans, with the exception of the clause conferring the appointments of Commissioners on the President. The substitution of the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House would give better satisfaction.

COMMERCIAL ADVERTISER.

MONDAY AFTERNOON, AUGUST 4.

Major Buford passed through this city not long ago, on his way to Alabama, and it is said that he is so disgusted with Kansas business, that he will have nothing more to do with it. He has tried to get his men to settle on pre-emption claims, and 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 upon 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.

So says a St. Louis paper. "Major Buford," it will be remembered, some time since raised a party of men at the South, numbering somewhere about three hundred, and went to Kansas with the avowed purpose of "seeing fair play all round." It seems, however that profitably settlement was also part of his scheme. He advanced money to his followers and hoped to induce them to settle there, so that he could hereafter substantiate his claims upon them with interest, and possibly get hold of their domains at a nominal price when partially cleared. The Major cannot have had any practical knowledge of humbug in nature, or he would never have entertained any such hope respecting men who were ready to enter upon such an enterprise as he set before them. They must have been men without any settled aim, or es-

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habed character, or habits of industry, or home, or business, who would set out on such an errand. Embarked on a lawless project, their habit-lessness would soon acquire additional strength and ascendancy. The Major, we imagine, has learned soon which it ought not to have been necessary to do any sensible citizen who had arrived at years of maturity.

A Kansas correspondent of the Mobile Tribune throws further light upon the failure of the Major and his valiant followers. The letter writer says that not more than one seventh of the original company have adhered to the Major's fortunes, "the others having returned home, leaving the energetic and persevering Yankees to rule Kansas." There is true philosophy in this fact. We have never doubted that the men from the East and North, who have entered Kansas with a bona fide intent to settle there, will ultimately triumph if they are but true to their distinguishing characteristics—respect for law and order and patient perseverance in industrial pursuits.—These must eventually triumph over the spasmodic efforts, however violent, of excited passion, or special and illegal and temporary purposes. It is by no means unlikely that by this time some other "border ruffians," as well as Major Buford and his discontented and scattered troops, are tiring of a contest in which they are and have been losers, and can never be gainers. Abiding by law and honestly working for a living are sure to triumph in the end over lawlessness and idleness.

Indeed we entertain the hope that upon the Administration at Washington is this conviction being forced, either from its own perceptions or by the shrewd or politicians of the Democratic party, who seeing what the ultimate fate of Kansas must be, doubt the expediency, in view of the Presidential contest, of persisting in the support of the extreme pro-slavery party in that territory. Facts and rumors very plainly indicate that a change of purpose, if not of sentiment has come over President Pierce and his Cabinet. Governor Shannon has been removed, and a gentleman appointed in his place, against whom even the most violent of the free Kansas journals have not dared to breathe a suspicion as relates either to his ability or his impartiality. Governor Geary, whose appointment even Mr. Reeder is said to cordially approve, will doubtless be clothed with full authority to rectify the countless blunders Governor Shannon has committed, and to repair as far and as speedily as possible the mischief he has done. This is a very hopeful sign for the suffering and distracted Territory. An impartial, vigorous and firm yet liberal Executive would have prevented much of the evil, and backed by the federal Administration can do much to restore harmony and order.

But this is not the only indication of a beneficial change in the purposes of the present Administration. The extreme course pursued by Judge Le-compte, it is reported from Washington, has induced the President to intimate to him that greater impartiality must be observed in his administration of justice, or he too will be removed from the important trust which was confided to him. It is also very confidently stated, even by the Washington correspondent of the N. York Tribune, that the President will either order a *nolle prosequi* in the case of the state prisoners or remove their trials from Kansas to Pennsylvania. The same authority also states that the Senate will probably consent to the passage of the Kansas pacification bill proposed by Mr. Dunn and agreed to by the House, striking out nothing but the clause restoring the Missouri compromise. If this is not "too good news to be true" the end of the Kansas troubles is nigh at hand, and the agitation respecting that territory must straightway subside; for that bill, even with that clause omitted, will satisfy nine-tenths of the people in the free states, and remove all occasion for introducing the Kansas question among the issues of the Presidential election.

And thus the prospect before us brightens and becomes hopeful. We shall then only need the election to the Presidency of a man whose firmness and moderation have been tried and demonstrated, and upon whom the people generally can rely for a four years' pursuance of such liberal yet determined national policy, and to the country will be given an assurance of restored peace and prosperity. That man, we need not say, is Millard Fillmore, for to neither of the other candidates for that high office will the description apply. With such prospects before the republic, let every man dismiss all sectional feeling, and with a full determination to succeed against opposition, work earnestly and devotedly, and without interruption or weariness, to secure Mr. Fillmore's election; for in the language of Washington Hunt's late admirable letter, "his election would be favorable to

domestic peace and tranquility; it would be a fair warning to border ruffians and filibusters to stay at home and attend to their own business."

Letter of Hon. John W. Whitfield.
WASHINGTON, Aug. 4, 1856.

To the people of Kansas Territory.

The long threatened act has been consummated by the reckless violence of the black republican party in the House of Representatives, and I, in violation of the Constitution and the law, have been removed from my seat as your delegate upon the floor of Congress. It is an act without parallel in the history of this country, and is calculated to excite alarm in the minds of all good men. But it more especially concerns you, to whom it has denied the right of selecting your own delegate to Congress, and you will soon be called on to approve or condemn the disfranchisement. If you are ready to become the supple slaves of a mad and fanatical party, you will approve it; but if you are the independent freemen I suppose you to be, you will condemn the enormity.

By the Constitution of the United States the House of Representatives is the exclusive judge of the qualification of its own members. But this power must be exercised under existing laws. In my case it has been exercised not only without law, but in defiance of law. The House has trampled with violence upon all the principles heretofore considered necessary to guard and protect the representative feature of our institutions.

1. In order that the contest of my right to the seat should have been a legal one, I must have had a competitor at the election. It is conceded that Governor Reeder was not a candidate. Therefore, he is an intruder, and had no more right to initiate and prosecute a contest than any other citizen of the Territory for whom a vote might have been cast.

2. To have made such a contest as is contemplated by the law, the contestant should have claimed that he was entitled to my seat, in consequence of votes cast at the election at which I was voted for. It is notorious that Governor Reeder sets up no such claim, but that all the claim to which he pretended was founded upon votes given at a different time.

3. As I was sworn in as your delegate, without any legal contest of my right, I had the right, under the constitution and law, to remain your delegate during the whole Congress, unless I had been guilty of some act which subjected me to removal.

4. The House has appointed a committee for political purposes, and this committee has gathered together a mass of hearsay statements, that are not proof, of transactions with which I had no concern, and which have nothing to do with my election, and these hearsay statements have been used as evidence in my case, and made the pretext for my removal.

And thus, in a most unparalleled manner, and in violation of the plain principles of right and justice, has the act of my ejection from my seat been consummated. Although my expulsion concerns you, the people of Kansas, more directly, yet it also concerns the whole people of the United States; for the party who have perpetrated the act consider it only as one in a series of measures with which they threaten the peace and safety of the Union. You have done nothing more than act pursuant to an existing law of Congress, which organized the Territory and conferred upon you the sovereign right to mould your own institutions in your own way. Under this law you elected representatives to the territorial legislature, and they in the exercise of an acknowledged power, provided, by a law of the Territory, for the election of a delegate to Congress. At the time fixed by this law I was elected without opposition; yet, in defiance of this fact, and after I was regularly admitted to my seat, I have been removed—not really because I was not elected, but because it has become necessary to the consummation of certain party and political objects within the States, that the laws of Kansas should be stricken down, and all the rights which have arisen under them should be destroyed, even to a denial of the right of representation. These are serious and startling matters, and it becomes you to meet them like men conscious of your rights and prepared to assert them by the peaceful but powerful remedy of the ballot-box.

This party was compelled to halt a little in its career of recklessness. There was one thing which even it could not do. It could not legislate Gov. Reeder into Congress, although it legislated me out. Yet there were eighty-eight of those who compose the majority of the House who did vote that he should be admitted to the seat in utter defiance of princi-

ple, precedent, and law. These men who thus voted—when it was conceded that Gov. Reeder was not a candidate at any legal election, and only claimed his seat in consequence of votes cast at certain popular meetings, held without the authority of any law—must have a terrible responsibility to answer for before the bar of the country. But I have now only to deal with results; and this result—the rejection of Gov. Reeder because he was not elected at a legal election—shows that I had no competitor; that he was in no condition to challenge my right; and that it was only by the employment of the mere force and violence of party that I have lost my seat. If this action

shall become a precedent hereafter, it may be applied to the States, and a profligate majority may deprive any district in the United States of the right of representation. There never was a more alarming and startling question presented to any people. And it will be a proud day for the people of Kansas when it shall be in their power to rebuke this outrage. Although they shall do so on their own account, yet they will do so no less on account of every congressional district in the Union.

I shall return immediately home, and fully explain these matters to you, so that you may act with full knowledge of the whole of them. At the proper time a new election will be ordered, at which I shall be again a candidate, because in my person this outrage has been offered to you. I shall expect you to avenge it; and this, I trust, is not expecting too much at the hands of a liberal and enlightened constituency.

Very respectfully,
J. W. WHITFIELD.

The Evening Chronicle.

Devoted to the Interests of all Classes—Organ of no Party, Clique or Sect, but thoroughly National in Principle and Effort.

KENNEDY & BROTHER,
Editors and Proprietors.

Monday Evening, August 4, 1856.

The Kansas Contested Election Decided—Whitfield Ousted and Reeder not Admitted.

After several days discussion of the question, the House of Representatives, on Friday, came to a vote on the contested seat of the Kansas Territorial delegate, and finally rejected, virtually, the claims of both parties. The vote was first taken on the claims of Mr. WHITFIELD, who was in possession of the seat, and he not being declared entitled thereto, it recurred on the admission of Ex-Gov. REEDER, as the rightful delegate, when the House also refused to ratify his pretensions.

The first resolution was as follows: "That JOHN W. WHITFIELD is not entitled to a seat in this House as a delegate from the Territory of Kansas."

The House agreed to it—yeas 110, nays 92.

The next resolution voted on was "That Mr. A. H. REEDER be admitted to a seat on this floor as a delegate from the Territory of Kansas."

This was rejected—yeas 88, nays 113.

Messrs. Ritchie, Knight, Allison, Purviance, Edie and Covode of Pa., voted for the first resolution. Gov. GEARY, it is stated, will immediately order a new election, under the existing Territorial law. WHITFIELD will, in all probability be returned again. The Herald says:—"As many of the Republicans express every confidence in Gov. Geary, his action in the premises will receive their support. Gen. Whitfield informed members who voted him out of his seat that he would be back here in December next, and take his seat again; and that, further, Reeder dare not go into the territory and run in opposition to him."

Who is to be Fooled.

The *Union* don't like the idea that any class of men should support Buchanan because he is an old federalist, and consequently thinks Mr. Eastman of Green Bay a great wag. The *Union* claims a perfect right to support Mr. Buchanan, and to state its reasons for that support, which are, merely, that he is a democrat(?)—which has become to mean simply, a high-sounding name or cloak for all manner of party dishonesty and knavery. On the other hand, Mr. Eastman, with much more regard for honesty, frankly avows his reason for supporting Buchanan to be, because he is in favor of slavery and an old federalist, which is not a mere name, but which represents principles—and principles which the *Union* has considered odious; consequently Mr. E. is a wag—he can't be serious. The *Union* pretends to be opposed to the extension of slavery, but supports Buchanan, at the same time stoutly contending that the idea that his election would tend to extend slavery, is all an "abolition humbug." On the contrary, Gov. Wise of Virginia, and all of Mr. Buchanan's southern supporters claim, that this is just what is contended for—that his election will so increase the area of slavery as to double the present price of slave property.

That notorious "Border Ruffian," Col. Wilkes of South Carolina, takes up this subject and says:

"By consent of parties, the present contest in Kansas is made the turning point in the destinies of Slavery and Abolitionism.

"If the South secures Kansas, she will extend Slavery into all Territory south of the 40th parallel of north latitude, to the Rio Grand, and this of course will secure for her pent up institutions of Slavery an ample outlet, and restore her power in Congress. If the North secures Kansas, the power of the South in Congress will be gradually diminished; the States of Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas and Texas, together with the adjacent territories, will gradually become Abolitionized, and the slave population confined to the States east of the Mississippi will become useless. All depends upon the action of the present moment."

The South have gone into this campaign with the avowed purpose of fighting out this question of Slavery extension. In the South, all parties are agreed touching this one question, consequently there will be no organization there opposed to this doctrine. But here at the North, we find a class of doughfaces stoutly advocating the election of the very man that has been taken up by the South, on the express ground that "he has always been true to the Southern interest"—that "he has more than a negative friendship for Slavery," and claiming for him exactly the opposite result. Now, suppose Mr. Buchanan is elected, who is going

to be fooled? Are the South deceived in the composition of the man they are supporting? They seldom make such a mistake. As Col. Wilkes justly remarks, "by consent of parties there is but one issue now before the country. That issue is extension or non-extension of Slavery." Buchanan is the candidate of the Slavery extension party, and every man who votes for him votes to extend slave territory—to extend the evils of Slavery—to increase the price of Slave property. After election, we shall know just exactly how many doughfaces there are in the free States. Let them be marked. Let their names be recorded high on the scroll of doughfaceism, to be scorned and spit upon by future generations of free men.

DAILY HERALD.

A. HARRIS, A. W. FAIRBANKS, GEO. A. BENEDICT.

OFFICIAL CITY PAPER.

CLEVELAND:

Tuesday Evening, August 5, 1856.

The Abolitionist Party.

It would seem, from "Frederick Douglass' Paper," an able organ of the Gerrit Smith or Abolitionist party, not only that some few of its members have already resolved, but that the great mass of them will most likely very soon resolve, to vote for the Republican Candidate. One of the former, Mr. Thomas, of Syracuse, who has been long known as a strong advocate of the Abolitionist party, indulges even the hope that Col. Fremont will receive the vote of Mr. Smith himself.

We are not surprised at these indications. They are, in truth, but intimations of a return to that good old-fashioned common-sense, which assures its possessors, that it is ever folly to reject the half of a loaf because they cannot get the whole one. Nobody pretends, that the election of John C. Fremont would abolish Slavery; but everybody knows it would check the spread of that "sum of all villainies," and right the wrongs of Kansas, in so far as it is now possible to remedy the murderous atrocities which this piratical Pierce Administration has inflicted upon the honest settlers of that noble Territory.

The editor of "Frederick Douglass' Paper," having inserted in the last number of his print a letter from Mr. Thomas on Kansas affairs, says:

"Mr. Thomas * * does not forget * * to say a good word for Fremont. We don't blame him for this, since Mr. Smith has set him the example, by endorsing Fremont in a manner which will excuse every Abolitionist in the land for giving the Republican candidate his vote. Brethren, if you are all going for Fremont, would it not be well to give us due notice of the fact, and enable us to shape our course according to the altered posture of political Anti-Slavery affairs?"

And here is an extract from Mr. Thomas's Letter:

"It is vastly important that Col. Fremont be elected President. He is an honest, sincere, Anti-Slavery man, a conscientious, brave, wise, and resolute man. * * * Mr. Smith, whom I honor as much as I do any living man, gives me this character of Mr. Fremont. * * * I am anxiously looking for a public declaration from Mr. Smith that he will support Mr. Fremont for the Presidency, and for a call from him upon all those whom his influence can reach, to put him in possession of the powers of the Government. * * * He will never live to see the day when he can so honor himself and bless his country as he can do it by that noble act. If he suffers this crisis to pass without thus improving it, he will lose the best opportunity any American ever had to honor his principles and perfect a good character."

What will such pimps of the Slavocracy as Gray and the Buffalonian Know-Nothing Scroggs—a name, that latter, most suggestive to all familiar with the infamous side of English history—what will those Slavocratic pimps, who have taken so much pains to prove Fremont's unreluctance as an Anti-Slavery man, what can such pimps say to such expressions of faith in the gallant Colonel's claims to the support of all haters of Slavery, as we have cited from "Frederick Douglass' Paper?"

Alas! Poor Shannon.

The following pointed reason for the removal of SHANNON, is said to have been given in the Executive Session of the Senate upon the occasion of confirming the appointment of GEARY as Governor of Kansas:

In reply to a question from Gen. Wilson why Shannon was removed, an Administration Senator is reported to reply: "We have found him, Sir, to be more than you proved him last February. He is a scoundrel, Sir, a d—d scoundrel."



TUESDAY EVENING, AUG 5, 1856.

Efficiency of the Sharp's Rifles.

A correspondent writing to us from Wabunasa, Kansas, says among other things, "The Sharp's rifles are what do it. I will relate to you an instance of their superiority over all other arms. Nine of our boys (for they were nothing but boys) met Capt. Tate's Company of about 30. The Ruffians thought the lads would surrender without firing a gun, but they found their mistake. Our boys wheeled into line and "front faced." The Ruffians saw that they were showing fight, and levelled their rifles and fired. The free-State boys returned the shot, and the whole nine fired three times before the Ruffians knew where they were. The Ruffians wounded one man only, and him not badly. The free-State men brought down 27, several mortally wounded. The free-State Captain ordered the rest to surrender. One of the Ruffians threw down his rifle and cried to his companions, "For God's sake throw down your guns." They did so, what there was left of them. The free-State boys took their guns and marched them off. So much for pluck and Sharp's rifles."

Nothing could better illustrate the complete heartlessness of the Buchanan Congressional schemes for the "Pacification of Kansas," than the facts, that in the Senate Mr. Willson's resolution for the release of the Free-State Prisoners was voted down by the "Democrats"—and Mr. Purviance's amendment in the House for the same purpose, was killed by the combined slaveholders, Buchanan men, and Fillmore Know Nothings.

The MISERABLE BLEAR-EYED RABBLE who have been transferred, like SO MANY CATTLE, to that new country, are more to be pitied than blamed.

This is what the Washington Union says of the Northern emigrants who have recently gone into Kansas. The friends of these "miserable, blear-eyed rabble" will have something to say in reply on the 4th of November.

FACILE FAITH.—The New York Commercial Advertiser derives great comfort from the alleged withdrawal of Buford, in discouragement and disgust, from his Kansas foray, and couples it as a promise of peace in that grossly outraged Territory, with the removal of Shannon, the scattering of Buford's first enrolment of blackguards, the Washington rumor that Lecompte has fallen under Presidential displeasure, and the belief

Pierce will order *nolle prosequi* entered to the indictments of the imprisoned Free State Leaders.

The Commercial's faith Southwards is notoriously facile. Buford is now in Virginia, actively engaged in enlisting troops and raising money to make Kansas a Slave State, in spite of the North and the Federal Government. Shannon was removed and Geary appointed in his place, upon Stringfellow's personal solicitation. When Lecompte is dismissed the Commercial will hear of it. Fremont has that job to do. The Free State leaders will not be enlarged by the Buchanan officials till Slavery is so strong in the Territory that there will be no further need of cooping them up.

California is substantially in the condition of Kansas; where under the incitement of passion, a portion of the people have set up a government of their own against the constituted authorities,—one self-appointed and administering its authority under its own law.

[Atlas and Argus.]

In California the People took from their own agents the civil trusts which they abused, and executed themselves directly, the statutes which they had framed for the punishment and prevention of crime.

In Kansas the actual settlers while exercising the right of Self-Government, were resisted by the citizens of neighboring States, who invaded them with arms, and required that they should receive Human Slavery as a social institution. What similarity is there in the two cases?

The Evening Press.

HARTFORD:

TUESDAY, AUGUST 5.

Who Support Buchanan?

Let the honest, thinking, intelligent men of the country look at the following list of the supporters of JAMES BUCHANAN and the Cincinnati platform.

STEPHEN ARNOLD DOUGLAS, the prime mover in the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the upstart who would subdue the free men of the North, and the arch agitator whom we have to curse for the evils that now convulse the country.

FRANKLIN PIERCE, the despicable tool whom the whole people execrate and his own party have contemptuously rejected.

DAVID R. ATCHISON, the drunken ruffian who resigned his post as Senator that he might engineer Slavery into Kansas, and who was present at the sacking of Lawrence, swearing that that day he was a Kickapoo Ranger, and busy in directing a gun upon the doomed Free State hotel.

General STRINGFELLOW, the man who has gained such infamous notoriety in the Kansas troubles, the leader of foray after foray into that hapless territory.

Governor SHANNON, the imbecile toper whom the Administration have just removed, thereby indorsing the verdict which the people long since rendered upon him.

Sheriff JONES, the great "Shot at," the leader of the Border Ruffians, and the wretch that headed the attack upon Lawrence,—and with him, every Border Ruffian that has infested and profaned the soil of Kansas, molested the innocent settlers, and crimsoned his hands with their blood.

CALEB CUSHING, the renegade abolitionist, who intended to "crush out" the free men of New England.

[MR. EDITOR.—Our campaign song-book recently published, contains some very good adaptations of popular songs, but the collection comprises many melodies which are not generally familiar, while some very common airs have no place in it. To make up for this deficiency, I would offer the following contribution, and would suggest the propriety of a call from you upon contributors for a few songs to the tunes of "The Old Folks at Home," "Over the Mountain Wave," "Pop goes the Weasel," etc. or a lament for Buchanan to the air of "Massa's in the Cold Ground," or "Nelly was a Lady." If the following meet with the approval of the club, let them procure copies of the paper, so that we may sing it.]

Campaign Song.

Tune, Wait for the Wagon.

Come, freemen to your stations,
Obey your country's call.
And 'list beneath the banner
Of "Liberty for All!"
We're fighting now for freedom,
With Fremont at our head,
As true and bold a captain,
As e'er to victory led.

CHORUS, Then, Wait for Election.
Wait for Election.
Wait for Election,
We're sure to win the day.

He scaled the Rocky Mountains,
And planted freedom there,
And now he'll mount, with equal ease,
The Presidential chair.
He conquered California,
And made her people free;
And he'll do the same for Kansas,
As we shall shortly see.

CHORUS.

So, come with us, ye working men,
Who hate the name of slave,
And bring your tools all with you,
To dig oppression's grave.
Frank Pierce will be Chief Engineer,
If he survives his fall,
While Butler, Keitt and Bully Brooks,
With Douglass, bear the pall.

CHORUS.

The Buchanians begin to quake,
Before our army's van,
They see, and Jimmy knows it too,
Fremont's the coming man.
Then let our efforts, day by day,
With vigor be renewed;
They say that they're unconfined,
But we are unshackled.

Then, Wait for Election, &c.

H. H. T.

The Republican.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

TUESDAY MORNING, AUGUST 5, 1856.

GEN HARNEY, having subdued the troublesome Indians in Iowa and Nebraska, has been ordered to Fort Leavenworth in Kansas, probably to aid General Smith in enforcing squatter sovereignty. Gen Harney inspired great terror among the Indians, and great dislike among the troops, who have been deserting very rapidly from his command. He sent six soldiers recently after a fugitive servaant, and they all took the opportunity to stay away.

The Border Ruffians are not altogether unanimous for Buchanan. One of their organs in Kansas, the Kickapoo Pioneer, goes for Fillmore and the man who boasts of his ownership of 100 niggers. The ruffians seem to think that either will do for them.

Trouble in Kansas.

Advices from Leavenworth to the 30th ult., state that Gen Lane and company had not then entered the territory, and Gen Smith had threatened that if they attempted to enter he should proclaim martial law. The bogus territorial authorities were commencing to levy taxes. Trouble was apprehended as both parties refuse to pay.

The literary editor of Putnam's Magazine incidentally discusses the Union question, as connected with agitation of the slavery issue, and says:

"Thomas H. Benton is inclined to exaggerate the dangers of the slavery agitation. We do not think that the controversy is at all likely to lead to a

dissolution of the Union. It may lead to very serious civil bickerings, and ought to be settled, if possible in such a way as to prevent them; but the people of the United States have made up their minds to preserve the Union, and any party, whether at the North or the South, which undertakes to destroy it, will soon find of slavery be able to bring that great about. They will raise a great outcry, and proceed to some extremities; but let it be once decided that our national government is a government of freedom, and an overwhelming opinion will force them to acquiesce. The threat of disunion must always be the raw head and cross-bones of our politics; but we cannot believe that it will ever be anything more."

An enthusiastic Republican demonstration took place in Philadelphia on Thursday evening. The meeting was addressed by Lieutenant-Governor Roberts, of Kansas, who reviewed the history of that Territory during the past year, and looked forward to the success of the Republican candidates at the coming election as the only hope for free labor, free speech and a free press in Kansas.

The Atlas.

TUESDAY MORNING, AUGUST 5, 1856.

THE ENTHUSIASM IN OHIO.—The Cleveland Herald has an account of the great Fremont demonstration which was had at Dayton, O., last week, which in numbers, in music, flags, mottoes, &c., eclipsed the great meeting of 1840. The following will give some idea of the procession:

"Here come some two hundred fine looking young men, well mounted in working dress, wearing chip hats alike. Then an immense wagon with smiling Buckeye girls in white, representing the Union of the States, waving small banners inscribed Ohio, Maine, Georgia, Indiana, Iowa, Massachusetts, &c. Kansas is there, a crane banner, and her representative wearing a scarf of sable. Now comes a farmer's big wagon, filled with sons and daughters, with tasty banner representing a forest hunting scene at night, with motto—"Wave the light, Dayton; there is a Buck in the lick!" Then another, gay with comely country maidens, above them the stars and stripes, with the significant motto—"AN OLD BACHELOR WON'T DO!" Here comes an 1840 banner, torn but flying—Washington in front, Battle of Lake Erie on the reverse. Then a crowd of hunter boys, with banner of a dead Buck at the hunter's feet. Another crowd bear a banner of an old Buck taking a fatal leap from a Rocky Mountain peak. Now the people shout with indignation at a load of Border Ruffians, who move along the street with a "d—d Abolitionist!" swinging from the limb of a tree planted on their car, which is inscribed on its side—"HUZZA FOR MISSOURI!" The Ruffian leader is dressed in costume, armed to the teeth, and at every halt appeals to the crowd to aid him in the great work of establishing slavery in Kansas with arguments a-la-DOUGLAS and ATCHISON. A banner now approaches inscribed—"OLD GREEN IS HERE!" and Three Hundred of her noble young Republican sons follow on horseback, in most becoming uniforms, the van of an army of Three Thousand from that glorious county. The mounted Fremont Boys of Green were the "observed of all observers." The companies wore military caps, or black soft hats and plumes, white shirts and dark pants with military stripes, without suspenders. Nothing could be more neat and comfortable, and no finer body of young men were ever better mounted.

The Columbus Fremont Club, strong in numbers, bore a fine banner adorned with a good portrait of the Man of the Crisis; and the Workingman's Car, filled with mechanics busy at their several trades, bore a banner with the inscription full of meaning to free laborers—"WE DO NOT WORK FOR TEN CENTS A DAY!"

These morning processions, of which we can give no adequate idea, continued as delegation after delegation arrived, until the whole were formed into a grand procession by the marshal of the day and his assistants. Meanwhile the excursion trains from all points of the compass, numbering from twenty to thirty cars each, packed inside and covered outside with people, were constantly arriving from 9 to 11, and added their thousands upon thousands to the throng. Wherever the procession moved, the sidewalks, streets, yards and windows were densely crowded—and the waving of flags and handkerchiefs, music of different bands, and hurrahs of the multitude, were such that

"Men might say
Till this time, pomp was single."

Mr. Burlingame was present. The Herald says:—Mr. B. was evidently the popular orator of the day, and Young America would scarce consent that he should stop when his strength was evidently exhausted. To the inquiry—"Is LEW. CAMPBELL a doughface?" Mr. B. responded a most emphatic NO! and then proceeded in a feeling and satisfactory manner to speak of the clouds that for a time lowered on his path, but which had been eternally dispersed by

the sunlight of Freedom and FREMONT. Mr. B. assured the young men of Ohio and the generous constituents of Mr. Campbell, that no representative was truer to Freedom and the rights and honor of the North than the "plucky little Lew."—that though at times his little bark had shot ahead and been lost to sight, when discovered by Freedom's fleet it was always found on the right tack—and that no man more earnestly supports the gallant PATHFINDER than L. D. Campbell. This reference to Mr. Campbell, as well as Mr. B.'s entire speech, was vociferously applauded.

A large number of popular speakers were present, and the crowd was addressed from different stands. At night-fall the following incidents occurred:

And just before sun-down, a beautiful silk flag, prepared by the young ladies of Dayton, to be awarded to the county sending the most numerous delegation to the Convention, was presented with due ceremony to the Green County Fremont Boys, the delegation from that county numbering Three Thousand Five Hundred. The presentation took place in front of the Court House, and was an imposing spectacle. The Green County troop formed in battalion; in front of them was a car containing school misses in white, representing the States of the Union, the flag of Kansas craped, and the bearer in mourning; and the Court House steps, yard and windows filled with the beauty of Dayton and the chivalry of Ohio. The prize flag, a national standard of the finest material and workmanship, was unfurled, and its motto in gold, "TRUE TO THE CONSTITUTION AND THE UNION," was hailed with enthusiastic cheers. After a song of freedom from the choir of States, Mr. Gunckle, in behalf of the young ladies of Dayton, transferred the flag to the keeping of the young Republicans of Green in a most appropriate speech. It was received with thanks and cheers, to be borne in honor to victory. Another song closed the ceremony.

The *hit* of the day was the procession of the "Border Ruffians" from Indiana. The Indianapolis train was full freighted with Hoosier Boys, who go for Fremont with a will. They brought with them their "Border Ruffian" paraphernalia, and just before the public speaking commenced, called everybody to the streets by the most grotesque and striking representations bad rulers ever provoked any people to dramatize. First came "Belial" on an ass, bearing the black flag of Slavery, with motto—"My works do follow me!" Then Pierce and his Cabinet in a Salt River bound boat, actively issuing proclamations for subduing Kansas. Next Buchanan and Breckinridge, mounted, and in possession of the slave power, followed by a gang of filibusters, led on by Walker. Then free State settlers in the hands of the Border Ruffians, led by Atchison, Stringfellow & Co., the tarring, feathering, and hanging going on as the car moved along the street.

This was followed by a specimen Slave Auction and of slave-driving to Kansas, the gang of African men, women and children being cobbled together, and driven at the crack of the master's lash. Another car represented Col. Buford and Sheriff Jones' crowd, engaged in smashing free presses, gagging editors, and hanging "d-d Abolitionists." Next were the free State officers in chains for treason; then Donelson's posse led by Shannon; captured slaves caged by U. S. authority; a car with ruffian Brooks assaulting Sumner, felling the latter every few rods with gutta percha, to the evident satisfaction of Kett and his associates; Brigham Young, a second Falstaff, surrounded by his well hooped wives and numerous progeny; followed by a Border Ruffian band of unearthly music; and the scene closed by the Investigating Committee recording Kansas outrages.

In the evening a torch-light procession and more speeches closed the great demonstration. Persons were present from nearly every portion of our State, all with the same cheering words on their lips. The battle cry everywhere is FREEDOM and FREMONT!

EVENING TRANSCRIPT.

TUESDAY EVENING, AUGUST 5, 1856.

SECOND EDITION.

NEWS FROM KANZAS. The following letter from an honored and responsible source, will be perused with interest by a wide circle of readers, as its statements will be known to be reliable in regard to the condition of affairs in Kansas at the time of its date.

LAWRENCE, KANZAS, July 24, 1856.

To the Editor of the Transcript: Dear Friend—I find affairs in this part of our territory at a very bad pass; far worse than my worst fears. Indeed, I am amazed and horrified at the depths of iniquity to which ruffianism has descended. Up to within two miles of Lawrence the reign of terror is complete. Men are waylaid by guerilla bands every night and sometimes in broad daylight, shot at, beaten, plundered and left for dead; houses are burned, horses stolen. This is not the report of rumors, but the testimony of what my own eyes have seen—wounded men and smoking ruins. I find my own house was plundered of almost everything of any value except books, and what was not taken was damaged or destroyed—horse, saddle and bridle, blankets and clothing. Three horses were driven off laden with the spoils beside my own. Several of my neighbors lost spans of valuable horses, with carriages, harnesses, &c.

We had a narrow escape from being robbed if not killed, as we came in. We reached the Wakarusa at a point about eight miles from Lawrence about an hour after sunset, and hesitated about keeping on home or stopping at a log-cabin hotel to spend the night;—decided on the last, and made an early start next morning. When within two miles of home we came up to a party of Lawrence men hunting for deadly weapons in the grass by the roadside.

It seems that a young man on his way to Lawrence the evening before, had been attacked by one of the robber bands there laying in wait, shot at several times, and finally beaten over the head with a revolver until he became senseless, then robbed and left for dead. He had managed to crawl to the next cabin, and though badly bruised, to get to Lawrence that morning and give the alarm. After discharging his revolver he threw it into the grass, that it might not fall into the hands of the robbers. In the search for it three bowie knives were found. Night before last the house of a Free State settler was burned some three miles from us, and threats were made that two more would be burned last night and one man shot.

In the midst of all this, we have no protection from the United States troops. All they do for us is to take away our weapons, guard our prisoners while the civil officers bring in upon us, or encourage by patronage of public service when they have got here, these very highway robbers. There are no U. S. troops at Lawrence or in the vicinity. Teams have been plundered of provisions, and passengers by the mail coach have had their pockets searched within one week between this and Kansas city.

We have just learned that several companies of dragoons have been despatched to stop the Free State men who are on their way toward us through Iowa. Another item is that Gov. Shannon has forbidden admission of visitors to the prisoners, Robinson, Deitzler, Jenkins and Brown, after this date.

I am confident that the full enormity of these Kansas outrages is but faintly apprehended at the East, for all that has been said, and that a yet darker chapter is to be written in this shameful and horrible history before the end comes.

E. N.

The Mercury.

NEW BEDFORD.

TUESDAY MORNING AUGUST 5, 1856.

WOMAN'S INFLUENCE.—One of our Boston contemporaries, affects not to see the influence that women may have in political affairs with us,—especial-

ly, as they cannot vote for Fremont and Dayton, they appear to him politically dead. Neither, is he able to see, why they should think it a possible thing for Mrs. Fremont to effect good, by being placed in the White House. Well! we cannot furnish our astute contemporary with eyes, but we presume, that he thinks women have an influence somewhere, in the domestic circle perhaps, or in the sewing circle, in gossip, in circulating libraries,—perhaps, he even believes they might get up a—FAIR, and that this exhibition of female wit, would be very appropriate to the fair sex. We shall agree with him in all this.—Women have an influence, and a vast influence, whenever they act together to carry out a specified object.

What he objects to, apparently is, that they should act in the support of a principle, to make Kansas a Free State, and render the immense North West territory free forever,—to succor their New England sisters now in Kansas, and on the whole, do what they can to forward free principles in the United States. To act in this direction, seems to him like a departure from the true sphere of female influence, we presume; we cannot agree with him.

The influence of public opinion, is the lever of society. If women are to be excluded from contributing their part to bring in a good principle, and to put down a bad one in the nineteenth century and in America, because their support may be called for towards choosing a President, then we are anything but a progressive people. Because women do not vote, therefore to conclude, they can do nothing towards forwarding a popular cause, is a foregone conclusion. They can and they will do a vast deal. We believe they can talk, and circulate documents, and bring the weight of their opinions to bear upon others, all in a perfectly feminine and agreeable manner, and they will prove very attractive elements towards the success of Fremont.

Certainly, we should be doing great violence to all our opinions upon the sphere and influence of women, to argue that they are a mere sum total of imbecility in society,—so much luggage to be carried about on the social train, and dumped wherever a special providence decreed. We trust they will act en masse, to advance the cause of FREMONT and DAYTON, and that the example of the ladies of Fall River, may be followed elsewhere, and that "Jessie circles" may be formed in other places. Old backsliders and misogynists generally, will set up their backs like so many mad dogs, at the opinion advanced, but the ladies are on the right side, and we certainly prefer very much to believe as they do.

The Lynn News.

LYNN, ESSEX COUNTY, MASS.

Tuesday Evening, August 5, 1856.

Aug. 5. For the Lynn News. 50c.
THE ALARM.

BY J. W. NEWHALL.

Children of patriot sires, awake! the battle-cry
Of liberty resoundeth through the land.
To arms! to arms! ye sons of freedom fly!
Oppression's marshalled legions to withstand.

The hosts advance, e'en as the maddened sea
Upon its prey pours its overwhelming flood;
Behold their banners! deeds of infamy
Are there inscribed in characters of blood.

Oh to the charge they come in proud disdain;
Forth from their trumpets swell defiant tones;
But, mingling, heard ye not the clanking chain?
The hissing lash, the tortured slave's deep groans

Freemen, no longer sleep! ye ruffian crew
Your dearest rights would trample in the dust.
Those sacred, blood-bought rights now rest with you
Sons of the brave, be faithful to your trust!

On western plains the flames of battle glow,
And cries for aid come from those pillaged fields.
In words of Spartan matrons, "Mak the foe;
Go! conquer, or return upon your shields!"

Yonder arise the Capitol's proud walls,
Where meet the rulers of our cherished land;
There, truth's unequalled champion bleeding falls,
Felled by a dastard ruffian's murderous hand!

Nought is Columbia's glory but a dream,
If freedom's courts thus shelter tyranny.
Arouse! and from despotic sway redeem
The desecrated halls of liberty.

In thunder-tones unto the world proclaim,
You'll never cover 'neath the threatening rod;
Nor on your temples bear the brand of shame,
False to mankind, your country, and your God.
LYNN, JULY, 1856.

PROVIDENCE JOURNAL.

TUESDAY MORNING, AUGUST 5, 1856.

THE REV. MR. DAY will speak upon Kansas in the church at Olneyville, Wednesday evening at 8 o'clock. Mr. Day is not one of those ministers who are "great on the Canaanites and Amalekites," and who are always flitting into the Philistines, but who quite overlook what is going on around them. He thinks that his duty is to speak upon the living questions of the day; and he seems to have taken the notion into his head that he has quite as good a right to speak about Kansas in his own pulpit as strangers have.

New-York.

PRINCIPLES. NOT MEN.

TUESDAY MORNING, AUGUST 5, 1856.

The House of Representatives has at length vindicated the rights of popular suffrage in the Territories, and rejected the claim of J. W. WHITFIELD to a seat as delegate from Kansas. The House has proceeded in this matter with equal firmness, dignity, and caution. It did not avail itself, as it might have done, of notorious facts, to summarily eject Mr. WHITFIELD from the seat which he had acquired by a perversion of the forms of law, but it directed an official scrutiny of the most searching and laborious character, and forbore to act until officially informed by a report of its own Committee, specially raised for the purpose of the investigation, that the allegations of violence, fraud, and outrage, accompanying the election of the sitting claimant to the seat were well founded. Mr. WHITFIELD has been permitted to hold a seat, to which it is now clear he was never entitled, for eight months, but we are not prepared to say that an earlier decision of his case could have been safely or properly arrived at. There is no part of the duty which a legislative body is called to perform, more delicate or responsible than that of deciding upon the qualifications of its own members, and certainly in this regard the present House of Representatives has earned the praise due to the most scrupulous impartiality and conscientiousness. It has decided in three cases against claimants representing the views of the party which has a large plurality, and, on most questions, a majority of the members. Mr. FULLER of Maine, Democrat, has been admitted over Mr. MILLIKEN, Republican. Col. ARCHER of Illinois, American Republican, was referred back to the people, though he had a small apparent majority over Mr. ALLEN, Democrat. Mr. CHAPMAN, Democrat, was assigned the seat as Delegate from Nebraska, even in preference to Mr. BENNETT, Republican, though the latter had a clear majority of the votes cast, upon the ground of irregularity in the returns for the latter. And, even in the exciting case of the Kansas election, though a large majority was found in favor of unseating Mr. WHITFIELD, a still larger one declared against the validity of the claim of Gov. REEDER.

We may presume that the decision of the House being adverse to both gentlemen in this case, will be construed as declaring a vacancy to exist in the representation of Kansas Territory; and if so, it is understood that Gov. GRAY will assume the responsibility of ordering a special election to supply it.

do not know by what authority it is proposed to adopt this course, but if it is to be taken, it will be of great importance that the election shall be conducted so as to satisfy all parties of the fairness and justice of the proceedings. It ought not to be held before the 4th of November, when the Presidential election takes place. If an earlier day be named, the same evil-disposed and lawless inhabitants of the border districts in Missouri, whose interference has vitiated previous elections, will overwhelm the polls, exclude the legal voters, and defeat the Free State candidate. The designation of any other day than that of the Presidential election, will, in fact, be considered by these characters as an invitation to repeat the performances on which the House has just placed the brand of its reprobation.

Nor can any election, which the House will confirm as legal and valid, be held under the alleged existing laws. If any attempt be made to repel anti-slavery extension voters from the polls, by prescribing to them extra constitutional oaths, or by imposing upon them any degrading test whatever, the result of that election will be annulled by the House. It is a cause and subject of congratulation that the House has proved its ability as well as its resolution to stigmatize such proceedings in an appropriate manner. Of course no person, not duly elected, will be again permitted to take his seat, or to derive any advantage whatever from a fraudulent or improper return.

AFFAIRS IN WASHINGTON.

[FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.]

WASHINGTON, Aug. 2.

Each day brings us additional evidence of the concenteration of the Democracy of Pennsylvania, in view of the astonishing progress of the Republican candidate, and the unpopularity of Mr. BUCHANAN. The latest movement to restore the waning fortunes of the great embodiment of the Cincinnati platform, which has come to my knowledge, is the appointment of a numerous and imposing committee of Democrats, to wait upon President PIERCE, with instructions to lay before him a true relation of the state of the party in Pennsylvania, growing out of the disturbances in Kansas, and the outrageous and unlawful course of the Federal officers and the Administration agents in that Territory; and to demand measures of redress.

The Committee have arrived here, and represent that many of the citizens suffering from the oppressions complained of, are emigrants from Pennsylvania, and being persons of the highest respectability have numerous family connections, whose influence is naturally thrown against the Democracy in the present canvass. Judge SMITH, Mr. DIETZLER, and Mr. BROWNE, who share the imprisonment of Gov. ROBINSON, under the frivolous and corruptly obtained indictments of treason procured against them by the miniature JEFFREYS, LECOMPTÉ, are Pennsylvanians; many of those who have been slain by "Border Ruffians" hands, in the employ of the administration, through SHANNON, were also beloved and respected citizens of that State, and the feeling of the people against the Administration on account of the treatment of the living and the fate of the dead, is intense.

The Committee, therefore, request, in the name of the managers of the Election at Harrisburgh, that SHANNON be removed. This has been granted. That LECOMPTÉ be removed and punished. That a *nolle prosequi* be entered in the cases of all the Pennsylvanians imprisoned with Gov. ROBINSON. As to all the political prisoners not emigrants from Pennsylvania, the BUCHANAN Committee would as lief see them hanged as not.

The dismissal of LECOMPTÉ will go hard with Gen. PIERCE, because the red-handed Judge has been a necessary and effective instrument, and has not exceeded his instructions.

I understand that the Senate Committee on Territories have agreed to report back the House bill for the pacification of Kansas, after striking out the clause restoring the Missouri Compromise. In that shape it will probably pass the Senate, though there will be a contest over it, but the bill will probably be promptly rejected by the House.



NEW YORK, TUESDAY, AUG. 5, 1856.

Correspondence of the Jackson Mississippian.

LEAVENWORTH CITY, K. T.,
July 3d, 1856.

However many eulogistic descriptions you may have read, of the beauty of the country, and the fertility of the soil, none can give you an exaggerated conception of the truth. Eighty bushels wheat and one hundred bushels of corn are no unusual products. And as to the beauty of the country, it is enough to throw a poet or painter into raptures.

The country, too, is very healthy, so far as I have been able to learn, with rare exceptions, of an occasional low, marshy tract of land. The Border Ruffians are as robust and stalwart a race of men as inhabit the globe, while the women remind one more of English descriptions of Britain's rosy, buxom lasses, than of any thing else American. No wasp-waisted, wax-faced, parlor ornaments, but active, gleeful, energetic and neat house-wives. The population is just such as would inspire our indolent Southern people to active exertion. The country is well watered and in many places yet uncultivated, well timbered. Navigation is good all the year, except when the river is frozen, which never lasts longer than a few weeks. The field of speculation is open wide, and soon, in anticipation of the land sales, millions of capital will be here for investment. Many who have pre-empted

lands will be unable to make the necessary payments, and these lands can be bought at an extravagant advantage. They will give $\frac{1}{2}$, some $\frac{1}{4}$, and many more than even that, for means to pay the pre-emption money. Why cannot Southern capital come into such a field as this? These same lands with perfect titles, would bring from \$40 to \$60 per acre.

We rejoice in the intelligence conveyed to us in the London afternoon papers of yesterday, from New York. The passage of the Kansas Admission Bill through both Houses of Congress, and by so large a majority of the Senate,* promises a constitutional, pacific settlement. California anarchy must be corrected. Lynch law is not the Republican government to which reference is made as a *sine qua non* in the Constitution of the Union.

It is mentioned in one of my recent epistles, that some pages of each of the principal British magazines for the present month were allotted to the American question, and that the British Quarterly Review contained an elaborate article. You will see that the subject is also treated in the new numbers of the Quarterly and the Edinburgh Reviews. The latter has never, in fact, been friendly to the United States, its constant professions to the contrary notwithstanding. On this occasion it declares against us in the same spirit in which it had discussed the old theme of Negro Slavery. The Quarterly will, in all likelihood, come into my hands to-morrow or the day after. It may induce me to offer you a few paragraphs on the representations of both. I have looked into the monthly magazines and found a rough chime of hostility. If it be true—as one of the orators at Mr. Peabody's banquet averred—that the public press in England can hold in its hand the key to the American heart, that heart is subject to no control by American judgment and experience.

Bentley's Miscellany grants thirteen pages to the American difficulty, and charges us with omnivorous ambition, lust of territory and domination in moral doctrines, and so forth. The writer opines that the Yankees will consult the better part of valor, by keeping their revolvers and bowie knives for home use, without committing the unfilial sin of attacking their respectable progenitors. Blackwood (dispute with America) is fierce in its abolitionism, and insists that not the slightest concession be made by England. Advantage is taken of American treasonable language, such as that of the Hon. Mr. Galloway, of Ohio, at New York. Blackwood regards the British Enlistments as a mere pretext of the designing government at Washington, and goes back to the Lopez and Walker expeditions in Cuba and Mexico: the proposition to submit the Honduras geographical problem to a committee of savans, it deems absolutely absurd. A war would break up the Union at once. This gratifies the favorite notion of the British press: *Mentis gratissimæ error*. The Morning Post thinks that New England would league with Canada as an independent power closely allied with England. The Standard has remarked—"The United States have no naval force to annoy us: Canada is loyal and abundantly strong. In all the Southern States, the free citizens are greatly outnumbered by the slaves. A few black regiments might be soon sent to the American continent. Our North America will absorb the American Northern States. The South

is destined to a most melancholy fate." The British Quarterly concludes its dissertation on State policy in America, with these sentences: "Our hope is that the disciples of Washington, Franklin and Jefferson in the North will soon separate themselves from the educated lawlessness of the South, and that Old England may thus find that she has a genial ally in Young America for ages to come. Nothing could so much tend to postpone this rupture as a war with England, and for this reason, even more than any other we would say, let war with America be avoided, if possible. If Jamaica is not to follow the fate of Cuba, war with the slave States of America will be sure to come some day; but half our sorrow and sense of shame will be spared us, if it should be a war with the slave States as disowned by the free." This Quarterly is an organ of the Dissenters and edited by one of their ablest ministers.

The article just cited is of twenty-four pages. The works of which titles are placed at its head are exclusively those of Drs. Channing and Theodore Parker. You may infer—such being the Reviewer's oracles, that he inveighs and pleads vehemently against negro bondage and the annexation of Texas. He cites Coleridge as having no belief in the stability of the Union. He cannot tolerate "the astute and unscrupulous policy of the Southern aristocracy." It is a great fact that Dr. Channing "recommended the dissolution of the Union, in the event of Texas being admitted into the confederation." Mr. Theodore Parker's history and views of the Nebraska question are duly epitomized. "The politicians of the South were hard at work to get up some quarrel with a foreign country, which might please the democracy and draw their attention from the struggle in Kansas. Filled in that direction, the American government has, all at once, made up its mind to recognize the independence of Nicaragua, under the impression that so bold a step in defiance of Europe, and in accordance with the Monroe doctrine, may enable it to regain its lost popularity with Young America and raise such a storm of opposition among the anti-slavery party as will throw Kansas into the back-ground. The increasing difficulties of the filibuster government in Nicaragua, instead of making the Pierce cabinet less willing to identify itself with that disreputable business, have rendered it all the more willing to lend Walker such aid as may enable him to establish himself there." My main purpose in quoting such matter, which belongs to nearly the whole British press, is to prompt Southern politicians to ask themselves whether they can expect any favor in any quarter in Great Britain, however loudly they may deprecate war and condemn the measures of the Pierce administration. Senators Butler, Toombs and Pratt affirmed that the laws of the United States had not, in the Enrollment affair, been violated by the British minister; and they condemned and lamented the dismissal of Mr. Crampton. We may admire the just, cogent and befitting language of General Cass in his reply to those surprising sentiments.

The *Dublin University Magazine* has warmly espoused the cause of Mr. Crampton, he being an Irishman by birth. His accomplishments and qualities, suavely and grace are much vaunted; he made himself "the most popular minister who ever represented British interests in America, but he suddenly lost his prestige because it suited the political views of President Pierce and his ministers to fasten a quarrel upon England." We ought to have retaliated, and dismissed Mr. Dallas, adds the magazine. The Westminster Review abstains from American affairs. Its contents are superior to those of the British Quarterly: the appendix of notices of contemporary literature (72 pages in small type) answers all that could be desired. The first article (50 pages) entitled *Christian Missions—their Principle and Practice*, is a comprehensive, intelligent, candid historical survey. This important subject has not been to my knowledge, so ably treated hitherto, within the compass of a critical essay. The second article (nearly 30 pages) on *German life and character*, is likewise excellent and valuable for our country.

"Our correspondent appears to labor under a slight misapprehension on this point. The bill which passed the House was a substitute for the Senate bill, and contained antagonistic provisions. But we may hope that the ultimate result will be satisfactory.—Ers.

Correspondence of the Journal of Commerce.

STEAMER POLAR STAR, MO. RIVER, July, 1856.

St. Louis has been held as the chief city, and as the place of most note and prospective importance in Missouri. This is a mistake. The traveler will observe on the banks of the Missouri River several towns of some consequence—one or two prospectively second only to St. Louis.

Herman is a thriving German settlement, 81 miles from the city above mentioned. Its brown houses, of antique, time-worn aspect, with their low wide piazzas, perched high up the sides of the vine-clad hills, carry

your thoughts away to some ancient hamlet of vine-loving France. This place is chiefly interesting for the demonstration it affords, of the capabilities of our Western country as regards vine culture and the production of wines of good quality.

Jefferson City presents nothing to attract the attention of the voyager up the Missouri except its capital. This is a fine edifice, from its lofty situation, overlooking the river for a considerable distance above and below. The impression produced by it, is similar, though on a smaller scale, to that which one receives from viewing the old capitol at Washington.

Lexington is next to St. Louis, the largest and wealthiest city in the State at the present time. It is finely situated on an elevated plateau, which is reached by a steep and almost impracticable road up the bluff. Having with much toil accomplished this ascent, you find broad streets, conducting you between ranges of compact, well built stores and warehouses, where you meet with the same din and stir of bustling activity which imparts so much life and brings such thrills to our Eastern cities. Passing on, you see elegant residences amidst grounds tastefully laid out, with all those surroundings and appliances of luxury, with which wealth seeks to satisfy its desires. There is a literary institution, not without some reputation, the Masonic College. The Female College, also, under the auspices of the Baptist denomination, is a popular and flourishing school. The Lexington people—whatever may be thought of the justice or expediency of the movement—have shown themselves not wanting in spirit, by the prompt measures with which they responded to the boasts of the Chicago papers, when an armed band was sent along their very wharf, to hurl defiance in their faces.

Kansas City, a young town two miles below the line of K. T., is most advantageously located. Unlike all other towns on this river, it has a rocky shore. This makes the very best levee, never needing repairs, and never in danger of being swept away by the ever shifting current of the unstable stream. Building sites for warehouses to front on this levee sell for prices almost fabulous. A small house, called a hotel, was recently bought, "as a bargain," for \$15,000. The site for the future city, in the rear of the front row, appears to consist of only steep hills with deep ravines intervening, which can be made available for building purposes, only by an enormous expenditure in grading. Kansas City is the point of departure for the Santa Fe trade. Mustangs and "live" Mexicans with their slouched hats, unkept locks, and faces guileless of water for the entire trip at least, enliven the streets daily.

At Leavenworth City, one sees the only town of any business in K. T., and lying on the river, nothing but low, frail structures, which are evidently designed to be but temporary. These "shanties" are the scene of a large trade and of extraordinary activity, and will soon give place to edifices more suitable to an enterprising and thriving city.

After St. Louis, St. Joseph is far the most important place in the State. It is picturesquely situated at the upper extremity of a fertile river valley, many miles in extent, at the point where the valley and the rounded hills by which it is skirted, meet the river. The business portion of the town occupies the low ground along the banks. The residences, for the most part scattered over the declivities, and interspersed among groves of young trees, appear to the eye airy and cheerful in an unusual degree. This city has been built chiefly within the last seven years. Notwithstanding the unfortunate encroachments of the river, undermining and carrying off a greater part of two streets with the buildings that stood upon them, the place has already a population of nearly six thousand. A great portion of the overland emigration to California passes through this city. It is also the principal crossing place into K. T., for the Northern line of emigrants. Pork houses, steam flouring mills, and factories, cotton and woolen, are found here; and a large foundry is in full operation. The Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad is in progress, and in a year or two will bring St. Joseph within twelve hours of the Mississippi, and within two and a half days of New York. The completion of this work will give a fresh impulse to the growth of the city, and make it the great city of the Far West. As things now are, there is scarcely any place where business is so active, speculation so rife, winning and losing by wholesale so rapid, or excitement wrought up to such a degree of intensity, as here. The blood of St. Joseph is always up to fever heat, and is propelled by the throes of one mighty heart, every fibre of which is gold.

Nevertheless, it should be stated, as a fact highly creditable to that young community, that it is not more earnest about laying the foundations for future wealth and greatness than about those of religion and education.

The city has now five church edifices, and it is in contemplation to add three to the number within the present year.

There are also in the city three schools of a high order. Their efficiency and marked success, are due equally to the zeal and untiring energy of the teachers, and the spirit with which the parents overlook the education of their children. Within the space of little more than a week, five days were given to examinations, and five evenings to exhibitions in declamation, composition and music in these schools, yet every exercise to the last, was listened to by a crowded and deeply interested audience. The citizens of St. Joseph cannot overestimate the importance of the St. Joseph Male Academy as bearing on the training and character of its future population. This institution has, not long since, come under the control of Mr. E. B. Neely, equally known as a finished scholar, thorough teacher, and accomplished gentleman. The late annual examination of his students was throughout creditable to the institution. H. J. G.

KANSAS.

From Our Special Correspondent.

LAWRENCE, K. T., July 19, 1856.

I have just received a copy of the following publication. It had been posted up for a day or two in and about Independence and Westport. As I wish to preserve the specimen of poster typography brought to me, I attempt a pen etching *fac simile*:

"CITIZENS OF JACKSON COUNTY!—As one man in your might arise and say if Free Niggerism shall be any longer backed up to exclusive patronage and the formation of a weekly Black Mail Line from Independence to Lawrence, via Leavenworth City. The crisis has at last been forced upon us to purge our city and county of the clogs that entangle us with worse than Free Soil and Abolition thralldom, and let the beam be removed from among us ere we attempt to remove the mote from Kansas. Already the insulting threat has been made to "route" from our country those who have lately endeavored to remedy this evil and cure in our midst. It is now for you to determine how long the clogs shall last. Remember, too, that for a once loose and patiently endured has ceased to be a virtue. Meet, therefore, en masse, at the Court-House in Independence, on THURSDAY EVENING, the 17th inst., and execute your resolves to the letter.
"July 14, 1856. REGULATOR."

It must be confessed that the precise drift of this warlike document is wrapped in obscurity. The reader may guess what "Black Mail" means. "Black Mail Line" is, I confess, not quite so clear, and "Black Mail Line from Independence" to Lawrence, via Leavenworth City," is as incomprehensible as "Free Niggerism" being "backed up to exclusive patronage" thereabouts. I apprehend that "Regulators," big with a magnificent idea, in the effort "as one man in their might to arise," have not been very happy in its expression. There is one peculiarly refreshing point. It is scriptural, too, and it well carried out would be a good thing. I mean, to "let the beam be removed" from among us, ere we attempt to remove the "mote from Kansas." The idea is indeed excellent, although I scarcely looked for it from such a source.

We also learn that the crisis has been forced upon them at Independence. I thought the crisis had got here some time ago. In fact, it has been coming, or, like Punch's daughter, "coming to come" for some time; and amid such uncertainty, we are happy to have such positive assurance of its advent to Independence, even if it should have been forced upon them. It seems they have got something worse than Free Soil or Abolition thralldom in Independence, which I am inclined to believe. The sentence beginning, "Already the insulting threat has been made," is a masterpiece of ambiguity, which I recommend to President Pierce. Whether the curse alluded to means the "thralldom," or the "Black Mail," or the "Free Niggerism," is uncertain. I apprehend that the parties about to be "routed" (the orthography of their "route" is singularly happy and comprehensive) are the Simon-pure Border Ruffians, who have borne the burden and heat of the day in Kansas and elsewhere. That any self-righteous man, with a beam in his eye, should dare to call their gallant rascality in question, is certainly not to be borne, and that forbearance, long and patiently endured, should cease to be a virtue, is not to be wondered at.

As the meeting in question was to be on the night of the 17th, I had hoped to hear from it before the mail (the Black Mail, I suppose) went out, for, how ever stupid, these documents are generally the prelude to some grand piece of devilment; but up to the present writing I have no advices as to the resolves executed. If they are going to fight among themselves about Independence, I

they will have a good time, for if there are good men there, they ought to have shown their hands long ago.

I have just heard of another instance showing that "forbearance, long and patiently borne, has ceased to be a virtue." Col. Titus, the Florida worthy who keeps company with Gov. Shuason, distinguished himself yesterday by burning down a house, and taking possession of a claim. The whole affair was managed in the most gallant and chivalrous style. The claim belonged to a young man of Free-State principles; was a very good one, and only a short distance, a mile and a half, from Leocompton. The young man's name was Smith, and as he objected to the proceeding, the gallant Colonel, with his two assistants, administered a persuasive beating to inculcate resignation. The unfortunate youth was so short sighted as to appeal to Shannon. I have not heard that Executive interference or protest has been made, and do not expect to hear of any.

Whether in contemplation of the passage of the Douglas bill, or because they are after further mischief, some very large parties of the Southern braves have recently come into the Territory. In my last I mentioned that a camp of 240 of them were down some ten miles below Osawatimic on Middle Creek, their camp being a regular military operation. Beside these there is a party of eighty that have gone up on the Big Blue, forty miles above Fort Riley, and camped. Both of these parties pretend that they are going to locate towns; but they are armies regularly encamped to all intents and purposes, and as they have done some mischief already, and will, of course, do more, you may look for further incidents shortly. There is a pretty decided determination to give them "fits" the moment they make it perfectly justifiable by carrying on their outrages.

The Missouri River is still closely guarded by large armed bodies and artillery. A few single persons, who are discreet, and keep as close as an oyster, and are inclined to take what the gods send, get through; but all emigration is watched, and even single emigrants, known to be Free-State settlers bound for Kansas are apt to be sent back. Parties have gone up from Atchison, Kickapoo, Weston, and Platte City, to stop the Northern emigration through Iowa. They may find it a tough job, and may, haply, catch a Tartar.

Last night an expedition of some twenty-five of the boys went to the house of a Pro Slavery man named Hays. Some Sharp's rifles, taken at the sack of Lawrence, were known to have been there, and a young Free-State man was stopped, his horse and arms taken from him three or four days ago. It seems that they received intelligence of the expedition, for the young man's horse and the Sharp's rifles had been sent away. Fifteen of the Mississippi rifles and Bayonets were found, however, and as they had no business to be there, were taken. A party of Southerners had been there a few days ago, and fighting had been expected, but the Southerners had left, and there were only some half a dozen there.

Two of the young men who were disarmed by Col. Sumner succeeded in getting back three of the guns taken, their own private property. Col. Sumner was very reluctant, and expressed himself of the opinion that the "war was not over." However, as the young men talked of leaving the Territory, he gave them up the guns they claimed; one of them a globe-sight Sharp's rifle, owned by J. E. Cook, formerly of New-York. Cook was the leader of one of those companies, some weeks ago recalled and broken up.

Capt. Wood, of the army, sent two soldiers after Cook and his companion, and under pretense that Col. Sumner wanted to see them, deceived them to his, Capt. Wood's quarters, where he took occasion to abuse them, and when Mr. Cook replied, ordered him to be silent, in the most violent tone, and said if he spoke a word he would order him fifty lashes. Capt. Wood has acted in an unworthy manner in a great variety of instances.

THE NEW GOVERNOR OF KANSAS.—A large number of the citizens of Harrisburg, Pa., without distinction of party, immediately on hearing that Col. John W. Geary had been appointed Governor of Kansas, addressed him a complimentary letter, with the offer of a public dinner. In reply, however, he says he is anxious to proceed to the territory immediately, and therefore must decline to meet them at the festive board.

KANSAS CLOSED AGAINST FREE-STATE IMMIGRANTS.

Correspondence of The Alton (Illinois) Courier.

LAWRENCE, K. T., Thursday, July 10, 1856. Missouri has about the doors of Kansas, against the citizens of Illinois, as, indeed, against all citizens from Free States. The pretense to search for arms is made to screen piracy and highway robbery, and the Free-State immigrants, under the plea of working on "Squatter Sovereignty," are shut out from the public heritage. The right to bear arms is a great constitutional right; in Kansas it is also a great necessity. These thieves and murderers who pour over in armed bands to molest us, say we must be disarmed, and that Free-State settlers must not enter the Territory.

The following is the statement of one of the members of a party recently stopped while coming to Kansas:

STATEMENT OF JAMES B. BALDWIN.

The undersigned started in company with eight families from McLean County, Ill., for Kansas, on the 22d of last May. They proceeded on their journey unmolested, until within four miles of Platte City. While traveling on the State road there, on Tuesday, the 24th of June, this company was met by a large band of armed men, at least 150, who had guns and bayonets—United States arms. These men stopped the emigrants, and asked them where they were from and whither going. I said they were from Illinois and were going to Kansas. On this the captain of the company said: "I suppose you've heard 'tell that we don't allow any more to go through 'into the Territory,' to which witness answered that he had not. 'Yes,' replied several voices. 'We stop all.' They then said they would have to search if there were any arms on board. One man rose from a subject, when they told him he had better be quiet, and one man drew a revolver and told him he had better shut up." They then searched the wagons, rummaging every box and every corner, and threats and insults. After searching all the wagons once, they returned and searched them all a second time. Several articles disappeared in this process. One man says they took \$150 in gold from him. The wife of Mr. Dwyer had put \$1,500 in a curn and covered it with salt, and they did not find it. They professed to be searching for arms. They found a gun for most of the men who were with the emigrant train—these were mostly Western rifles and shot guns, being the guns they had when they lived in Illinois. All of these were taken. They then told the emigrants that they could not be permitted to go on, that they must not go into Kansas. Several men in the company who attacked them, and who appeared to be more decent, wished the emigrants to get back their guns as they were to be sent home to Illinois. Several speeches were made on it, when a vote was taken, and the large majority voted that they should have the guns. The leaders of the company, and influential men, were opposed to this, and overruled it, and the others yielded, when they determined the matter. Receipts were given for the guns as follows:

Received of _____ one long Western rifle, has been used, (here marks described) to be deposited with the County Clerk of Platte County, to be delivered at the end of the war."
These receipts were signed by two of the men, whom the others said were good, responsible men. During all this time men continued to arrive, and nearly two-thirds of all that came were armed with United States muskets and bayonets: all were well armed. Nearly five hundred got to the point of stoppage before three hours. Emigrants were told that they would be guarded back till they got out of the State. Some of the emigrants asked these men if they could not be allowed to stay there with their teams until the difficulties were settled, so that they could go over into the Territory. They replied that they could not, unless they would agree to settle permanently. If they would pledge themselves to stay in Platte County, and would buy farms, and conform to the institutions of the country, they could stay, in which case they would be taken care of. Not valuing the privilege highly, they declined. A guard of eight mounted and armed men escorted them back to Liberty, where they were delivered up to the leading men in the place, Judge Thompson being an active participant in this hospitable reception. They were here permitted to go out to the back of town where they could water their teams and feed grass for them. That afternoon the good folks about Liberty came out to them and told them that they were at liberty; that they could go where they pleased, provided that they did not go into the Territory, but would go back to Illinois. The truth was, they did not like the trouble and expense of escorting them clear across the State. Hopes to be able to make their escape, they stayed where they were for two days, when some that came out of Liberty, and assuring them they were their friends, advised them to start back for Illinois immediately; for if anything happened or deviation was done, they would be held responsible for it, and would be sure to get into trouble. The emigrants took up their line of march, and travel some ten miles back into Missouri. Here they rested, and are at present staying.
JOHN B. BALDWIN.

DONALDSON, as a reason for the order, remarked "that ROBINSON was a d—n sight more of a governor there in custody than SHANNON was out." Unwittingly DONALDSON here told the truth. It is true that the wishes of Gov. ROBINSON, if made known, would find a responsive chord in the hearts of three-fourths of the people of Kansas. It is equally true that the Kansas-Nebraska Bill so heartily indorsed by Mr. BUCHANAN and the Convention which nominated him, says "that it is the true intention and meaning of the Bill, to permit the people of the Territory to regulate their own institutions in their own way—subject only to the Constitution." It is also true that the people of Kansas did undertake to "regulate" their institutions in their own way, by the formation of a State government in opposition to the Territorial government which permitted the people of Missouri to regulate their institutions, and that for participation in these and other measures securing to the people the rights guaranteed by the Nebraska Bill, CHAS. ROBINSON and others are confined at Leocompton, under guard of United States Troops, awaiting trial for the crime of HIGH TREASON.

If the Nebraska bill was carried out in good faith, SHANNON and DONALDSON would be in custody, where they deserve to be, and the prisoners now confined would be at large, enjoying the liberty to which they are entitled.

This is one of the issues of the Presidential canvass. If BUCHANAN is elected, the people of Missouri will be sanctioned in their high handed and criminal course of regulating the institutions of Kansas—and CHARLES ROBINSON, G. W. SMITH, G. W. DEITZLER, GAINS JENKINS, H. H. WILLIAMS, JOHN BROWN, JR., and G. W. BROWN, the prisoners in camp who represent the "Squatters," and who have been guilty of nothing but the endeavor to have the settlers of Kansas regulate their own institutions according to the Nebraska bill, will be tried for high treason, condemned, and sentenced to be hung. None need regard this as improbable—the history of Kansas gives evidence of too many outrages committed in the name of law and order to permit the probability of this result to be treated with levity.

CAPT. SACKETT REFUSES TO OBEY.

When Capt. SACKETT received these orders from the Marshal, he informed him that he could not obey them, as he had different instructions from Col. SUMNER. It is said that Gov. SHANNON has written to Gen. SMITH, requesting him to give such instructions to the Captain as will accord with the wishes of the Marshal. Rumor reports Capt. SACKETT as saying: "If his instructions are such as to compel him to examine the correspondence received and sent by the prisoners, and act as a spy over them, the Marshal will have to get some one else to take charge of them." The Captain is disposed to extend to them every privilege his and their situation will allow. This does not suit the petty tyrants of Leocompton. Capt. SACKETT, unless he is willing to play the tyrant, will be removed—and the prisoners may yet be placed under charge of the cut-throat militia of Leocompton.

Marshal DONALDSON, to-day, if he chooses, can take the prisoners from the charge of the Dragoons, confine them where he pleases, chain them as JOHN BROWN, JR., and others were chained, and heap upon them all the cruelties suffered by BROWN and his companions in their march of twenty-five miles, all chained as they were, and driven on by the Dragoons. Is not Squatter Sovereignty beautiful to bear?

EXCITEMENT AT LEAVENWORTH.

There is great excitement at Leavenworth. A rumor reached that town yesterday stating that Col. LANE had crossed the Missouri somewhere between Council Bluffs and St. Joseph with six hundred armed men. The Regulators, on the reception of this news, were completely aroused and very valiant. Three public meetings were held in regard to it. It was decided, we learn, that Colonel LANE's men should be stopped, disarmed, and sent back. It is said that parties from Missouri have gone to intercept LANE. Leavenworth is under guard of these Regulators every night.

At Leavenworth, ever since the sack of Lawrence, a party of BROWN's men have been stationed. The funds collected for their support have become exhausted, and in consideration of this fact, in one of their public meetings of yesterday, they voted to sustain themselves by levying upon the Free-State men. Affairs look squally in that direction.

RESCUE OF A PRISONER.

Last Sunday a young man was arrested for the charge of horse-stealing, and taken to Franklin.

The Semi-Weekly Times.

NEW-YORK, TUESDAY, AUGUST 5, 1856.

Correspondence of the New-York Daily Times.

LAWRENCE, KANSAS, Wednesday, July 23, 1856.

Last Saturday Capt. SACKETT, who has command of the Dragoons guarding the prisoners at Leocompton, received orders from the United States Marshal DONALDSON, directing him to prevent visitors from entering the camp or holding communication of any kind with them. It is said that

On Monday evening, in company with another man, the Deputy Marshal started with the prisoner, for Leecompton. Hearing of this at Lawrence, two young men, within fifteen minutes of the time the prisoner passed the California road opposite the town, on horseback, started to rescue him. On they went fast—and faster—until they arrived within twenty yards of them on the Leecompton road. Drawing their revolvers, they cried to the officer, "Stop one moment if you please, Sir!" He stopped. They came up and demanded the prisoner in his charge. "Ahem, I—I reckon he can go if you want him," said the officer. "Come Charley," said the rescuers; but Charley would not come. He told them he was innocent of the charge; that he should have his examination to-morrow, and would then be set at liberty. The prisoner is quite a young man, and much respected by his associates. The horse said to have been stolen belonged to a Pro-Slavery man. When the rescuers returned to town, we asked one of them if he did not fear an arrest. He replied, "that they had already three writs out against him, and if they wished to serve them, they could come on." It will be hard for the Administration to *subdue* such a spirit.

MURDER.

On Monday a Mr. CHAPMAN, of this place, let to a Mr. WILSON, from South Carolina, a pair of horses and carriage to go to Leecompton. When he started to go, CHAPMAN put another passenger in with him. CHAPMAN's boy drove the horses. On the way up WILSON was very abusive to the boy and his fellow passenger. On their return, WILSON refused to pay all the money which he had agreed to pay CHAPMAN for the team, claiming that the man who was passenger with him should pay the balance. The next morning, just as WILSON, with his daughter, were about to get into the stage for Kansas City, CHAPMAN, with a club in his hand, came up and demanded the rest of the money, saying if he did not pay him that he would hit him. WILSON told him to go away, that he did not want to have any trouble with him. CHAPMAN followed him, and as he was stepping up to get into the stage, struck him on the head, directly over the ear with his club and then ran away. WILSON staggered and fell. He was taken up—his head, from which the blood flowed freely, bathed—after which, feeling capable, he proceeded on his journey to Kansas City. He died that night, a few moments after his arrival. This morning CHAPMAN was arrested. CHAPMAN was a member of the Territorial Legislature. He was elected by the Missourians on the 30th of March, 1855, as a member of the Council.

A NEW ENCAMPMENT.

A party of the Regulators are encamped at Hickory Point, twelve miles southeast of Lawrence. There is a paper town there, called Louisiana. They declare it as their intention to settle in, and build up that town. Since their arrival the neighbors have lost horses. The probabilities are that this encampment will break up in a hurry.

The Regulators of Westport have commenced robbing and plundering travelers again. We have heard of two or three instances of robbery within the past week. One person, whose wagon was loaded with flour and provisions, was robbed of his entire load.

THE BLACK LAW AND THE TOPEKA CONSTITUTION.

We notice that the colored people of Buffalo have, by resolution, denounced a Black-law provision in the Topeka Constitution and the members of the Convention for passing it. They also resolved, notwithstanding this provision, that they were in favor of admitting Kansas under that Constitution. We hate to damage such a fair prospect of magnanimity. No provision for the exclusion of free blacks exists in the Topeka Constitution. The Convention left it for the people to decide by vote whether they were favorable to such laws or not—this vote to act as instructions to the first Legislature.

Newark Daily Mercury.

TUESDAY MORNING, AUGUST 5, 1856.

Points in Congress.

While the new nomination for Governor of Kansas was under consideration in the Senate the other day, General Wilson expressed great surprise at the course the administration was pursuing in removing Governor Shannon, and asked to know what great sin he had committed. He said it was only last February that he presented Shannon to the Senate in the true light and

the administration Senators then pronounced him perfect. He was their idol. He (Wilson) wanted to know what had come over the spirit of the President's dreams to produce this wonderful change, and to recommend his removal. The Senate was convulsed with laughter, amid which Mr. Jones of Iowa remarked that the exposition of the Senator of Massachusetts relative to the official conduct of Shannon in Kansas was made in secret session, and of course the President could have no knowledge of the facts he presented, but has since ascertained from other sources that the Senator was correct.

Mr. Barksdale of Miss., in his fierce Democratic declamation on Friday night announced to the House that he was authorized to say, if Mr. Buchanan was elected President he would veto any bill which Congress might pass contemplating the restoration of the Missouri Compromise, or the principle which it recognized. There is a strong conviction prevailing that secret pledges have been given by or for Mr. Buchanan, to the South, covering, if possible, even larger concessions than those contained in the Cincinnati platform—which he adopted to the exclusion of any opinion of his own. They have him bound hand and foot, ready for any course which party necessity may demand.

It has been charged upon the Republicans, that, although denouncing the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, they still make no movement to restore it.—They have now, by a bill passed through the House, proposed to the Senate to make its restoration the basis of a settlement of existing difficulties. Let us see what response the Senate will make to the proposition.

Schuyler Colfax's Speech.

It is a strong indication of the interest taken in the exposure and punishment of the outrages by the spurious Legislature of Kansas, that half a million copies of Mr. Colfax's speech, on their pretended laws, have been printed and published. Demands are constantly made for more, and they come in so fast that the press of the Republican committee cannot supply them. The most important service rendered by Mr. Colfax in this admirable speech, is his exposure of the gross corruption of Leecompte, and of the immense Legislative bribes by which that person was induced to favor the enforcement, and decide in behalf of the validity of the alleged laws. The "laws" as set forth by Mr. Colfax, would, if carried out, make Leecompte one of the richest and most powerful men of the Union. He is made by them stockholder, director, and autocrat in four immense corporations, of which one is to have a capital of \$5,000,000, and is proprietor, by a pre-emption claim, of Leecompton, at which the capital was established. It will thus be seen that this immaculate jurist has an almost incalculable stake in the validity of the "laws," which enabled him to hang his opponents in politics and speculation, upon suspicion and the oaths of "border ruffians." This man will be impeached at the next session.—*Newark Mercury.*

American and Gazette.

PHILADELPHIA:

TUESDAY, AUGUST 5, 1856.

THE CHARGE OF SECTIONAL AGITATION.

To resist the scheme of introducing slavery into Kansas is looked upon (though by interested parties) as a signal instance of dangerous sectional agitation. There are those extremists, whose heated blood has mounted into their brain, and led them to declare that if such resistance prove effectual to defeat the scheme, then the South will be fully justified in repudiating the sacred vows and bonds of union. But we can clearly show to every unbiased mind, that the North have necessarily been driven to such resistance by the compromise repealers—the Kansas plotters; and that their course, in opposing the evil and faithless acts of those men, instead of being narrowly sectional, is broadly and beneficently national.

The action taken in the Brooks affair, by the different sections of the country, affords a strong illustration of the subject which we have in hand. His act was one, not only of immeasurable baseness and brutality towards an individual, but also of infinite wrong to the nation at large; a blow whose heavy concussion was deeply felt on one of the chiefest and tenderest vital organs of our constitutional liberty. The organs of speech and of sight, nay, the pulsating heart and respiring lungs, are not more important to the human body than is the unfettered, unrestricted freedom of debate in the halls of national legislation to the welfare

and the very life of our free republic. To speak of liberty, where this great right is destroyed, is to speak of a man's seeing when he has no eye, or of hearing when he has no ear. But in the embodiment of a Senator (whose person and representative character should be inviolable) it was struck down by a ruffian hand, upon the very floor of freedom's most hallowed sanctuary. It was a national wrong. The blow affected the rights of the South as well as of the North. Massachusetts could point to her prostrate, bleeding Senator, and say to South Carolina and Georgia, and to every State of this confederacy, "then you and I, and all of us fell down." For, if the principle be sanctioned or tolerated, the South might be struck down by the next blow of the sovereign bludgeon, even when most anxious to utter forth her voice. It was then the imperative duty of the South to disclaim this act, that otherwise "would teach bloody instructions, which being taught, might return to plague the inventors;" the guillotine employed upon others, might, with retributive justice, decapitate its very contriver and maker. But alas, the national wrong did not receive a national redress. The South, through its representatives, and public journals, and recently through the ballot box, crowning the base browed infamy with its brightest tiara; has acknowledged the authorship, the paternity of the deed, and claims it for its own. But the North, who immediately felt the blow through the stricken representative of one of her most illustrious States, asked the nation, asked Congress to do an act of justice upon the offender by expelling him from that seat which he had morally forfeited through his atrocious and parricidal act; and thus stamp the deed with a national condemnation. The South refused both, shielding the offender and applauding the offence. Here then, behold, there is a sectional issue; the South and the North stand arrayed against each other. But all sectionalism is to be suppressed. Therefore, (so jumps the nimble and supple party logic to its conclusion,) the North should stand mute with folded arms, and give up the sacred halls of national legislation to the dominion of Brooks and bludgeons, even unto to the end of time. To do or say aught for its own rights or the nation's honor, is to earn the character of sectionalists, agitators and incendiaries.

We have extended this illustration, because it so thoroughly exposes the charge of sectionalism made against the people of the North who condemn the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and oppose the whole Kansas plot, which introduced and followed that nefarious act. We have had occasion to show that there is no essential truth in the assertion that this repeal of the venerable compact was offered by the North as a boon to the South. Stephen A. Douglas and Franklin Pierce, with the connivance of Southern conspirators, offered it, not to the people of the South, but to the members of Congress from that section. Yet these men could have spurned the unauthorized boon. In behalf of the people of the South, who profess to be so punctilious in all matters of good faith, who have so often uttered the proud boast,

"Ne'er yet did base dishonor blur our name," they could have said to the tempters, "Though we should like to abrogate that old line of prohibition, yet, as it was established as a peace measure between the two sections of the country, we cannot do it, without the full consent of both parties. Through this proffered alliance, we have indeed the opportunity to seize on that broad empire of freedom, as the thief has the opportunity of plundering an unlocked store-house; but, to reach even a wished for end, we cannot trample down justice, honor and plighted faith; for, in doing so, we remove the solid foundations on which this fabric of constitutional government rests. We are willing to submit the momentous question to the whole people. Let them elect a Congress in particular reference to it; and, if then, North and South agree in abrogating, as long since they agreed in establishing, this compact of peace, we will have our desire, and the South will keep her fair fame untarnished by a blot." It is no more than justice to say, that large numbers of private citizens in that section, with a few distinguished members of Congress, actuated by a chivalric, generous feeling of nationality, gave utterance to these very sentiments; yea, went beyond this, and declared that the Missouri Compromise, having, in their judgment, become virtually part and parcel of the fundamental law on which our government reposed, it ought never to be repealed. But the whole delegation in Congress from the South, with these few exceptions, seized on the opportunity, before the people could interpose—before the North could get between them

and their purpose, and at once repealed that compromise which had stood unviolated for thirty-four years, nearly half the nation's life time. But, bold as they were, they yet masked and cloaked their design. They told the North that the repeal of the Compromise was but an abstract principle with them; and they would not take advantage of it to extend slavery into those free territories which it had gladdened. And so the wooden horse, with faucons on the outside, but filled with armed men, was borne within the citadel of freedom. But no sooner had they gained admittance, than they "cried havoc, and let slip the dogs of war."

The representatives of the South committed thus a great national wrong. The whole nation should have united together in repudiating it. While the stain was yet fresh, it might have been wiped out. To have done this would have been a noble exhibition of national virtue. If the people of the South had spurned from the national councils those agents of theirs who had perpetrated this unauthorized deed of wrong and infamy, and filled their dishonored seats with men who would have restored to the North those priceless treasures which had been so fraudulently and shamelessly snatched from them, they would have vindicated their honor before the nation and the world. The slime of those deeds would not have stuck to their hands. The rising winds of agitation would have been hushed and the angry billows have sunk again to rest. The bow of peace would have spanned our political arch. But the national wrong was left without national redress. The South did the very reverse of all this. They at once drove from the councils the noble, patriotic men, who, "faithful among the faithless," had stood up against a blind, infuriated multitude. They made the act their own. They gave it their highest sanction. It is no longer the act of mere individuals; the South as a section of the country, claims and endorses it. But the North, immediately wronged by this shameless violation of a mutual compact, which robbed them of what was doubly their own, and seeing in it, also, a deadly blow struck at the most vital American principles, at once set about repairing the wrong inflicted upon themselves and upon the nation. They discussed and canvassed the question. They repudiated, in the main, those faithless representatives who had voted for the measure. Pennsylvania spoke out in unmistakable terms, (though there are a very few voices among her representatives who now speak anything but an honest, manly, Pennsylvania language.) But they appealed to the noblest sentiments of the South, and besought the whole nation, in a spirit of true brotherhood, to come together and repair the national wrong. The South, however, clutches the treasures still, which she took from her fraudulent agents, and clutches them as with a dying grasp. She will not restore the abrogated compromise. She will have Kansas a slave State. She will carry her institutions into all that beautiful, boundless region, once marked out as the heritage of free labor and the happy abode of free men.

Here then, as in the instance of Brooks, is a sectional issue, as many are pleased to term it. And by an adroit change of characters that would do honor to the legerdemain of Signor Bliz, the South are the national party on this question, and the North are the sectionalists. This may be illustrated simply, but strongly, by a possible domestic occurrence. John awakes in the night, and, in a mischievous fit, braces his back against the wall, and putting his feet to the slumbering James, suddenly thrusts him out of bed upon the floor. The victim of the trick could not help himself. He was asleep. But imagining that he had a right to a portion of the couch, where his fond mother had deposited them both at the beginning of the night, he tried to recover his former position. John, however, who was aiming at the possession of the whole bed, opposed the attempt. It was a cold winter night, and James grew in earnest to recover his lost privileges, when, behold, John begins a rueful wail that resounds through the whole house, to the effect that his rest is disturbed, and he cannot be allowed to sleep. We can hardly imagine a grandmother old and foolish enough to look upon James as the agitator and disturber of the peace. But we have heard of such grandmothers in politics; that lift up their eyes and hands in holy horror, and denounce those people of the North who are seeking to be restored to the place and privileges from which they were so fraudulently and suddenly dispossessed, as the veriest sectionalists, agitators, incendiaries. We have smiles for a farce; but here is a tragedy that calls for quaking and tears. Inestimable rights, invaluable privileges, a vast

free empire, have been, by the basest frauds and wrongs, filched not only from the present North, but from all the generations of freemen who are yet to fill our republic. And yet the North, who are bound to act for themselves, and as guardians of that posterity, must fold their hands, and remain dumb, even beyond the faintest whisper, or be branded to the very bone as sectionalists. They not only believe, they know, that in striving to regain their stolen rights, they are also seeking the good and the glory of their whole nation, of their common country, and yet they are sectional agitators, who should be marked as enemies of our Constitution and Union. It is maintained by the real sectionalists, that through the Nebraska act, which repealed the Missouri Compromise and introduced the novel principle of squatter sovereignty, the people of the United States affirmed the doctrine that slavery had an equal right with freedom to all the wide national domain. The North point them to the manner in which that act was sprung upon the people of this part of the Union, to show that they had not the faintest opportunity to decide on the question, and propose to lay the whole subject before the whole people, North and South. But the very proposition calls down upon them a renewed torrent of all those hard names, "sectionalists, agitators, disturbers of the peace incendiaries," with what propriety, decency or justice, let every conscientious and candid person decide.

CITY AFFAIRS.

MEETING OF THE REPUBLICANS OF THE SEVENTH WARD.—Last evening a large and spirited meeting of the Republicans of the Seventh Ward, was held in the hall of the Washington Engine House, in Lombard street, above Tenth. Much enthusiasm prevailed, and the speakers were repeatedly interrupted by shouts of applause.

At 8 o'clock the meeting was organized by the selection of the following officers:

President—William D. Lewis.
Vice Presidents—William Watt and George Patchell.

Treasurer—Joseph Sherman.
Secretaries—David Wilson and William C. Graham.

Mr. Lewis, upon taking the chair, said—
I feel honored, gentlemen, in having been called to preside over this meeting. Assembled as we now are, to consult upon the great issues which agitate the nation, I ask to be indulged in making a few remarks, partly explanatory of my views of the present condition of political affairs and of the duties which that condition imposes on all good citizens, and partly in reference to my personal position.

Fellow citizens, while we are all believers in the doctrine of the most illustrious of the Southern statesmen, by whom we were so long governed, that the existence of human servitude among us is a great evil, we all advocate the observance of the Compromises of the Constitution, and speaking for myself, I feel that I speak for you all, when I say that, happy in our own exemption from the curse of slavery, not one of us would invade the rights guaranteed by the Constitution to slaveholders. Their right to hold slaves, with additional representation by virtue of holding them, was not only secured in certain localities by the Constitution, but at subsequent periods the people of the free States, for the sake of peace, and hoping thereby to perpetuate the Union under which we prospered, have, by certain legislative compromises, conceded to Southern threats and exactions a vast area of additional territory over which it was agreed that slavery might be extended.

To every measure of peace, including the legislation of 1850, I yielded a willing assent, and in the ratification of the latter compromises, here even took a public and prominent part. In so doing I acted, as I now do, under a solemn sense of duty. I claim no credit for having done so, and, perhaps, deserve less than most of you, having been born and nurtured in a slave State, and my early and most cherished associations having been with the people of the South, and to a certain extent, with some of her greatest statesmen. But the fogs of my birth place have not shut from my vision the blighting effects, both physical and moral, of the "peculiar institution" of the South, which, had I always remained there, they might have done.

Fellow citizens, what ground have the inhabitants of the free States received for all their sacrifices? Each concession has brought upon us a fresh demand, until at length our patience being exhausted, we find the great Republic on the verge of civil war. I need not recite to you the unholty proceedings by which, during the present mis-called Democratic administration, this calamitous state of things has been precipitated. The repeal of the Missouri Compromise; the invasion of Kansas by armed gangs of nomadic slaveholders, who, by force and fraud, by robbery, murder and arson, and with the aid of the army of the United States, are at this moment attempting to fasten slavery upon the resisting inhabitants; the brutal assault by a Southern member of Congress upon a Northern Senator in the very Senate chamber, and its approval by his constituents, signified by his unanimous re-election, and by nearly the whole South, as expressed by their

public organs, are facts well known to you. The worse than Vandal invasion of Kansas, if not repelled, will prove but the prelude to further encroachments upon more extended regions of country which had been solemnly dedicated to Freedom. These violent measures in behalf of slavery are all in the face of the decadence of our slave communities, and the unparalleled advancement in prosperity of the free States. Strange hallucination! The monstrous doctrine is even urged that no power exists to exclude the slaveholder and his bondmen from any portion of our country. Is it not time to exclaim, in the language of the Roman orator, "How long, O citizens, will you patiently submit to these usurpations?" For one I here openly avow that my soul is weary of them; that, speaking in the sincerity of a union loving citizen, I am not willing to submit any longer: that when the thirst of the Southern slaveholders for political power can only be slaked by making the free born white men as subservient to their behests as the blacks born in servitude and educated to blind obedience, I will use my feeble efforts to stay the march of these invaders of our rights and liberties. I beg it to be observed that I do not include in this class all the inhabitants of the South; I confine its application to that compact, intelligent, and unscrupulous minority who own slaves, and who, by virtue of the Constitution rule, through their property representation, the majority of their free white fellow citizens.

What then is to be done to save our country from disunion, or from evils even greater than disunion? That is the solemn question which we have now to consider. The hour approaches when we shall be called upon to act in the choice of another Chief Magistrate. Three candidates are presented to us for our support, all of whom can be personally known to but a very inconsiderable minority of those who must decide on their claims. Two of them are well known to me, and in their private characters I believe them irreproachable, while their public acts are well known to the country. But I cannot vote for either of those.

Mr. Buchanan, the ripe statesman, has adopted the Cincinnati platform in all its deformity, and feared to dilute, in his speech of acceptance, "lest he might disturb some of its planks." By that platform and the Ostend manifesto, which he signed, and the principles of which the platform adopts in artful phrases, he is pledged to buy or ravish the island of Cuba, and thus multiply our domestic troubles, and probably involve us in a foreign war; his platform denies to the general government the right "to commence and carry on a general system of public improvements," and denounces all efforts "to induce Congress to interfere with questions of slavery, or to take incipient steps in relation thereto." He is also pledged by it to continue the disastrous policy of President Pierce, in reference to the new territories, a policy in every sense sectional; nor is he sound on other subjects of vital importance to the national prosperity.

Mr. Fillmore, the amiable gentleman, and when in power, in some senses "the model President," has unfortunately committed himself to certain heresies, which are, in my judgment, repugnant to the Constitution of the United States, and subversive of the very foundations of our government; he is the candidate of the slave oligarchy; and his recent political discourses have had a tendency to foster and foment sectional antipathies; he is not committed against the Kansas outrages, nor have we any reasonable ground to believe that if elected he would repress them, and see justice done to the free settlers. How could he be so pledged, looking, as he must, for his chief support to those by whom these outrages have been instigated? Having served under him for three years, and our personal relations having been of the most agreeable nature, and cheerfully conceding to him many estimable traits of character, I do not withhold from him my support without pain.

But, under existing circumstances, it is my conscientious belief that the election of either Mr. Buchanan or Mr. Fillmore to the Presidency, would be most hazardous to the peace and union of these States. Such are my reasons, fellow citizens, for declining to give my support to either of my above-named friends. Are they sufficient?

The third candidate for our suffrages I have never seen, and, though of ample fame in other departments of knowledge and deeds, he has but few antecedents that identify him with statesmanship. Those few, however, were of the right kind; and the important measures inaugurated by him during his brief service in the Senate, his votes and his speeches, all marked him as the friend of freedom, and protector of the "Natural Capital" of the poor freeman, "LABOR."

I turn, then, from the two known statesmen, my personal friends, and shall give my support to the stranger. Wherefore? Because the crisis is too alarming for any good citizen to allow his private predilections to interfere with his public duty—because we do not vote for men, merely, but for principles—because the one paramount issue in the coming contest is: shall slavery be extended and perpetuated in regions now free? Shall the slave owners control all legislation among us? We answer both questions in the negative. And so does the stranger, called from the remotest and the youngest of our States, as the exponent of the doctrine we espouse—that human slavery shall proceed no further in our domain, and that white freemen shall no longer be exclusively governed by the coerced votes of slaves.

We have the distinctly enunciated pledge of the gentleman and soldier, John C. Fremont.

whom we mean to elevate to the Presidency of these United States, to the above effect; and, inasmuch as all of our future prosperity and honor depend upon the decision of this single issue, in accordance with our convictions, I am willing to keep every other issue in abeyance till this, the greatest of them all, involving indeed our national existence, shall be decided.

We are told that our party is sectional. What is the language of our candidate on this point? Listen to the closing phrase of his letter of acceptance.

"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."

Is there anything sectional in this? My friends, we know those who oppose us to be altogether sectional in their views, seeking to promote the extension of ultra Southern policy and power. We oppose their views. We desire to govern the whole country justly, so that every part of it may prosper, and that our glorious flag may wave forever in peace, the symbol of Union and of protection over us and our descendants. These objects we are sure would be promoted by the election to the Presidency of Col. Fremont.

Neither must we, in contemplating the magnitude of the first office in the Republic, lose sight of the importance of having a suitable occupant of the second, the incumbent of which has, on two occasions in our history, been called by Providence to discharge the duties of President.

Fortunately, in Wm. L. Dayton, of New Jersey, we have a candidate for Vice President of a standard fully equal to all the requirements or contingencies of the post. He is our neighbor; we all know him to be experienced in the duties of public life; an upright judge, and able legislator; sound in morals and in political principles, especially in the great principle for which we now contend; firm in purpose, of good judgment and of pure heart. I will not waste my time nor yours in eulogizing him.

Let us, then, fellow citizens, go to work at once, and heartily, like men who have before them the noble task of redeeming their country from misrule, and placing its free institutions beyond future dangers.

The Hon. Charles Gilpin said, I arise to address you with some hesitation and diffidence, because I follow an address, better than which I never heard; a more eloquent, more urgent, more impressive, or more beautiful in delivery, I have never listened to. I arise somewhat abashed when I know my efforts will fall so far short of those which were made by the intelligent gentleman who has just taken his seat.

The speaker then continued:—I advocate the election of J. C. Fremont to the Presidency, and propose to state the reasons why. The candidates in the field are Fremont, Buchanan and Fillmore. Buchanan stands on the Cincinnati platform; he will not, he says, add to or take from it a single plank; he promises to carry out the practices of Franklin Pierce, which have been slavery extension, and adopts the policy of Senator Douglas. I cannot stand on that platform, I do not approve of the acts of the present administration on this subject, and I condemn the policy and political theories of Senator Douglas as unsound under the Constitution, injurious to the present and future prosperity of the country, and threatening to the stability of the Union itself. I cannot, therefore, however much I may admire Mr. Buchanan, support him for the Presidency of the United States.

I have but a word to say of Mr. Fillmore. Besides some other reasons, I do not find the platform on which he stands any more consonant with my feelings or my judgment than that made at Cincinnati. He is now advocated by his friends at the North as opposed, somewhat opposed, how much I cannot say, to slavery prolegandism, and by his friends at the South as occupying the same relation to that question that Mr. Buchanan does. He appears in a double aspect before the country. As he is presented at the North, he does not stand firm enough for me against the aggression of slave power and slavery extension; as he is advocated at the South, he is equally objectionable with Mr. Buchanan. I cannot, therefore, support Mr. Fillmore. It is alleged, and by some believed, that Mr. Buchanan, if elected, will not follow in the footsteps of President Pierce, or countenance the destructive theories of Senator Douglas. I am bound to believe, regarding him as an honorable man, that he means what he has said, and intends to sustain the platform which has been made for him, and to carry out what Senator Douglas, aided by Southern friends, has projected, and what President Pierce has been endeavoring to carry out most unrighteously with the military arm of the federal government.

It remains for me, therefore, either to be a silent and inactive spectator of the canvass, or to support Col. Fremont. I adopt the latter course, and though silent heretofore, I now appear here to avow my purpose, and to assign my reasons.

I believe Congress has the power to legislate for the Territories, and to determine whether slavery shall or shall not exist in them. It is my opinion that the clause in the Constitution of the United States, which says, "Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory and other property belonging to the United States," gives this power of legislation to Congress.

In regard to Territory, a government that owns it, as the United States did the territory of Kansas and Nebraska, has two distinct rights—the one of eminent domain, and the other of soil. As long as it was unsettled no one questioned the right of eminent domain—the settlement of it and the sale of the soil does not carry with it any cession of the right of eminent domain—that can only be lost by the express grant of the government, and is never entirely lost until a republican state is formed and admitted into the Union, or the right of eminent domain is granted to a foreign power.

This is the fair construction of this clause of our Constitution; until later times, when the violent agitation of Slavery Extension, became universal at the South among ambitious politicians, such was the construction put on it and acted on, as our history shows.

The ordinance of 1787, passed before the Constitution, under the confederation, shows that the received opinion was, that the States had that power over their Territory. Some few only, and of later day only, have questioned the right of Congress under the confederation, to legislate for the States on this head; the States had not then ceded their Territory, to the general government; but no one has questioned, as far as I have ever read, the existence of the right, either in the individual States owning the territory at the time, or in the Congress under the Confederation. The right of legislation is unquestionable, the doubt suggested has been only where that right was—whether in the individual State or the general government.

After the adoption of the Constitution, with the clause I have quoted, one of the first acts of the new government or new form of government was to confirm the ordinance of 1787. The preamble recites the necessity, owing to the change of the form of government, to adapt the ordinance of 1787 to the new form of government. Here is an early opinion of its validity, in 1793:

In 1804, after the purchase of Louisiana from France, (which purchase I believe covers Kansas and Nebraska.) Congress organized out of it Orleans Territory. The Constitution restrained Congress from prohibiting the "migration or importation of such persons as any of the States then existing thought proper to admit," before the year 1808. Yet, in this act creating Orleans Territory, where slavery was a domestic institution then, Congress prohibited the importation of slaves from without the United States into the Territory, and also prohibited the importation into it of any slaves from any part of the United States that had been brought into the United States after the year 1798. At this time (1804) I believe South Carolina and Georgia were the only States which allowed the importation of slaves from abroad. All the other States, slave as well as free, had by legislation, expressly prohibited such importation, and Congress had by more than one enactment, confirmed the State legislation, and strengthened the hands of the States enforcing such prohibition.

The act admitting Missouri is another instance, and the Texas revolution another, all showing the contemporaneous construction of this clause in the Constitution.

I have given you my opinion of this clause in the Constitution, and cited to you these cases, which might be multiplied, to show that this opinion is sustained by the federal legislation down to quite a recent period. Entertaining this opinion, I cannot give my vote for any man who entertains the opposite opinion, and announcing a determination to carry out a theory so fruitful already of disaster and suffering, so promotive of civil warfare, and so threatening to our Union. I am an admirer and lover of that Union for the prosperity it has brought and will still bring, if fairly and honestly carried out, giving to every State and part the benefit of its constitutional guarantees, and promptly checking all dangerous innovations and aggressions.

Again, the Kansas-Nebraska act of 1854 does not in terms deny the existence of this power in Congress; but the passage of this act is justified in argument by the denial of its existence. Believing in the existence of the former, I must ever condemn this act repealing the Missouri Compromise, and substituting the doctrine of squatter sovereignty—a doctrine intended to amuse the people with the idea of popular sovereignty, which never was intended to be allowed them, has not been allowed them, and will not be allowed them—intended to deceive them, and by fraud, if practicable, and if not, by force, to extend the area of slavery, and fasten it on the hitherto free territory of the great West.

Squatter sovereignty, as established or announced by that act, has two phases, according to the opinions of the leaders of the party that passed it. The squatter sovereignty, if I have read and understood aright, of Senator Cass, differs materially from the squatter sovereignty of Senator Douglas. The former concedes to the people of the Territory the right to interdict slavery by Territorial legislation under the Kansas Nebraska act; the squatter sovereignty of Senator Douglas denies such right to the people, and postpones the determination of the question until the people meet, and act, preparatory to admission into the Union; leaving the whole Territory in the meantime a helpless prey to slavery and its evils. However objectionable in the former view squatter sovereignty is, based on the denial of a power which I conceive Congress possesses, under the latter view it can be compared, in its pretended concessions to popular sovereignty, to nothing better than the gift of the Greeks, carry-

ing in its bosom a doctrine which is paralyzing to the people, and infuses a poison into their social and domestic relations which they have no power to eradicate, even if a majority desire to do so, until the period of application and admission into the Union arrives. Viewed, therefore, as interpreted by Senator Douglas, and regarded as it must be by Mr. Buchanan, if he is to follow his lead and President Pierce's footsteps—the Kansas Nebraska act and squatter sovereignty are not only willful violation of pledged pledges, but a Pandora's box, discharging the whole national body politic.

What renders the avowal of such doctrine in support of the Kansas Nebraska act still more inexcusable in the party supporting it, is the total abandonment of it in the Senate in the bill offered by Senator Toombs, showing that there was no honesty in its assertion, but an effort to propagate and extend slavery.

I have the honor to address citizens of the Seventh Ward who support the election of Fremont and Dayton. Fremont and Dayton were nominated in this city by a Convention of the Republican party. The name is a fair name, and its antecedents are good; some of the saints of the present Democratic calendar came into power under the republican name and banner before Democracy had given its name to a party. But some of its opponents, in the spirit and with the slang which often disgraces virulent party warfare, attempt to discredit it by styling it the Black Republican party. I never knew any thing to be gained by such petty and spiteful slings, and am sorry to see the spirit indulged by some who have grown old in profitable public service.

I have made many speeches when opposed to my Democratic friends of this city, but I never considered it good policy or good taste to speak of them as Locofocos, but left them to be judged by their policy and their acts. I never have in political life, nor will I now bandy hard names or hard words, nor will I play the child's game of mouth-making or nicknames.

Freedom, until recently, has been considered in these United States national, and slavery sectional. Such has been and is my opinion still, under the Constitution of the United States. The Republican party seek to preserve this doctrine, and to check the attempt to reverse it, making slavery national and freedom sectional and subservient to it. I maintain the former doctrine, and am ready to stand by it. I deny that, in doing so, I support a sectional issue or party; I assert that I advocate a national issue and a national party—a principle never doubted till quite recently.

The cant phrase employed most by demagogues, now a days, is, I know no North, no South, no East, no West; it is used without rhyme or reason, until it is fairly worn out and has become extremely unmeaning.

We all know that there is a North, a South, an East, and a West, and we all admit them to equal rights under the Constitution. We know there is a Pennsylvania and a Maryland, a Maine and a Texas, and we respect their rights under the Constitution alike. I think I know what Pennsylvania reserved and what she conceded in the Union under the Constitution, and what Maryland reserved and conceded. Knowing it, I intend to sustain these reservations and concessions, whether of the free or the slave State. I intend to stand by their constitutional guarantees under all circumstances, and to make open resistance to attempted aggressions or intrusions of them, come from what quarter or in what manner they may.

Mr. Nichols, of Kansas, next addressed the meeting. He made a most eloquent and impressive speech. He portrayed, in glowing terms, the terrible state of affairs which exist in that territory, and the outrages and enormities perpetrated upon the freemen who have settled there.

At the conclusion of the meeting, a Fremont and Dayton Club was organized; officers elected, and a constitution and by-laws adopted for its government.

The meeting then adjourned.

THE TRANQUILITY OF KANSAS.—A man named A. J. Pearce, has just returned from Leavenworth, Kansas, wither he went with a few friends merely to visit the territory, without intending to remain. He was from the neighborhood of Pittsburg, and on reaching Leavenworth was accosted by a band of armed invaders from the slave States, who demanded his name, and what State he came from. When he answered that he was from Pennsylvania, they ordered him to leave the territory. He urged that he was no abolitionist, and merely wished to see the country, but was nevertheless obliged to leave on penalty of personal violence. This sort of thing has now been continued openly for several months past, and yet the United States military authorities make no move to afford protection to emigrants.

TUESDAY MORNING, AUGUST 5, 1856.

Kansas as Seen by a Lancasterian.

We have been permitted to publish the following extract of a letter from a well known and much esteemed citizen of this city, now sojourning in the West, who has visited Kansas and spent, we believe, several months in that territory. Before going West, the writer was rather pro-slavery in his views, but the facts and scenes that have come to his knowledge since he left here, seem to have entirely changed his views, and he now as strongly denounces the Kansas outrages and iniquities as Reeder, Roberts, Pomeroy and others who have tasted the bitter fruits of Slavery propagandism under the flag of our country, with government bullets, bayonets and soldiers. Let this letter be widely circulated, as one coming from a reliable source—a native and highly esteemed citizen of Lancaster.

The letter is dated at Davenport, Iowa, July 28, 1856.

"Kansas is a beautiful country, in point of the gift of nature, but socially and morally in a most deplorable condition. It is shameful the manner in which Northern men are imposed upon there, and they have no protection, no redress from insult and oppression.

At Leavenworth city and the towns on the river, the border ruffians lounge about the wharves, armed most conspicuously and insulting every Northern man they meet. Every one who lands from a boat is stopped and interrogated as to where he came from, what his business is, and if he came from a free State is either maltreated or overpowered and compelled to return and not permitted to remain on shore. Boxes and packages landed, are broken open, under the pretence of searching for fire-arms. The gentlemen Southerners, those who pass for gentlemen at home, stand back and urge on the border ruffians to do the work for them.— And yet in the face of all this, Governor Shannon went down to St. Louis before we arrived there and proclaimed that the troubles in the Territory were all over, that order was restored, that he had disarmed all the people in the Territory, on both sides, North and South, and intended to do so in future. A most glaring falsehood. Governor Shannon is no better than a border ruffian himself, President Pierce ditto, the former is the tool of the latter and they both merit hanging for treason.

It would not be surprising in the least, were the North to rise in rebellion and proclaim civil war, to see the manner in which peaceable, unoffending citizens are shot down in Kansas, by the United States troops, for presuming to defend themselves and property. It has been the boast of our countrymen in years past, that the American flag is a protection to an American citizen in any part of the world. Such cannot be said now, even in our own Territory. The Stars and Stripes instead of being the shield from danger are now the signal of persecution and oppression to the American citizen on his own soil. I hope that the Northern people will rise in a mass next fall and manifest at the polls their most emphatic condemnation of the iniquitous course of the present corrupt and imbecile government, and substitute one devoted to freedom, no more slavery propagandism, border ruffianism and Southern aggression. As for Buchanan, he is not one whit better than Pierce. He has sold himself to the South, as a bid for the Presidency, and has pledged himself to the same course which Pierce has acted out, and no American citizen can expect the present evils which endanger the stability of the Union may be expected from his administration.

Major Buford.

It appears from the St. Louis News, that this 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 Commercial.

WILMINGTON, N. C.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 5, 1856

KANSAS.

A powerful appeal is made by the law and order party of Kansas territory to their friends in the South, and to the law-abiding people of the Union. The voice of the country and the aid of the government is needed in behalf of these people, among whom the Black Republicans have secret military organizations for carrying out their Abolition designs upon Kansas. We have space only for an extract from this document; but we place enough before our readers to satisfy them of the deep wrong the South is suffering through their friends in the new territory.

THE MERCURY

BY BRANT & TABLE.

CHARLESTON

Tuesday Morning, August 5, 1856.

The Issue.

During the recent debate in the House of Representatives, on the Army Appropriation Bill, the following amendment, offered by Mr. BARBOUR, of Indiana, was, after a spirited discussion, passed by a vote of 72 to 57:

"But Congress hereby disapproving 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 those 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 laws, 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 those provisions, to act as a part of the posse comitatus of an officer, acting as a marshal or sheriff in said Territory. Said laws, and every part and parcel thereof, being hereby declared null and void."

Mr. STEPHENS, of Georgia, said:

"I move to amend the amendment by striking out the words 'alleged laws.' I am opposed to this amendment offered by the gentleman from Indiana, and I voted against its being admitted as in order. I do not think that we have the power to control the Executive in the disposition which he can make of the military forces of the country. Hence, I did not think that the amendment was in order as an amendment to this bill; and, if a bill were introduced into this House, having a similar object with that attempted in this one, I should vote against it upon the same grounds. The President is the commander-in-chief of the Army. We can withhold supplies, it is true, but we cannot grant supplies upon the condition that he will use the forces as we please. This would make Congress, in effect, the commander-in-chief. For these general reasons, I am opposed to the amendment offered, so far as it relates to any control it may look to over the army of the United States of the Territory of Kansas. I will, however, take this occasion to say that I wish the President would remove the army from that Territory. I do not want an army there. I do not believe that the liberties of the country can long be maintained, when the laws of any portion of the country are to be enforced by a standing army. If, therefore, my opinion could have any influence with the President, he would remove the troops from that Territory entirely."

Mr. GIDDINGS said:

"This is a question which has been precipitated upon us rather unexpectedly. It is the great question of this Congress, and of this age, whether Congress, after pledging itself that the people of Kansas should be perfectly free to form their own institutions, will allow invaders from Missouri to go in there and usurp the power of making a Legislature without giving the people of Kansas an opportunity of being heard, and of giving their own voice upon the question. The gentleman from Georgia [Mr. Stephens] says that the enactments of these Missourians are the laws of Kansas. In that I take issue with the gentleman from Georgia, and say that they are not. The people of that Territory have not had a voice in the enactment of those laws. The gentleman says the people have the right of self-

government. They have; and that is the very reason why I stand here and deny the right of four thousand nine hundred men to invade Kansas, drive her inhabitants from the polls, and elect Missourians to a Legislature which enacts laws for Kansas. He says the people shall be governed by those laws, and that the President should have the power of commanding the army of the United States to enforce obedience to those laws. I think the Legislature was a usurpation, and I deny that such a despotism is to be enforced upon the people of Kansas Territory or of any other Territory.

"Now, we meet the question right here. Not only are there no laws, but they are worse than laws; and when the President sends an army there to enforce those laws, he sends an army there to repeal the organic law of the Territory, by which the people thereof are to be left perfectly free to mould their institutions according to their own will. Is the President, then, to be permitted to command the army there to enforce obedience to these laws? That is the vote we are to take. I stand now, as I have stood at all times and everywhere, as the advocate of the people's rights, and against this usurpation. I am willing that this army shall be withdrawn. I have not time now to go into an examination of the transactions of that army. It has been employed there to disperse the Legislature of Kansas, while it was recently in session in its own halls—sitting without disorder and without doing violence to any human being. That Legislature was turned away from its business by this army. Now, that is an outrage in this republican Government. It is a despotism such as was never known in this country until the present year, and such, I think, as will never be known again. I therefore vote against the proposal of the gentleman from Georgia to amend the amendment. Let the amendment stand as it is. I want to have the privilege of recording my name on the Journal of the House in favor of the amendment as it stands.

"Mr. STEPHENS withdrew his amendment to the amendment.

"Mr. Whitfield I move to amend the amendment by striking out the word 'Kansas' and inserting in lieu thereof the word 'Nebraska.' I desire to say that, for once in my life, I am able to agree in part with the gentleman from Ohio who has just taken his seat. [Mr. Giddings.] There is no remark made here which has my more hearty approbation than that in favor of withdrawing the army from Kansas. It is known that for some time I have been anxious to offer a resolution which I have now in my drawer, asking the President to withdraw the army from Kansas. We want no army in Kansas. Laws which cannot be sustained by the people of the Territory are worse than no laws; and whenever the people of the Territory will not sustain certain laws those laws will be put down. We want no army there. We have the constitutional mode of settling the question. As to the right of Congress to revise or repeal the laws of the Territory, I deny in toto the existence of such right. There is a higher tribunal than Congress; and before we submit to the decision of Congress we must have the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States. If that court declare laws of the Territory unconstitutional, of course we are ready to submit to that decision. But we must have that decision before we submit to the declaration of Congress.

"As I remarked before, I would not give you a farthing for laws which will not be sustained by the action of the people. So far as the territorial acts of Kansas are concerned, we are willing to rest the whole question on the people inside of Kansas, and not on those outside."

Mr. QUITMAN, after expressing similar views with Mr. STEPHENS, concluded:

"For myself, I agree with my honorable friend from Kansas. I care not if all the Federal troops are withdrawn from that Territory. I wish to see the popular will carried into execution in that Territory without the use of arms."

Two facts are evident in the adoption of this amendment: first, that the Free-soilers in the House are determined to bully the South into their measures as to Kansas, or defeat the appropriations. Secondly, that they do not desire peace in Kansas, but blood and revolution. Calculating on the timidity of Southern Representatives, and their blind love for the Union, they expect to accomplish the first object. Presuming upon the submission of the Southern people, they hold up the threat of revolution, to frighten us from the defence of our rights in Kansas. If the Army Appropriation Bill passes, it will be with amendments that abolitionize Kansas. If it is defeated, the Government is left defenceless.

Abolition in Kansas, or the beggary of the Government—Southern Rights, or Revolution—is now the issue which a Free-soil House of Representatives offers to the South. Rather than beggar the Government, Southern Representatives are expected to sacrifice the rights of the South in Kansas, and to consent to the abolition of slavery in that Territory.

So far as the House of Representatives is concerned, it is a one-sided game. The Free-soilers have the majority, and can pass the Appropriation Bills with whatever amendments they please. The final struggle will be in the Senate, who will have

to decide between the bills and the Abolition amendments—between acquiescence in the action of the House and the defeat of the Appropriations. What will be the course of Southern Senators in the presence of such an issue? Will they meet the responsibility which Abolition forces upon them, or, for the sake of peace and the safety of the Government, consent to the overthrow and dishonor of their section? They must choose between treachery and fidelity to the South. We trust that there will be no wavering now, when, after long and repeated submissions on the part of the South, Abolitionism, swollen with the insolence of past impunity and triumphs, and marshalling its hosts from Maine to Iowa, sweeps onward to the destruction of the South. We hope that our sentinels in Washington will keep bright watch in the coming night, and, with a spirit kindling to the crisis, present an unyielding front to the onset. Let the Government perish, but let the South be preserved.

But Free-soilism in Congress not only stakes the existence of the Government upon the success of its policy, but, by the withdrawal of the Federal troops from Kansas, proclaims civil war. The North desires to submit to the test of arms the decision of the Kansas question. How do Southern Representatives respond to this invitation? Mr. STEPHENS and Gen. QUITMAN openly say that, they desire "the troops to be withdrawn," and Mr. WHITFIELD says: "We want no army in Kansas." Yet, both Messrs. STEPHENS and QUITMAN object, on constitutional grounds, to the amendment, and, very likely, the ground is well taken. But wherefore should Southern men be perpetually appealing to the Constitution, when they know that it is a dead and worthless enactment? What measure of aggression, of usurpation, or of plunder, do its weak arms avail to check? Why then should Southern men, when defiantly challenged to the issue—an issue which no compromise or constitutional plea can evade—an issue which every impulse of manhood, and patriotism, and safety, too, should hasten—why should they hold up, with impotent hands, the shattered shield? Is it new to them that the plans of Abolition are hostile to the Constitution? Do they expect to state off the contest by appeals to its protection? Admit that the proposition is unconstitutional—admit that it involves civil war and revolution. The North invites it, and with her rests the responsibility. The troops in Kansas have patched up a temporary peace in Kansas at the expense of the South. They have chilled the spirit of her gallant sons who went forth, willing to do and die in her behalf. They nipped in the bud Southern predominance in that Territory, and sheltered the Abolitionists from the storm they had invited and provoked. Let them be withdrawn, and the hands of Southern men be set free to meet and defy their enemies.

for Union, and the supplies are threatened to add fuel to the declining enthusiasm. The proposition is so senseless, so improbable of execution, that it affords matter for the highest astonishment, that any one who, has any respect for his reputation should treat it seriously. Have those who talk of this threat of faction ever considered the consequences of such an act? Have they taken into account the serious responsibility that such representative, would assume who should vote for such a measure?

It is not reasonable to suppose, that even the members of Congress, who are members of the Black Republican order, have no power to comprehend the results to the commerce, the business, and the monetary transactions of the country, of stopping the supplies of the general government. Nor can it for a moment be imagined that they are so willing to meet the fate of martyrdom, as actually to resort to a measure so certain to convulse the financial affairs of the country, and bring the condemnation of the whole people upon their heads.

Any one at all acquainted with the course of trade and the business, both commercial and financial of the nation pertinently says the National Intelligencer, may form some idea of the result upon the community, without any distinction as to station, profession, or trade. The mere accumulation of coin in the subtreasury, without any corresponding disbursements, would in less than three months break every bank between Washington and Eastport but not before those institutions, in efforts to save themselves by rapid curtailments, had spread ruin and bankruptcy throughout the financial and commercial community, under the pressure and the general distress which would ensue. The immense mass of stocks of every description that is held in the country would be depreciated to the extent of \$200,000,000 or \$300,000,000. Real estate would decline to a still further extent, and all species of both foreign and domestic productions would suffer in like form to a greater or less extent.

No men or set of men of party, however numerous, who would assume the responsibility, could stand before such an outbreak of indignation as would follow under such circumstances, but they would be crushed out of political existence without the most remote hope of ever again resuscitating. If such an experiment is ever tried in this country it will never be repeated, under the fearful results that would follow to the authors, abettors, or aiders of the measure. We already have sufficient trouble on hand without adding such a load as this would be to the burden.

We hope the Courier and even Senator Benjamin will not attempt again to terrify the honest folks of Louisiana, by announcing that "rebellion is absolutely begun," or leaving us to suppose that any representatives in Congress will attempt to disband the government and derange the present affairs of the whole country. It is a mere political 'trick,' and one which is of good omen to the South as it shows the despair of success of the party of sectionalism.

The plan design of this movement is to set aside the regular action of the judiciary, and force the consent of the Senate and President to the usurpation of high judicial and executive functions, by a single House of Congress.

The question whether laws passed by the National Legislature are constitutional and valid is plainly a judicial question. Congress, in attempting to decide it, would be taking upon itself a function which the constitution particularly and jealously confides to the courts. It is their especial province to decide, upon a case made, whether any of these local laws complained of so strongly are against the organic law of the Territory, or otherwise invalid. Congress, indeed, by a majority of both houses, with the approval of the President, may repeal laws; but Congress, in all its branches united, cannot authorize the Executive to disregard a law, or direct him to abstain from executing it. When the House of Representatives, therefore, makes it a condition that the President shall not execute a law which is unenforced on the statute book, and which no judicial inquiry or decision has pronounced to be invalid—the condition, even if the Senate should concur, is of no obligatory force. Congress cannot authorize, much less command, the President not to execute a law; and if, not repealing it, they deprive him, in detail, of the means to do so, they arrive at an unconstitutional object by indirect means, which are not the less to be reprehended that they are cowardly in spirit as well as revolutionary in intent.

The House majority does not, however, expect the assent of the Senate to its proposition. If it did, the extraordinary step it has taken would be a piece of superfluous extravagance. The two Houses can make and unmake laws, and the President must execute the laws they make. It is because the Senate is known to have a repugnance to the anarchy to which the House desires to give sanction and immunity, that the House disregards the regular forms of legislation, and tries the extreme coercive measure at once. These men want the existing organization in Kansas abolished, or treated as null, that the inevitable consequence may follow, that the disorderly assemblages which they patronize as the people of Kansas, and the abolition document emanating from them, as a constitution, may have the advantage before Congress and the people, of being cleansed of the stain of their lawless and insurrectionary origin. The Senate will not consent to this, and they will not go to the Judiciary. Their audacious scheme is, therefore, to force an apparent endorsement by employing the power over the appropriation bills, and threatening the whole Government with a paralysis of its functions. This is to be done, as to the army, by the amendment adopted on the 28th to the appropriation bill, and we see that the same process is to be applied to the civil and diplomatic bill. The mover gave notice that he should, when that bill comes up, propose amendments to that bill, restraining the power of the Territorial authorities over the citizens of the Territory, and denying them the civil assistance of the posse-comitatus to help them to enforce the laws.

This is another step in the march of disorder. The threat of the authors of these bills is that the Senate must agree to these propositions, must annul laws, supersede the Executive, and abolish all government in Kansas by indirection, or the whole machinery of the Government shall stop for want of pay. There shall be no appropriations for the army or for the civil service of the Government; there shall be anarchy and chaos, if laws be not set aside, courts contemned, and the Senate and the Executive expunged from the law-making power, in order to effect the prohibition of slavery in Kansas by the power of Congress.

Faction is raging wildly, and its votaries rush into the most extravagant excesses in the fancied security that they control, by the power of prejudice and fanaticism, the votes of the non-slaveholding States, which are in the majority, and have the power, if united on this sectional basis, to dictate the policy and control the destinies of the Union.

But such madness has its compensating results, in developing the utter lawlessness of the jubilant faction, and in warning moderate men of the reckless road to ruin into which the country is about to be hurried by these desperate malcontents.

The Senate will, we do not doubt, stand firm, and we shall then see, and the country will then mark, who are the men who will dare to put the whole political and social fabric to such a shock, on such pretences.

The Daily Creole.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 5, 1856.

Stopping the Supplies.

Extreme measures indicate great weakness. The desperate gambler hazards all, in the light of his desperation, on a single turn of the die. The politician, when he despairs of the success of his cause by the honest expression of the popular will, resorts to expedients and tricks, and even at the expense of judgment and reason, hazards the public weal for the triumph of his party.

The proposition which has lately been made, of stopping the supplies of the Government, until Kansas was admitted a Free State, is one of those unmistakable evidences of the weakness of the faction, now preaching disunion to drive those whom they cannot lead. If there was in the minds of the leaders of the Republican party a reasonable prospect of the election of Fremont, this measure would not have been suggested. It can be a matter of little consequence to them whether Kansas is a Free State now or in six months hence, if the people indicate that they will give a voice next November for such an end of the controversy.

There must be agitation to keep up the declining cause of sectionalism. The reaction is already felt against it; the sober second thought of the North

The Daily Picayune.

LUMSDEN, KENDALL & CO.

F. A. LUMSDEN, GEO. WILKINS KENDALL, A. M. HOLBROOK,

TUESDAY MORNING, AUG. 5, 1856.

FACTION IN CONGRESS.

Black Republicanism and its allies in Congress are carrying out their plans with regard to Kansas with a high hand. We have now the record of the proceedings of the 28th ult., when they voted, in Committee of the Whole, to engraft their peculiar notions on the Army appropriation bill, and make an issue with the Senate whether they shall have their way, or the whole army service of the Union be demoralized or disbanded for want of pay.

The amendments which they put upon that appropriation bill forbid the President to use any part of the military force of the United States in aid of any of the legislation of the Territorial Legislature, until Congress shall have passed upon the validity of the body as a legally elected assembly. It directs the militia of the Territory to be disbanded, and what U. S. forces may be in the Territory to be employed only in keeping the peace, suppressing insurrections, &c., but not in aid of any law passed by the existing Legis-

The Kansas Circular—The Struggle Still to Come.

We publish to day in another column the circular of the committees of the pro-slavery counties of Kansas, addressed to their friends in the South, calling for aid in men and money; and setting forth the condition of the party in the territory, and their hope of ultimately driving away or subduing their opponents, it efficiently aided. It is an interesting document, and reveals to the North the necessity for vigorous and prompt action. It tells us that whatever numerical superiority the Free State men may have had in Kansas, they are not now in a condition to enter a contest with much certainty of success. It tells us further that Kansas is to be fought for desperately before it is yielded, and if it shall be free at all, it must be by the most determined and powerful efforts on the part of the North. It should be a signal for instant exertion, and its appeal should not be unheeded by us of the Free States, for it comes home to us as much as it does to the slaveites to whom it is addressed.

Its professions of obedience to law, and dislike of violence, will provoke a smile wherever there lingers a recollection of the sack of Lawrence, or the murder of Jones or Barbour, wherever the outrages of Buford's robbers, or the Kickapoo Rangers is remembered. But these are of little consequence. As a defence of the conduct of the pro-slavery party of Kansas or Missouri, it is of very little importance or significance. The world knows enough of that from safe sources, and has fixed its opinions pretty unalterably. Its professions may pass. The apology comes too late and with bad authority, for its party.

But we cannot afford to despise its design, if we do its ridiculous declarations. It means, men of the Free States, that Kansas shall be a Slave State, as the Buchanan party intended when the Nebraska Bill was passed, if by any means that consummation be possible. The South is stirring already under this appeal, and slave emigrants are pouring into Kansas by hundreds. Only last Saturday a company, forming part of a whole regiment recently raised in Virginia, passed through this city on their way, not to settle, but to fight in Kansas. They were armed, every man, with rifles, revolvers, and bowie knives, and officered in regular military fashion. As soon as they enter the territory they are to be taken into the pay of the Government by Gen Smith, and used to subdue the Free men, as Douglas threatened. They, like Buford's band, are to be the Kansas militia in the service of the Government, and by such instruments Freedom is to be "crushed out." Their companions, numbering some eight or ten companies are on the road, or preparing to come.

While these bands of *soldiers*, not *settlers*, are pouring unhindered into Kansas, Northern emigrants with their families, their furniture, and implements of agriculture, honestly seeking homes in the prairies of that fair land, are seized by the Missourians and by the tools of this slavery committee, their wives insulted, their property stolen, and they themselves driven back and forbidden to enter. Read the letter of Mr. Baldwin, which we published yesterday, and see how Free State men are maltreated, and what chance they have of competing in the race of emigration with the favored bands of slave emigrants. And Baldwin's letter is only the narration of what has occurred hundreds of times; of what is occurring all the time. Every avenue to the territory, accessible to the slavery party, is rigorously shut against free emigrants.

With Missouri closing the doors to our settlers, and the Government, and the Buchanan party at its back, throwing all the power of the nation against them, and putting all advantages into the hands of their enemies, what hope of Freedom in Kansas can we have without vigorous, united effort? Kansas must be filled with free emigrants, not banditti, and she may be saved against even the power of the Administration and its corrupt party. But without that, the success of Mr. Buchanan is the doom of Freedom. These border ruffians know this, and therefore support Buchanan to a man.

But, while relying on the hope of ultimate success through the success of their party in the Presidential campaign, the slavery men of Kansas do not build only upon that. They hope, through the fears of the South, and the pecuniary interests of slave owners, to overpower the free emigration by a concerted vigorous effort to flood the territory with a pro-slavery population. To this end is directed the secret circular to which we have alluded. And so well have these efforts succeeded that they already boast of the certainty of success in the coming elections. They may boast, as such men often do, without reason, but look at all the circumstances which give strength to their exertions, and the boast is not premature or foolish. Whitfield says, he will be re-elected without fail, and that Reeder can not run against him. The Washington correspondent of the *N. Y. Herald*, of Saturday, says:

"An election will be immediately ordered by Governor Geary, under the existing Territorial law, and Whitfield will be again returned. Gen. Whitfield informed members who voted him out of his seat, that he would be back here in December next, and take his seat again; and that, further, Reeder dare not go into the Territory and run in opposition to him."

This confidence is not without foundation. Free State men have been driven away in such numbers, and such a rigorous system of exclusion shuts them out from returning, and such exertions are made to flood the territory with slaveites, and the whole power of the Government stands ready, under Gen Persifer F. Smith, to back every effort of Slavery, that Whitfield does not boast without reason that he will certainly be re-elected. If he is, Kansas is doomed. The violence that exiled the Free citizens, and received the approving smiles of the Government, will have accomplished its work.

This circular we have not seen in print before. It was copied by a gentleman from Kansas, from a pro-slavery document, intended for home circulation.

A Circular of the Pro-Slavery Party in Kansas. KANSAS AFFAIRS.

To our Friends throughout the United States:

The undersigned, having been appointed Committees by our fellow citizens of the counties of Leavenworth, Doniphan and Atchison, in Kansas Territory, to consult together, and to adopt measures for mutual protection and the advancement of the interests of the pro-slavery party in Kansas Territory, this day assembled at the town of Atchison, to undertake the responsible duties assigned us, and, in our present emergency, deem it expedient to address this Circular to our friends throughout the Union, but more particularly in the slaveholding States. We would not officiously undertake to represent the whole pro-slavery party; but, on this occasion, when every man is required at his post to protect his family, friends and property from the attacks of bands of midnight abolition assassins, it is impossible to call a general meeting of our party.

The time has arrived when prompt action is required, and the interior of Kansas can easily be supplied from the various points in the above named counties, they embracing our whole front on the Missouri river.

The pro-slavery party is the only one in Kansas which pretend to uphold the Government or abide by the laws.

Our party from the beginning has sought to make Kansas a slave State only by legal means.

We have been slandered and vilified almost beyond endurance, yet we have not resorted to violence but steadily pursued the law for the accomplishing of our objects, believing it the only proper course—and the party is still of the same opinion.

Twice have we been called out in large numbers to aid the officers in the execution of the laws, and under very aggravating circumstances, when, if our people had been willing to trample under foot the laws as our enemies do, we were in a condition to wage a war of extermination against all the enemies of the pro-slavery party in Kansas.

Yet we controlled ourselves, our enemies promising in future to obey the laws.

Notwithstanding the many falsehoods circulated by the abolitionists in and out of Kansas Territory, the day never has been that we were not able, legally and fairly, to out vote them; and to-day, if all restraints and obligations to support the Government and abide by the laws were thrown off, and open war declared between the Pro Slavery and all their parties in the Territory, we could in less than a month rid ourselves of our last enemy, without the aid of a single outsider.

Let not these declarations, however, (although true to the letter) prevent any one from coming to Kansas, who intends to become a citizen of Kansas, for we need all that will come; and remember that in October next our representatives to the Legislature will be elected, and our enemies will make a desperate struggle. Bring your slaves with you. They are safe here.—Abolitionists cannot steal them and get them out of Kansas.

We have proclaimed to the world, that we recognized the principles of the Kansas Bill as just and right, and although we preferred Kansas being made a *Negro Slave State*, yet, we never dreamed of making it so by the aid of bowie-knives, revolvers, and Sharp's Rifles, until we were threatened to be driven out of the Territory by a band of hired abolitionists, bought up and sent here to control our elections, and steal our slaves and those of our friends in adjoining States.

These threats made us prepare ourselves for whatever issue might be presented.

We are still ready and intend to continue so, if our friends from abroad stand by and sustain us. We are now in a condition that requires constant vigilance day and night. Our people are poor and their labor is their capital—deprive them of that, which we are now compelled to do, and they must be supported from abroad, or give up the cause of the South. The Northern abolitionists can raise millions of dollars, and station armed bands of fanatics throughout the Territory, and support them in order to deprive Southern men of their constitutional rights. We address this to our friends only for the purpose of letting them know our true condition and our wants. We know that our call will meet a ready, willing and liberal response. Since we left Lawrence, on the day of its surrender and humiliation, the free State men having learned, we suppose, by the aid of Howard and Sherman, of the Congressional Committee of Investigation, that our laws were all unconstitutional and void, and would be so declared by Congress, they have begun a regular system of midnight assassinations, robberies, and the whole catalogue of crime, wherever they can find unprotected men, women and children.

Hence the absolute necessity of our people, everywhere, being constantly ready for any emergency; and in order to be thus, we need money, horses, provisions and ammunition, but with the money, we perhaps can purchase all we need cheaper than our friends can supply us, except in Missouri. From twenty to thirty of our people have recently fallen by the hands of fanatical abolitionists, without any pretended excuse, except that it was known they believed Southern people had equal rights with Northern, in the territories.

They are being hunted up and brought to justice, and the blood of our slain people and the tears of their widows and orphans will continue to cry aloud for vengeance, until the last assassin and traitor is brought to justice. Their cry will not be in vain. We profess to be a law abiding people and we practice what we profess, but when the law ceases to afford protection, and revolution, insurrection, and rebellion is forced upon us, we expect to be ready to meet that issue too.

Thus far we have sustained the principles of the pro-slavery party in Kansas, peaceably, we profess thus to continue, but if our party is to be put down, or civil war follow, let it come, the sooner the better: we are ready to do our duty.

The Courant.

HARTFORD:
WEDNESDAY MORNING, AUGUST 6, 1856.

OCCASIONALLY, a man—more rarely a press—is to be found in the Southern States, able and willing to state the real truth of the matter, in this slavery business. Take the case of North Carolina. Her natural resources; her agricultural capabilities; her commercial position, are each and all first rate.—Yet what is she? In 1790, only four States had a larger white population. In 1850 she stands the 12th on the list. What has thus depressed her?—Not war, nor famine, nor pestilence, nor political oppression, nor grinding taxation, nor general insecurity—these causes have all been known to do such work; but in this case, they have not been in operation. Slavery, the curse of AFRICAN SLAVERY, and nothing else has made her the 12th instead of the 5th state of this Union, in the amount of white population. A writer from North Carolina says:

"If any one doubts that a large part of our people are opposed to the extension of Slavery, let him only notice what direction the tide of emigration has taken from North Carolina. All things being equal, emigrants will not seek a colder latitude than that which they leave. Yet thousands of our honest yeomanry and most enterprising citizens have sought homes in the free states of the North West. In fact, I have often heard them declare that the only reason which made them prefer Indiana, Illinois, or Iowa, to Tennessee, Arkansas, or Missouri, was, that the former were free States, whilst the latter were not. As far as I have heard from friends and acquaintances who have left us and gone to the North West, they are all for Fremont. And it is reasonable that it should be so. For even among intelligent slaveholders, you will find a majority who will not defend Slavery in the abstract. It is only justified on the ground that, in the present condition of the slave, he is not a proper subject for the enjoyment of liberty. I have never heard Slavery justified from the pulpit in this State, although such a thing is far too common at the North. We are disposed to take a charitable view of this strange aberration of your clergymen, on the ground that they know practically nothing of the subject. Our most intelligent citizens, as in the days of the Revolution, still regard the policy of the mother country in forcing slavery into the colonies, as most tyrannical and unjust. And can any one believe, that men who have felt the paralyzing, blighting influence of Slavery, as North Carolinians have felt it, will ever contribute anything to force the same course on other States? Just imagine if such a thing is possible. Men whose fathers and grandfathers pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor, to defend the Declaration of Independence, marching Westward to establish Slavery at the point of the bayonet, or attempting to dissolve the Union, because a few fanatical Missourians are not permitted to establish it in Kansas. If it were left to the majority of the people of North Carolina to say whether there shall be slavery or freedom in Kansas, they would say to-day, what the great Southern Statesmen of the Revolution enacted for the Northwest Territory:—"There shall be neither slavery, nor involuntary servitude in the said Territory, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted."

The Republican.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.
WEDNESDAY MORNING, AUGUST 6, 1856.

The Early Purpose to Seize Kansas for Slavery.

Rev George W. Robbins, a veteran missionary of the Methodist Episcopal church among the western Indians, now residing at Alton, Ill., has written an instructive letter upon Kansas affairs. He was for several years a missionary among the Indians in Kansas and is personally familiar with the facts he relates. He dates back the purpose of Aitchison and the semi-barbarians whom he attempts to make Kansas a slave state, at least fifteen years. It is the custom at Washington to consult in respect to the appointment of government agents those members of Congress who reside nearest their location. Hence Aitchison has

Heaven and earth are being moved in all the Free States, to induce overwhelming armies to march here, and drive us from the land. We are able to take care of those already here, but let our brethren of the States take care of the outsiders—watch them, and if our enemies march for Kansas let our friends come along to take care of them; and if nothing but a fight can bring about peace, let us have a fight that will amount to something. Send us the money and other articles mentioned, as soon as practicable, and if the abolitionists find it convenient to bring their supplies, let our friends come with ours.

Arrangements have been made with Messrs. Maguire, Russel & Co., Leavenworth, K. T.; J. W. Forman & Co., Doniphan, K. T.; and C. E. Woodfolk & Co., Atchison, K. T., to receive any money or other articles sent for our relief, and will report to the undersigned; and we pledge ourselves that all will be distributed for the benefit of the cause. Horses are greatly needed—footmen being useless in running down midnight assassins and robbers.

Leavenworth City—W. E. Murphy, Chairman; J. J. Clarkson, C. D. Norris, D. A. N. Grover, Hugh M. Moore.

Doniphan County—T. J. Key, Chairman; J. F. Forman, D. L. Newman, A. Heade, J. S. Pemberton.

Atchison County—P. T. Abell, Chairman; J. A. Hensley, A. J. Frederick, J. F. Green, E. C. Mason.

Atchison, K. T., June 6th, 1856.

CHICAGO DAILY JOURNAL

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

WEDNESDAY EVENING, AUGUST 6, 1856.

THE KANSAS PRISONERS.—On Monday Mr. Purifane moved a suspension of the rules, to enable him to introduce a resolution instructing the Indian Committee to enquire forthwith and report by what authority the recent arrests in Kansas, of Messrs. Robinson, Deitzler, Brown, Smith and others had been made, together with the offences with which they stand charged. If they are imprisoned on the charge of treason for participating in the formation of the Topeka Constitution, and directing the Committee to report a bill, ordering a nolle prosequi to be entered upon the indictments, the said committee to have power to send for persons and papers. The motion was disagreed to—yeas 106; nays 74, a two-thirds vote being necessary.

THE BUCHANEERS VOTED IN THE NEGATIVE. OPERATIONS OF THE SOUTHERN BUCHANEERS.

The Southern supporters of Buchanan are active in the advancement of their scheme to fill Kansas with armed "settlers," and then by a sort of *coup d'etat* enforce Slavery upon it.

Under date of June 21st, David R. Aitchison, William H. Russell, Joseph C. Anderson, A. G. Boone, B. P. Stringfellow, and J. Buford, as the leaders in the Border Ruffian cause, published an "Appeal to the South," calling for men and money, and urging the slaveholders at great length and with most ingenious inducements, to the following scheme of military colonization:

"This can only be done by colonizing large settlements together, under one common head with absolute control; let, say from one to three hundred agriculturalists, mechanics and laborers so settle together in some suitable point, to be indicated by the undersigned, or some other committee, charged with the general interests of the party. The colonists should be subsisted a reasonable time, and each individual furnished with adequate agricultural implements or mechanical outfit, so there can be no want of settlers coming and remaining at the points where they are most needed."

"The points where they are most needed," are the localities where the polls may be held.

Buford was appointed General Agent by the above named six signers of the "Appeal," and he has published at Richmond, Va., over the date of July 24th, the following bold Address to the Southern States:

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE SOUTH.

Herewith you will find the appeal of your friends in Kansas, together with a letter accrediting me as the agent to solicit your aid in maintaining that indispensable breakwater to the angry

tide of Abolition. Wanting no more of the address on many of you personally. Read that address thoughtfully; consider that if Kansas, our natural boundary to the North-west, is lost that then Missouri and all west of the Mississippi, nay, East of it, must soon follow, while, if we maintain it, the Territories west of Alabama and Texas are safe to us,—nay, the future is safe.—Ask yourselves whether you are prepared to surrender white supremacy in the South, to debase your blood, to degrade your social and political status to the level of an inferior race by submitting to Abolition's mandate to fraternize with it.

Remember, that I, and all who know the country will tell you that *Slaves thrive and do well in Kansas*, and that *there and in Western Missouri* their labor pays better than in any cotton State in the Union. Reflect that we have everything to encourage us in the struggle—*we still control the government of the Territory, our immigration is daily increasing*, while that from the North has greatly diminished. In Illinois, as if in disgust, they have lately applied to electioneering purposes the funds they had raised for emigrants. Remember, that, instead of endangering the Union, our winning Kansas makes it permanent by enabling us to defend our rights in it, and by *discomfiting and breaking down the agitators*. Think of the magnitude of the questions at issue; think of the imminence of the peril, and you will not need personal solicitation, but each one, of his own volition, will send his contribution according to his means. Those who cannot alone send their fifties, hundreds or thousands, can unite with fifty or an hundred others and do so. Where there's a will there's a way.

Remit in drafts on New York, payable or endorsed to our Chairman, the Hon. D. R. Aitchison—if convenient get duplicate drafts—enclose the original or the duplicate to our treasurer, A. G. Boone, Esq., at Westport, Missouri, and the other to our Chairman, at Atchison, Kansas Territory. Take the postmaster's receipt, and then you have three guarantees that your contributions will not miscarry. Be assured it will not be misapplied; our treasurer and chairman are both gentlemen of wealth as well as of the highest character. And it is better to send in this way than by the hands of a collecting agent, for then both his authority and responsibility become questions of indifference.

If the contributions justify it I propose to take out one hundred emigrants to form the central colony alluded to in the address. I want only men who, AS LONG AS REQUIRED, will abstain from liquor, and WILL IMPLICITLY OBEY ORDERS. To such a company, if the funds are raised, I will give one town site of three hundred acres, with the privilege of their getting pre-emptions, and I will transport them to Kansas and find them in positions till the middle of April next. The town site is central to one of the best counties in the territory, and will most probably become its county seat. J. BUFORD.

Richmond, July 24th, 1856.

The avowals in this remarkable document, and the desperate purpose in regard to Kansas, which it publishes, will surely arrest the attention of the whole North. Our own liberties literally depend upon the defeat of the wicked scheme, of which Buford is the agent.

This Buford and his backers are strong supporters of Buchanan for President. Why? Would they support any candidate whom they did not know to be favorable to their desperate enterprise? Not they. They have good assurances, we doubt not, that Buchanan will sustain them, and in view of his election are they now pushing forward their bold scheme.

But we are firm in the belief that they are destined to be disappointed. If the Freemen of the North and West will but prove themselves true to themselves and to the principles of their fathers, John C. Fremont will be elected President, and that will be the death blow of Border Ruffianism and the Slavery Propagandists, and the salvation of Kansas to Freedom.

had the appointment of the Indian agents of Kansas and Nebraska for years, and taken good care that none but the most rabid of his followers have received appointments. The Indian agents have thus not only been pro-slavery, but have taken their slaves into the territory and held them there for years in defiance of law. More than this they have several times driven out, sometimes with violence, the Methodist missionaries located among the Indians, because they were opposed to slavery. Rev Messrs Gurley, Still and Markham were among those expelled from the territory by the Indian agents. Mr Robbins was seized by Col Lea, Indian agent, and expelled from his mission and from the territory in 1851, because he belonged to the northern branch of the Methodist church. Mr Robbins laid his case before the president and was permitted to return to the territory, but afterwards suffered every indignity and petty persecution from the agents of the government on account of his anti-slavery views. At that time, Major Mosely, agent for the Wyandotte Indians, 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 U. S. 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."

In the light of these facts how doubly false is the charge that the emigrant aid society is responsible for the difficulties in Kansas. The purpose to destroy the compact of freedom and force slavery upon Kansas is a dozen years older than that society. The repeal of the Missouri compromise only gave a larger liberty to do what would have been attempted 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.

Kansas Notes.

On the 19th ult, marshal Donaldson ordered Capt Sackett, who has charge of Gov Robinson and his associates at Leecompton, to prevent visitors from entering their camp or holding any communication with them for the future, giving as a reason, "that Robinson was a d—n sight more of a governor there in custody than Shannon was out." Capt Sackett said he could not do this, because he had different orders from Col Sumner. Thereupon Donaldson appealed to Shannon, and Shannon wrote to Gen Smith, asking that Donaldson's orders might be obeyed.—On the 21st a Mr Chapman of Lawrence, a Missourian and member of the bogus legislature, killed a South Carolinian named Wilson. The latter had hired a carriage of him and refused to pay for it, when Chapman struck him over the head with a hickory club, felling him to the ground; he recovered sufficiently to ride to Kansas City, but died the following night. Both were pro-slavery and supporters of the border ruffians, but as the affair occurred at Lawrence it is made the occasion of a new outcry against that place. Chapman was arrested, and would be punished if he were a free state man.—O. H. Brewster, who testified before the Kansas congressional committee that he heard Mr Oliver, member of the committee, make a speech at Lexington, Mo., urging the ruffians to enter Kansas and vote, has been driven away from Lexington, and his father and brother have also been compelled to sell their property at a great sacrifice and follow him. Mr Brewster states that he was waited upon several times by Mr Sharp, the attorney of Mr Oliver, and urged to retract his testimony, and severely threatened if he refused to do so. Mr Brewster testified that Mr Oliver said in his speech that "Missourians had a right to vote in Kansas, that he had voted there himself, and would do it again under like circumstances." He refused to retract this statement, and the mob drove him and his friends from Lexington.

The Daily Spy.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 6, 1856.

KANSAS PROSPECTS.—THE ADMINISTRATION BACKING DOWN.—The Washington correspondent of the New York Tribune writes, "in reply to a question from Gen. Wilson why Shannon was removed, an Administration Senator is reported to reply:—'*We have found him, sir, to be more than you proved him last February. He is a scoundrel, sir—a d—d scoundrel.*'"

In addition to the above, it is now reported that the President is ready to strike a blow at another of his border ruffian instruments—Judge Leecompte. The President has expressed his dislike of Leecompte's infamous course very freely, of late, and has determined that he (Leecompte) shall never try the State prisoners under charge of treason in Kansas: and to this end the President will either order a *not pros.* to be entered in their case, to-day (?), or change their trials from Kansas to Pennsylvania, by a bill which will be introduced in the Senate by Senator Bigler of Pa., which will be piloted through the House by a member of the Administration party.

Mr. Millson said the amendment invoked the direct interference of the House with the course of judicial proceedings, saying in effect to the judges, "You shall have no money unless you acquit the prisoner." He would not characterize the movement as revolutionary, but it was a monster agent, and subversive of every principle of common and criminal law.

Mr. Sherman's amendment was rejected by 6 majority, and Mr. Grow's disagreed to.

Mr. Dunn offered a proviso that no part of the money be drawn from the treasury till a bill be passed and approved by the President, for the pacification of the troubles in Kansas, which shall contain a slavery restriction regarding Kansas and Nebraska. There was but one remedy—take hold of the real mischief by the roots and tear it all up.

Mr. Grow agreed with Mr. Dunn in that remark, but why did he not vote for the bill to admit Kansas with the Topeka Constitution, which would have plucked out Slavery, and given peace.

Mr. Dunn's amendment was adopted—yeas 70; nays not counted.

On motion of Mr. Grow, another was added that no money be paid until the pending prosecution for treason and other alleged offences against the laws of the Legislature, which assembled at Shawnee Mission, be dismissed.

The compensation and mileage of the members of the Legislative Assembly, officers and Clerks, and the contingent expenses, (\$20,000), were stricken out.

The House then took a recess till 7, P. M.

The Atlas.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, AUGUST 6, 1856.

THIRTY-FOURTH CONGRESS—First Session
WASHINGTON, Tuesday August 5.

SENATE.—The Senate today passed the House bill providing for running the boundary line between Washington Territory and the British possessions.

Mr. Seward presented a petition from Charles Robinson and others, now confined in Kansas, on charges of treason, praying for relief. Referred to the Judiciary Committee.

The petitioners set forth that their trial is to take place on the second Monday of September, at Leecompton, and, believing they cannot have a fair and impartial trial, such as the Constitution guarantees every citizen, they pray the venue may be changed, and they be tried by the Supreme Court of the United States.

Mr. Seward asked attention to their petition as early a day as possible, because the time assigned for the trial was near at hand, and the nature of the case such as to require the most profound consideration. These trials arose out of a contest of political opinion between parties and citizens of the United States, which divides the two Houses of Congress and the Departments—the President being on one side, and the House on the other. Political trials were almost unknown in this country. The employment of the Judiciary to settle and establish political principles and policy, is a resort which has never been made with success, and with a good result to the peace and harmony of society, in any free country in the world. If you refer a thing—

Mr. Weller—I object to a discussion of the question now. It is out of order. I have some reports to make, and know that other Senators have; and we don't want the whole morning hour to be thus consumed.

Mr. Seward—I have but a word or two more to add, and hope I shall be allowed to proceed.

Mr. Weller did not press his objection.

Mr. Seward proceeded, saying—Political convictions and judgments of attainer, however obtained and however popular when obtained, were always subsequently reversed.

Adjourned.

HOUSE.—The House considered a number of private bills, and about a half a dozen of them passed. The House then went into Committee of the Whole on the Legislative, Judicial and Executive Appropriation bills.

Mr. Grow moved to strike out the salaries of the Judges and Secretaries of Kansas, declaring he would not vote to sustain "usurpation, nor the salaries of Judges who trample down liberty in that Territory.

Mr. Phelps denied that the Legislative Assembly was elected by fraud, the pro-slavery party being in the majority. The effect of the amendment, he said, would be to delay the passage of the bill.

Mr. Sherman offered an amendment, providing that no part of the money for the Territory shall be expended till the release of those under arrest for treason and other political offences. He stated that in the county of Leavenworth there were 65 men thus charged, and in Douglas six men, for treason, which every lawyer knows to be unfounded.

GOV. SHANNON AND PRESIDENT PIERCE IN DANGER.
We take the following from a letter published in the Mormon of N. Y., from one of the Latter Day Saints, who has been travelling in Mississippi:

"By permission of President Pratt I have travelled as far South as Carroll county, Miss., on a visit to my relations and acquaintances, among whom I was reared. On my way South, in passing through Kansas, Missouri, Tennessee and Mississippi, I found the people so intensely excited about the slave question, which give rise to the Kansas difficulties, that they have no time to think of religious matters, except a few here and there.

To give you some idea of the state and depth of enmity existing in the hearts of the people at the South against their Northern brethren, I will state what I heard at the house of a wealthy planter. There were about a dozen substantial citizens present, when a leading spirit amongst them remarked that he had offered a man one hundred dollars to bring him Gov. Shannon's scalp, and that the man had promised to bring it, and had only failed by Gov. Shannon's being out of the Territory while he was in Kansas on that mission. Another remarked that a company of men ought to go to Washington and take the President's scalp, for aiding and comforting the Abolitionists."

MRS. PARTINGTON ON KANSAS.—We asked the venerable dame her opinion on the Kansas question. "They can be cured," said she, looking firmly, "though they are very painful and irritating; yet they can be drawn out by plasters. They are humorous things, and may be eradicated by proper remedies." Heaven help us! She was thinking of eradicating cancers!

DAILY CHRONICLE.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 6, 1856.

It is stated that the reason why Gov. Reeder did not go to Washington for the purpose of sustaining in person his claim to a seat in the House, was that he had received a certain assurance that he would be arrested on his arrival there, on a charge of treason. This charge is regarded as a trick to prevent his return to Kansas as a candidate on the new election which will be ordered. The motion for admitting Reeder to a seat as delegate was lost by the same majority, as that by which the motion rejecting Whitfield was carried. It is said that a new election will be ordered immediately, under the present territorial law, and an attempt will be made to reelect Whitfield, and that Geary is relied on for aiding it.

We observe that several influential journals are lauding Col. Geary, the newly appointed Governor of Kansas. Perhaps he may deserve, by his conduct in his new office, the eulogies thus liberally bestowed upon him. But "confidence is a plant of slow growth," and there has been nothing in the past course of President Pierce, to authorize us to imagine any but the worst motives in whatever he may do in reference to Kansas. We can determine better what to say about the new Governor, after a few weeks, observation.

MORNING STAR.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 6, 1856.

THE KANSAS ISSUE.

It is to be deeply regretted that in the excitements of party strife, so many good men even lose sight of great issues and principles. This is especially so at present. What is the origin of the late troubles in Kansas? We put the question to every well-informed and candid man to answer to himself: Was it not the repeal of the Missouri restriction, prohibiting slavery forever in all that region? Had that restriction continued, after it had been ratified as a compact by all parties for more than thirty years, would or could these direful scenes ever have existed there? All know there is but one answer to the question. The root, then, of all the mischief lies in the violation of plighted faith, stealthily and treacherously accomplished through the agency of a few men for base purposes. The North did not demand it, nor the South, as we know from personal observation and conversation with Southern men at the time. It was done to gratify the ambition of a few aspiring men.

But even the Kansas Nebraska bill guaranteed to the real settlers the establishment and control of their own institutions. Without this assurance most strongly made, the bill could never have passed. Now what is the result? Citizens who have gone there and settled under the provisions of that bill, violating no law, exercising only the acknowledged rights of freemen, find themselves suddenly without the protection of law, outraged, robbed, murdered. We give an extract from a private letter of a settler at Osawatomie, K. T.:

"You cannot find a more peaceable, well-disposed, moral community than this in New York or New Hampshire. We have had no restraint of law since we have been here, and yet offences against person and property, till the last invasion of our peaceful territory began, were more rare than is common in old communities. Not one in five locked their doors at night, or when they left them for business or pleasure. We lived all last summer without a door to our cabin,—just a piece of rag-carpet hung in the doorway,—frequently left it entirely for hours before we were taken sick, and lost not any thing. Your village of New Hampton might as justly be attacked and pillaged as our towns. We are inflexibly opposed to slavery blighting our territory, making its graceful and

exceeding beauty all unsightly. That is all our fault. This is the prettiest country I ever saw. I cannot think the Almighty intends this land for the home of slaves. I believe he will bless our efforts here on the battle-ground, and yours in the free North, and that deliverance will come."

Let the candid reader consider well the consequence of surrendering Kansas to slavery.— Treachery has already triumphed over principle in opening it to the invasion of slavery. And now, in consummating the deed, the bludgeon is triumphing over the ballot. By armed violence and brutal outrage, freedom is stricken down.— Hordes of ruffians from Missouri and South Carolina are allowed to trample upon the rights of the free settlers with worse than savage violence; while the general government, instead of repressing, sustains and encourages their murderous assaults. The effort now is to force slavery upon Kansas.

And what is to be the end of these things? If a compact pledging that vast and beautiful country to freedom forever, can be ruthlessly annulled, and slavery forced upon the people there by fire and sword, what security is there for freedom anywhere? Will not the assault be made upon Nebraska next, and Minnesota, Oregon, &c.? Indeed, what is to protect the free States themselves? Nought is wanting but the power to practice the same game upon us all. What assurance can we have that, granting them the power, the scenes enacted in Congress and in Kansas, shall not be re-enacted all over our country. Hitherto the ballot has ruled.— This has been our glory as a free people. Is mob violence to take its place, and we be reduced to the state of anarchy prevailing in Mexico and South America? This is no mere party question. It is a great perversion to treat it as such. It is one in which every Christian and freeman in our land has a vital interest. Look well to it.—J. J. B.

The A. S. Patriot.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 6, 1856.

Why not Pass the Senate Bill?

We have a population of at least 50,000, and seven-eighths are free state men. This is admitted here by pro-slavery men.

The above is extracted from the Independent Democrat of last week. It comes from the Kansas correspondent of that paper, and from a man who professes to know, whereof he affirms. He declares that seven-eighths of the people of Kansas are free state men, and that the pro-slavery men admit it.

Why not pass the Senate bill? the bill which John P. Hale said, in the Senate, was "almost unexceptionable"; the bill which fully and rigidly protects the people of Kansas in their rights. Why not permit it to become a law, and thus give to the seven-eighths the privilege of controlling the one-eighth, and of saying what the institutions and laws of Kansas shall be?

We have not a doubt that every honest free state man in Kansas would hail the passage of that bill with rejoicing, but the leaders of the "republican" force all over the North are straining every nerve to defeat it.

The reason is obvious. They foresee that the moment that bill passes, Kansas becomes quiet—their ammunition is expended—their vocation is gone—the harvest is past—the summer is ended, and they are not saved!

From the Washington Union. Gov. Reeder's Deposition before the Kansas Committee.

In glancing through the large volume made up by the committee sent to Kansas for proof in the contested election for delegate from that Territory, we were surprised to find a deposition of one of the parties to the contest—Gov. Reeder. It covers sixteen solid pages, is without date or specification as to the place where it was taken, and the only evidence that it was sworn to is the recital in the caption—"Andrew H. Reeder called and sworn." It was evidently not taken upon interrogations, nor in the presence of the other party in the law-suit. We understand that, in fact, it was taken in New York, without the knowledge of either Mr. Oliver, one of the committee, or General Whitfield or his counsel. As the majority of the committee considered it legal to receive the proof of the contestant, it was certainly a good stroke of policy to defer taking it until it could be done without giving the other party, or the other member of the committee, an opportunity for cross-examination. If Gov. Reeder was a competent and credible witness in his own case, it was certainly a useless waste of time and labor and money to send a commission out to Kansas. Gov. Reeder was in Washington, and could as well have proved his case here by his own evidence as in Kansas.— Whether Gov. Reeder's evidence was relevant or not to the issue, it was illegally admitted; if relevant, it was illegal, because he is a party to the suit; if it was irrelevant, then it was incompetent for that reason.

But upon looking into the deposition, we have no difficulty in understanding why the majority of the committee were willing to sanction so gross a violation of law and propriety in admitting it as proof. It is in no respect, either in form or substance, the evidence of a witness, but the argument of a party in his own cause and upon his own testimony.— It is an argumentative history of Gov. Reeder's extraordinary gubernatorial career in Kansas, marked throughout with strong partisan bias, disfigured with commendations of his own conduct, distorted with misrepresentations of others, and rendered ridiculous by the cool effrontery with which the party in the case sets up his word as evidence to outweigh the testimony of half-a-dozen legal and competent witnesses.

The portion of the deposition, however, which discloses most clearly the object of Gov. Reeder and of the majority of the committee, relates to certain interviews and conversations of an entirely private, confidential, and, mainly, official character, which took place between Gov. Reeder and President Pierce in the month of May, 1855. How Gov. Reeder ever got his consent to volunteer (for he was a voluntary witness) a disclosure of such interviews and conversations is not less difficult to comprehend than the fact that, in giving his recollection of them, he should have so grossly perverted, misrepresented, and falsified what did occur in those interviews. Perhaps it would be fair to infer that the man who could volunteer as his own witness, and make evidence for himself by violating the confidence of official interviews, could hardly be expected to do justice in detailing the conversations which he assumes to disclose.

The interviews referred to took place almost daily for two weeks, as alleged by Gov. Reeder, and occurred upon his visit to Washington early in May, 1855, after he had given certificates to the members elect to the Kansas legislature, and had gone to Easton, in Pennsylvania, and made his denunciatory speech against the "invasions of the border ruffians from Missouri," which has obtained some notoriety. Upon that visit to Washington he had interviews of the most friendly and confidential character almost daily for nearly two weeks, as he says in his deposition, and he undertakes to give his impressions derived from those various interviews as part of his proof in a case in which the issue is whether Gen. Whitfield or Gov. Reeder is the legal delegate from Kansas Territory. What relevancy the conversation, had to this issue will appear as we proceed.

The general subject of the protracted interview, as stated in the deposition, was whether, under the then existing circumstances in Kansas and in the States, the public interest would not be advanced by the substitution of some other person than Gov. Reeder as the governor of the Territory. President Pierce was decidedly of opinion that the prejudice existing in a large portion of the public against Gov. Reeder, together with the known hostile feeling against him in the Territory, likely to be greatly increased by his late violent and im-

prudent speech at Easton, rendered it most prudent both in view of the public interests and of Gov. Reeder's personal safety, that he should not return to Kansas in his official capacity. But he had not yielded to the impressions as to Gov. Reeder's official misconduct which had taken possession of the minds of many others. He still confided in his integrity and his competency, and, therefore, saw nothing in his official conduct, especially as explained by Gov. Reeder, on which to fix censure or for which to remove him. He looked upon the delay in effecting an organization of the Territory as unfortunate; but Gov. Reeder's explanation of this was plausible, and therefore was not peremptorily condemned. The difficulty was as to the mode to be adopted in substituting another in his place without casting any imputation on his honor or his fidelity as a public officer. Gov. Reeder acknowledged the force of the objections to his return to the Territory, but was unwilling to make a voluntary resignation of his office, as this, in his estimation, would carry with it necessary loss of character. It would be seen at once, from Gov. Reeder's own account, that the interviews involved considerations of an exceedingly delicate kind, and that President Pierce manifested for his reputation an extreme tenderness. It need not be remarked that such conversations between two friends and officials, in which the public interest as well as the private character of one of the parties was to be guarded, were necessarily covered with a double seal of confidence.

The interviews were rendered still more delicate by the introduction of another subject which directly involved Gov. Reeder's private interests and reputation, though not connected with his official conduct. He had embarked in private schemes of land speculation which had been the subject of severe newspaper animadversion, and with these President Pierce, as they had reached his ears through the channels of common report, was dissatisfied. Gov. Reeder dwells in detail on this branch of the conversations; states the dissatisfaction of President Pierce with these speculations as they were then understood by him, and repeats with earnest speciality his reasons for believing that he had been guilty of nothing illegal or dishonest in his land transactions. He evidently had a two-fold motive for thus earnestly and elaborately urging this subject. He was solicitous to disabuse President Pierce's mind of its unfavorable impressions derived from unauthentic sources of information, and thereby fully to retain his good opinion; and he was equally solicitous to procure his ratification of certain of his land purchases, which were then suspended in the Interior Department in consequence of the rumors as to their illegality. In regard to his land speculations, Gov. Reeder attributes to President Pierce sentiments so utterly inconsistent with the truth of the case, that, for the purpose of branding this portion of his deposition as it deserves, we quote his language:

"As to the charges of purchasing Indian lands and interests in towns, he said he was entirely satisfied as to the former, that it was all fair and honorable, and that hundreds had done so before me; and that he had no objection to it, and said he had rebuked him when he talked to him of it; he was nevertheless sorry, under the circumstances of this case, that I had made any purchases, as they made a pretext for my enemies to annoy him with demands for my removal. As to the purchases of town property, he said he was entirely satisfied, from his confidence in me, that he had done so all right, but he wished me to explain them to him and refer to the acts of Congress under which towns were laid out, so that he might be prepared to justify me and himself when the subject came up before him. I accordingly gave him all the information on the subject, both as to law and fact, which was in my power, and stated what was the fact, that in no case had I been connected with an objection in the laying out of any town, but in every case had acquired my interest subject to the original laying out. He expressed himself satisfied, except that he thought the act of May 28, 1834, did not authorize the laying out of towns except on lands which had been surveyed. I replied that the Commissioner of the Land Office had so construed the act as to recognize towns which had been laid out before the survey, and that Mr. Wilson would so state to him if he would inquire; and that this construction was right and necessary, for it was idle to expect the Territory to be settled if it was to remain two years without towns. He expressed himself satisfied, and the subject was then dropped. He wished me to explain the objection to my dropping the contract for half-breed Kaw lands; but, as I have already stated, he expressed himself, in strong language, entirely satisfied as to the fairness and honorable character of the transaction."

Most of Governor Reeder's deposition is marked by distortions and perversions, but this extract is without a shred of truth in all its parts so far as it attributes to President Pierce satisfaction in regard to any of the various land or town-lot speculations specified, or ridicule or rebuke of Col. Manypenny's objections thereto. Gov. Reeder's testimony on this matter is like that of most other swift witnesses—

it furnishes the evidence of its own truth.—He proceeds, in the next paragraph after that above quoted, to say that "the contracts for these lands had been before him (President Pierce) with the accompanying papers, in the month of January previous, and, upon Mr. Manypenny's making a most violent and high tempered report against them upon the ground of unfairness, as well as of technical want of conformity to the rules of the department, he (the President) had returned them to me, simply declining to confirm them." At that time no specific charges had been made to the President in regard to these speculations, except as they might be deduced from Col. Manypenny's reasons against the confirmation of the contracts. These reasons were, however, deemed sufficient by the President for "simply declining" to confirm them." How, then, could Gov. Reeder, so far misunderstand or so far misrepresent the President's views as to make him say, before he had heard a word of explanation or received any additional information, that "he was entirely satisfied?" He had given the best evidence that he was not "satisfied" by declining to consummate the contracts. On account of his confidence in Gov. Reeder, he was not disposed hastily to question the fairness of his transactions; but, on the contrary, was anxious that he might be able to remove from them all suspicion of illegality or want of integrity. He had Gov. Reeder's assurance that the transactions could be relieved of all such suspicions, and he, no doubt, frankly told him that he would be well satisfied with such a result. But in the very last interview which took place, and in the only language used by President Pierce, which Gov. Reeder undertakes to quote *in totidem verbis*, he distinctly informed him that he was not satisfied with his land speculations. Gov. Reeder says that when he was about leaving President Pierce, at the close of their last interview, the President said to him: "Well, I shall not remove you on account of your official action; if I remove you at all, it will be on account of your speculation in lands in the Territory." It will be observed that the witness does not undertake to give even the substance of the language used, either by the President or himself, in any one of the numerous interviews to which he refers; but, without having made a single memorandum, and after the lapse of fourteen months, he quotes a remark of the President, and the only one quoted in his whole deposition, and that remark refutes, in the most conclusive manner, pages of impressions nourished in his exasperated and excited mind, and now produced as testimony. This parting remark made so strong an impression on Gov. Reeder's mind that he remembers and quotes the very words used—these words notify him distinctly that his speculations in lands were not approved, and would be the cause of his removal, if his removal should take place. It was not until several days after this final interview, and after Gov. Reeder had left Washington, that specific charges by Agent Clarke, in regard to the land speculations, reached the President. Notice was immediately forwarded to Gov. Reeder, who was then about leaving Easton for Kansas, and the result was that his explanations proved to be unsatisfactory, and he was removed expressly on the ground of these speculations. Without going outside of Gov. Reeder's deposition, therefore, for proof, it is clear, upon his own showing, that he either misunderstood or wilfully misstated the views of President Pierce as to his land speculations. If he had shown, as he professed to be able to do, that his transactions were fair and legal, no one would have been more gratified than President Pierce; but at no time did he express himself satisfied on these points, and the entire statement of Gov. Reeder to this effect is without the shadow of foundation.

Notwithstanding the prominence given to the conversations in regard to the land transactions, in his deposition Gov. Reeder says, these subjects were only incidentally discussed, whilst the main matter was how to arrange satisfactorily for his removal from office without leaving any imputation on his character. The plan suggested by the President, he says, was that Gov. Reeder should address the President a letter stating his course of official action in Kansas, the embarrassments in the way of a successful administration of the affairs of the Territory, and submitting to him the adoption of such remedy as the public interests might suggest; that the President would answer this letter, give every assurance of his satisfaction with his official conduct, and take the whole responsibility of removing him as a matter of duty to the public. He says that, by way of giving the most indubitable mark of his unabated confidence, the President expressed his willingness to confer on him some

other important public trust, and named the mission to China as likely to be soon vacant. Gov. Reeder so far yielded to these suggestions as to write as many as three letters before one was prepared which was satisfactory to the President. This detail of the conversations shows the deep solicitude of President Pierce for the public interests, and his extreme anxiety to save from injurious imputation a man in whose official integrity he confided. If Gov. Reeder had been actuated by the same noble impulses and sentiments, he would have laid down his life before he would have been forced, much less before he would have volunteered, to make a distorted and perverted and partial account of these negotiations. He says that the whole substance of the conversations was written down by him in three letters. We affirm unhesitatingly, that if he had given publicity to these letters, together with that which he says was written by President Pierce, there would have been no room for the false colorings and misrepresentations which it has sought to throw around the interview. President Pierce generously returned to him these letters when the negotiations failed of success. Without trusting to his jaundiced impressions as to the interviews, he could have given the truth as written out and signed by himself.—He carried these papers with him, he says, to Kansas, was with the committee for weeks, and had abundant opportunities to give his testimony, when he could have produced the letters. The truthful inference is, that the production of these documents would have overwhelmed him with shame; and if he thinks differently, he has only now to give them to the public. But Gov. Reeder comes forward with the poor apology for the non-production of the letters, that he left them in his trunk in the hotel at Lawrence, in Kansas, and that he learns that when the hotel in Lawrence was sacked, his trunk was rifled and its contents stolen, and says that his letters have not since been heard of! Comment on so flimsy a subterfuge is unnecessary.

Gov. Reeder's description of his last interview with the President is amongst the most extraordinary portions of his deposition. He says this last interview was "courteous," but not so "amicable" as others had been. The point on which its consummation or failure turned, Governor Reeder says, was whether the President, in his future policy in Kansas, should "make concessions or compensation to the North in the pending difficulties in Kansas.—If the President would have agreed to follow Gov. Reeder's suggestion of making concessions to the North, the arrangement would have been consummated. The President declined to adopt his suggestion; and if he had done otherwise, he would not have shown that scrupulous devotion to his official duties which has distinguished his whole executive policy. It was upon his failure to convince the President that he ought to lean to the North in his policy, instead of standing firmly upon the compromises of the constitution, that Gov. Reeder says he broke off the negotiation; it was then that President Pierce said to him: "Well, I shall not remove you on account of your official action; if I remove you at all, it will be on account of your speculation in lands of the Territory;" and it was then that President Pierce generously returned to him the written papers which contained every admission which was necessary for his own vindication against any misrepresentation of their several interviews, and which Gov. Reeder has so unfortunately lost. Gov. Reeder, however, according to his own account, still lingered long enough to make another appeal in regard to his land transactions, and only took leave when the President shocked his nice sensibility by remarking that "if the vacation of his office could be satisfactorily adjusted, he thought all these matters could be arranged in such a shape as to promote his private interests." Gov. Reeder says he was so much insulted by this remark that he was forced to the alternative of "silent contempt, or an angry and indecorous reply." He chose the former, and "bade him good morning and left him." There is something so preposterous and ridiculous in this assumption of nice sensibility on the part of Governor Reeder—especially in view of the groundless insinuation, in the same deposition, that President Pierce had tendered him the mission to China as an inducement to vacate his governorship without offending his delicate sense of honor—and the fact, also stated in the same deposition, that he had suggested to the President the propriety of making concessions to the North as the condition on which he would vacate his governorship—that it is scarcely necessary for us to say that this whole scene, as described by Governor Reeder, is as baseless as it is possible for a pure fabrication to be.—We dismiss this invention with two remarks:

first, that we have no apprehension that any one right-minded man in the Union will credit the statement; the second is, that if Governor Reeder were not giving testimony in his own case and for his own benefit; if he was not a voluntary witness voluntarily disclosing a partial and partisan view of strictly confidential interviews; if he was not exhibiting a degree of ingratitude to one who was his friend when others censured the pertinacity with which that friendship was manifested, and which species of ingratitude, in the universal judgment of good men, entitles the ingrate to the distinction of being regarded as the "meanest of his kind"—if all these things were out of the case, the same book which contains Governor Reeder's deposition contains two letters of his which would make him a harmless witness.—In the first of these letters, writing to a friend in Kansas about getting his case into the Supreme Court, he says: "Nor do I see how you can raise in the Supreme Court, any point as to the validity of the laws, except the one of their removal to the mission. I have not, however, examined the case; still, I should think that a few free-state men on the jury would be a surer reliance than the Supreme Court. I should hesitate long before spending much money on the latter." In the second letter to Grove, in Kansas, he says:

"As to putting a set of laws in operation in opposition to the territorial government, my opinion is confirmed instead of being shaken; my predictions have all been verified so far, and will be in the future. We will be, so far as legality is concerned, in the wrong; and that is no trifle, in an official state of things, and in view of such bloody consequences."

"But I want you to understand, most distinctly, that I do not talk thus to the public or to our enemies. I may speak my plain and private opinion in letters to our friends in Kansas, for it is my duty; but to the public, as you will see by my public letter, I show no divided front."

PROVIDENCE JOURNAL.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, AUGUST 6, 1856.

THE KANSAS DELEGATE.—We think that the House of Representatives acted wisely in rejecting both the claimants to the seat of Delegate from Kansas. Whitfield was elected under fraudulent laws which never had any just validity. Reeder was elected under laws that were invalid for another reason, having been framed in much the same manner as the laws of the "Foundry Legislature" in this State in 1842.

We know it is argued that inasmuch as the delegate is not a member of the House, but only the agent of the people of the Territory, authorized to represent their wishes and to give information of their needs, and inasmuch as Reeder was clearly the choice of the people, although that choice was through no fault of theirs, but from the necessity of the case informally expressed, therefore the House might properly exercise the power of giving him the place which his constituents desire him to have. There is force in this argument and there are abundant precedents to cover it; but we do not think that such precedents should be followed, nor that any good would be accomplished by it, sufficient to compensate for the departure from the strict line of the law. We do not know as any thing would be gained for Kansas by having a delegate on the floor, under the present circumstances, nor do we think that there is much in the character of Gov. Reeder to make him a very desirable representative.

The sectional disposition of the South was manifested again on this question. Northern men voted on each side, both on the question of Whitfield and on that of Reeder, but the entire Southern vote went together against Reeder and in favor of Whitfield, who had no more right to represent Kansas than to represent Rhode Island.

APPROPRIATIONS FOR THE SUBJUGATION OF KANSAS.—The proposition to annex to the Army Appropriation Bill, or to any bill making appropriations for the support of the government in Kansas, a proviso that no money shall be applied to maintain the laws that prohibit the freedom of speech and the other unconstitutional enactments of the bogus legislature is perfectly proper and eminently just. The cry of "revolution" and "stopping the wheels of government," is all nonsense. The wheels of government will go on, unless the friends of the administration stop them by voting against the appropriation bills that furnish money for all the

legitimate purposes of the government, while they refuse it for the purpose of illegal tyranny and oppression.

But we do not think that a proviso repealing the bogus law of Kansas ought to be annexed to any bill which does not have a direct application to that territory. We do not think that incongruous matters should be mingled in the same bill, and we never approve of the practice of driving men either to vote for something that they do not want, or against something that they do want. There are members of Congress who say boldly that the laws of Kansas prohibiting the people from writing and speaking on slavery ought to be enforced by the military power of the general government. Let those members vote accordingly, but let the bill for that purpose be a separate and distinct one, confined to that single object and unmixed with any thing that a freeman need not be ashamed of.

COMMERCIAL ADVERTISER.

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON, AUGUST 6.

KANSAS—DISPERSING THE LEGISLATURE.—The President, it is reported from Washington, yesterday sent to the Senate an answer to the resolution of inquiry by what authority Col. Sumner dispersed the so called State Legislature of Kansas. The Secretary of War says that no orders were given to disperse any unarmed meeting of the people of that territory, and encloses all the instructions which have been given to the military commander there from his Department. Of the correspondence submitted to the Senate the following is said to be the most important portion:—

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, May 23, 1856.
SIR: Your letter of the 12th inst., this day submitted to me by the Adjutant General, has been read, with its enclosures. You have justly construed your instruction, and your course is approved. The zeal manifested by you to preserve order and prevent civil strife between our fellow citizens in Kansas received full commendation, but you have properly refused to interfere with the military power of the United States, except under circumstances and conditions contemplated in your instructions, authorized by the laws of the United States and warranted by the genius of our political institutions.

It will be equally within your province to maintain the supremacy of the law and the duly authorized government of the territory, from whatever source they may be assailed, whenever the Government shall require your aid, in the manner specified in your instructions, and for the great purpose which justifies the employment of military force, it matters not whether the subversion of the law arises from a denial of the existence of the government, or whether it proceeds from a lawless disregard of the security for persons and property for the territory for which the government was ordained and established.

Very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
JEFFERSON DAVIS, Secretary of War.
Col. E. V. Sumner, Commanding First Regiment Cavalry, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas.

ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE,
WASHINGTON, July 21, 1856.
SIR: Your letter of the 7th instant, reporting your return to Fort Leavenworth, and the measures adopted by you under the proclamation of the Acting Governor of Kansas Territory, dated July 4, 1856, has been received and laid before the Secretary of War, by whom it has been returned, to this office with the following endorsement, which is communicated to you for your information and government:

The communication of Col. Sumner, and the proclamation inclosed, indicate that circumstances, not disclosed in previous reports, existed to justify him in employing the military force to disperse the Assembly at Topeka. Though thus indicated, it is not yet made fully to appear that the case was one in which by his instructions he was authorized to act, viz: that the instructions he had found the ordinary course of judicial proceedings and the power vested in the United States Marshal inadequate to effect the purpose which was accomplished by employment of the troops of the United States. Col. Sumner will be called upon to communicate upon this point. JEFFERSON DAVIS, Secretary of War."

Be the Commercial Advertiser.

To "Francis," from a Candid, Reflecting Northern Man.

Your appeal in Saturday's Commercial has been carefully read and reflected upon. The object and motive are so true and kind, that I have no doubt many minds will be touched by its sentiments. Many already agree with you; many will be easily persuaded; yet neither of these will avail you aught. The latter will not exert themselves to remedy the evil.—The former have but little influence with their opponents, as they are deemed prejudiced. The class which you wish to affect is composed of those who are now your most energetic adversaries, and before endeavoring (in all humility) to lay bare to you the wound, permit me to remark that I am a "Southerner" by birth, laying claim to a large portion of your

"chivalry," and actuated, I trust, by motives no less generous or high-toned than those which so clearly have prompted your effusion. Although linked to the North by ties of marriage, business connection, and association, yet my heart will ever linger most fondly over my home in the sunny South. My old "mamma," although free, still lives there, and all my school-mates and old friends form bands of attachment which can only be severed by death. Hence I am as desirous as you can be to see this storm allayed, and the fierce winds of commotion cease, so that there may be a "great calm" in our midst.

In the first portion of your letter you suggest that "the main purpose of the present agitation must be to prevent the extension of slavery; or to curtail it; or to sever the Union, and so get one portion of the country clear of the heinous monster." And you immediately go on to say that "such will be the result of this movement, whether intended or not; that "Southern men can bear but little longer," that "there must be a point at which endurance will be drawn to its utmost tension, and where another regulation on its power will snap the chord and make us twain."

Ab, my friend, this is not the spirit which first prompted your appeal. That was to convince your opponents that their object was unattainable as well as unwise; unjust as well as ungenerous. This is to affirm a long series of injustice and oppression to the South, which others will never admit; but on the contrary, will enumerate instances of determined resistance to the wishes and feelings of the North, not upon matters exclusively your own, and touching your own affairs, but upon which they have a right, an equal right with yourselves, to expect consideration and even-handed justice. You go on to say that "the object to be achieved is the abolition of slavery in these United States," and were this actually the case, I would candidly admit that your arguments are sound in every particular, and ours wrong.

But, my friend, the fact is not as you represent it. The object of this present movement in the free States is not the abolition of slavery in these United States; and until the Almighty shall see fit to so order events that in His wise Providence a way may be opened, this fair land must still submit to bear its cross. A few agitators have and always will entertain themselves with their own harangues; but, my friend, you cannot imagine that this class includes the generality of Northerners. We ridicule and laugh at them as heartily as you do, and treat them with the same contempt. But what is the great difficulty between us? What has suddenly arrayed two sections of the country in opposing lines, and has thrust into our hands the dread issue of disunion?

It is, brother, the repeal of the Missouri compromise, and the consequent opening of the gate to slavery. That slavery has existed, that it does exist, that it will exist, we admit is no fault of yours now. But will you continue free from blame if you willfully transplant it to more luxuriant beds, where it will gain renewed strength? Is not the sin yours, when you try to force its presence upon those who hate it? With what contempt would you regard the host who would seat two unfriendly persons side by side at his table? And yet you would force two deadly enemies to lie in the same bed. Truly, you might say, if you do not like it, keep away; but can you expect to retain the friendship of a guest thus treated? It thus operates in our political relations. You agree with us in regarding slavery as a black spot on the republic's otherwise fair escutcheon, and say, "let us alone and we will erase it speedily." And in the meantime evil members of your family secretly, stealthily, unresistibly, go on, spreading the blot over that portion which is unstained. Can you expect us to look on calmly, and see the family name thus stained? Remember, you, as a fair and candid man, admit it to be a great evil, yet capable of being much modified, and its effects greatly mitigated. In the latter respect I agree with you. But admit it to be ever so small an evil, and it still is a sin to spread it over a country yet fair and goodly to look upon. And this, my brother, is the secret of this whole movement at the North. Until the repeal of the Missouri compromise, agitation was confined to the few demagogues and fanatics who are but the drones in the hive of liberty. Good men uttered no voice save that of love and expostulation. But as a consequence of that repeal, all opposed to slavery saw its prospective increase, and good men now raise their voices in solemn protest and warning against the proceeding. I really do not approve of the extension of slavery, and at heart disapprove of the Southern agitators, and the angry feeling thus excited cannot be appeased until the South shows some intention of really doing something.

The grand difficulty between us, on our side, fanaticism, and on your side, selfishness. The word seems harsh, does it not? Yet what is it that tempts you to break down these barriers and resort to every measure to carry this institution into new territory, unless it be selfishness? The desire that the negro, your present wealth, may have a more extended field of operation. Is it not so? Could anything else drive you to brave the dissolution of this glorious Union? You see I throw the blame now on you, and cite me. If you can, an evil so great that the North has inflicted upon you, which it is in our power to remedy, I cannot think of one. Is it the loss of slaves which escape into Northern territories? Have not calm, candid, reflecting Northern men passed laws which, if enforced, effectually secure you in this respect? If the United States Government is powerless to carry out its laws, then indeed it were best that the Union should be dissolved. If state laws are more powerful than federal laws, the remedy lies with yourselves. The Senate of the United States must enforce its laws, or state retaliation follows.—This is all out of our precincts, however, and we as individuals cannot remedy it. The evil on your side can be remedied by you. Instruct your delegates to make no claims, and advocate no measures which shall extend this evil. Thousands of acres still lie

with its limits uncultivated, and the only advantage in introducing slavery into Kansas is to open a new mart for the slave dealer. Few, if any, of your settled plantations would care to move, and the positive good is limited to the class named.

Like yourself, my heart is filled with forebodings of the future. It startles me to hear calm, reflecting, men talking of disunion. What does it mean? Our Southern brethren are doing that which they know was declared by both North and South to be a bad policy, that to which our principles are opposed, and can you wonder that the North, having shown their opposition to the institution by emancipating their slaves, cannot bear to see it brought within their lines? Do they by this interfere with your rights as they exist? I certainly deem not.

FOSTER.

THE EVENING MIRROR.

H. FULLER:
EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.

NEW YORK,
WEDNESDAY EVENING, AUG. 6, 1856.

Stopping the Supplies.

The majority of the House of Representatives seem to be actuated by an abundance of zeal for the cause of Free Kansas, and indeed it may be a question whether stung by the atrocious usurpations carried on in that territory under pretence of law, their zeal does not sometimes get the better of their discretion. The other day when the Army Appropriation bill was under consideration, an amendment was tacked on making the appropriation conditional upon the event that no part of the military force of the government should be employed in enforcing the laws of Kansas. And yesterday when the Legislative, Judicial and Executive Appropriation bill was under consideration, amendments were ingrafted to the effect that no part of the money for Kansas be drawn from the Treasury until a bill be passed and approved by the President for the pacification of the troubles in that Territory; nor until the pending prosecutions for treason and other alleged offences against the laws of the Legislature which assembled at Shawnee Mission, be dismissed.

The Free State men of the House thus seem to have adopted the plan of cutting off the supplies and stopping the wheels of government until they can accomplish their purpose in reference to the difficulties in Kansas. We regret that they should deem it necessary to pursue such an extreme course; while we admire their determination to redress the outrages inflicted by the invading Missourians and countenanced by the Administration, it strikes us that with their clear, working majority, they can accomplish their purposes in a more prudent and less irritating and demonstrative manner. Saying to the Judges of Kansas—for technically speaking, they are Judges—you shall not receive your salaries unless you shall acquit certain persons charged with crime, is the last way to reach these officers who are well supplied with money, and will probably only exasperate them to fresh aggressions.

Besides, making appropriations conditional upon the passage of bills by Congress, the consent of the President, and the decision of Judges, is an interference with the different departments of Government, and a bad, as well as an impolitic principle to adopt. Like a two-edged sword, it may be made to cut both ways.

NEWARK DAILY ADVERTISER

WEDNESDAY EVENING, AUGUST 6, 1856.

The Power of the Executive.

When the opponents of FREMONT and DAYTON are driven into a corner, and obliged to confess that their candidates, if elected, will do nothing to repel the aggressive ambition of the slave States, we are treated with very strange assertions in relation to the power of the Executive. On other occasions, his legitimate faculties and influence taken together, are represented as being little, if any, inferior to those of the kingly office. People are advised to be keenly jealous of the very dangerous prerogatives of the Presidential office; but when there is a point to carry, which cannot be effected without making it appear as

an insignificant affair, why then the authority and influence, direct and indirect, of the first magistrate, dwindle to a small figure indeed.

The truth lies between these two definitions. The real fact is, that the Executive is not omnipotent; yet he is match for any other department by the terms of the Constitution; and, when he happens to be a man of force, ability and decision, there is danger of his becoming an overmatch for the rest. Take the present slave question for example. If Pierce had been John Quincy Adams, or John C. Fremont, the Nebraska-Kansas act never would have passed. Go further, and suppose it a law, and that afterwards either of those gentlemen had succeeded to the Presidency, then that law would not have been executed in the way it has been. Kansas would not have been bound hand and foot, and, thus pinioned, set upon by robbers and homicides from Missouri and elsewhere, despoiled of their property, slaughtered, or driven from their homes. The troops of the United States would not have been marched into the Territory, or, if so, would not have been disgraced by being obliged to abet these ruffians in their crimes, or to force the illegal, tyrannical and void acts of a bogus Legislature upon the population, but would have been employed to prevent any interference of a foreign population in the domestic business of the Territory, and to secure to the settlers the exclusive and just management of their own affairs. How easy would have been the maintenance of peace and order to a President intending to do right? How smooth the current of events there under the judicious direction of the President alone without the assistance of Congress, which he could have had whenever wanted on the side of impartial equity!

But different has been the condition of that ill-fated and unhappy country! Well may Mr. Pierce have remarked lately to a gentleman, that the affairs of Kansas had caused him more disquietude and loss of mental peace, than any occurrence with which he has been connected, since the death of his son. We believe it has—if not, that it will. Nor has it been, or will be as mere matter of anxiety only, but if he is a man, his own conscience must be lacerated by the thought of what he has suffered to be done to his fellow-men in Kansas, and how he might have prevented suffering and oppression. Innocent men are yet languishing in prison, and they, with their families, are kept day and night in painful uncertainty of their fate. Can Mr. Pierce be comfortable at his Washington house, while things like these are perpetrated with his approval, for without his encouragement they never would have been done, and would be done no longer. While the excitement of his high station lasts, remorse may defer its visits to his palace; but when he retires to the quiet of his New Hampshire home, the wounds made by his great domestic loss will naturally be reopened. Then, then, the other thought of a whole people outraged and suffering by his culpable permission, will be added to his reflections. These will be more poignant even than the other grief, because they must come mingled with blame and self-accusation, from which bitter ingredient his other sorrow is exempt.

In these transactions the power of the Executive is displayed. Gov. Reeder, in the remarkable conversation with the President, of which we gave the tone and spirit some days ago, besought him to do a little, only a little, of what he could to alleviate the unhappy condition of Kansas. He might have done it—that was conceded; he had the power—but he lacked the disposition. He meant to oppress and conquer them, and therefore would not listen to a change of measures.—Gen. SCOTT could have brought about an immediate pacification, had he been sent into Kansas, untrammelled by orders from the cabinet, and protected against a "back fire" from the War office. But he was not; Gen. Smith was sent instead. How much is he better than Col. Sumner? What can either of them do when used as the mere tool of an unjust administration—a sort of prolongation of the Executive arm?

And yet it suits the apologists of slavery to say that Congress, not the President, has the destiny of Kansas in its hands. Some advocates for Mr. Fillmore excuse his fatal non-committal on this point by a similar assertion. Congress can pass laws on the subject, to be sure, but yet these persons know full well that the President can extend to Kansas protection, from foreign violence, without further law. With just such a Congress as there is now, a President, properly disposed, might have secured impartial justice in that Territory, and made it the reverse of what it is to-day. The importance, therefore, of knowing what Mr. Fillmore intends to do on this subject, if elected, cannot be exaggerated.

It is the purpose of showing how this consequence it is, that a candidate's sentiments about the Kansas question should be clearly defined, some go so far as to pretend, that nobody has any idea, that there is the least danger of its becoming a slave State. One would suppose this notion too absurd to be noticed; but it really seems to be entertained by not a few. What, no danger of being given over to slavery! Do you imagine that Atchison, and Stringfellow, the Governor, Marshal, and all the ringleaders and followers in the late forays and scenes of violence are fools without any probable object to be obtained? Is Le Compte an idiot in getting Robinson and others indicted and imprisoned for treason, when he has no expectation of accomplishing the scheme in which he with the others has embarked? No danger! When all these desperate and intelligent men have proclaimed over and over again, and acted as if they believed what they said, that Kansas SHALL BE A SLAVE STATE in spite of all opposition, come from whence it will! They have sworn it.

Mr. Davis says, you need not trouble yourselves about the territory or the restoration of the Compromise, for it would not secure liberty in Kansas as a State. This is a very superficial remark. No one imagines that the State will not have a right to accept or reject the institution of slavery as it pleases. But Mr. Davis and others will please to notice, that the character of the State institutions naturally and almost necessarily take their pattern from those of the Territory. If slavery pervades the Territory, it will be sure to triumph in the future State, which is heir to the Territory. If the Territory loves freedom, never fear for the State, which succeeds. The seed, therefore, now sowing in Kansas will be reaped hereafter. This Pierce and his clan know well enough, and it is this knowledge, which is stimulating them to such desperate haste and violence to sow the devil's seed in that large and beautiful region.

The Evening Chronicle.

Wednesday Evening, August 6, 1856.

Kansas—A Pittsburger in Trouble.

A. J. PEARCE, from this county, lately went out to Kansas, on a visit to the Territory. On reaching Leavenworth he was accosted by a band of armed invaders from the slave States, who demanded his name; and what State he came from. When he answered that he was from Pennsylvania, they ordered him to leave the Territory. He urged that he was no Abolitionist, and merely wished to see the country, but was nevertheless obliged to leave on penalty of personal violence. Mr. PEARCE has returned.

[From the Charleston News, 6th Aug. For Kansas.]

South Carolina is still unfolding in her efforts in behalf of Kansas, and her people continue to, forward emigrants and means. The executive committee of the Charleston association will dispatch another and a fourth corps to-morrow. They will go under the charge of Capt. Palmer who conducted the second corps, and had returned here for a short time on private business. Major Bell and Messrs. Merritt and Swift, were also here temporarily, will return with them.

We are informed that Major Wilkes was to have left Columbia yesterday with fifty or sixty emigrants collected from Chester, Union, and other districts.

MOBILE EVENING NEWS.

OFFICE: 24 ROYAL STREET.

MOBILE:

WEDNESDAY EVENING, AUGUST 6, 1856.

Mr. Fillmore on the Missouri Compromise.

Some papers at the South, more zealous than discreet, have endeavored to create the impression, says the Mont. Mail, that Mr. FILLMORE desires to attempt a restoration of the Missouri Compromise. Their principal argument to prove it, is that he was opposed to its repeal; forgetting the while, that their own can-

didate was in the same category precisely. In his letter to Mr. Yancey, in 1848, Mr. Buchanan says, "I OBLIGE to the Missouri Compromise." The argument made to prove Mr. FILLMORE in favor of the restoration, could be made—only stronger—against Mr. Buchanan.

But the fact is, that Mr. Fillmore is not, nor can be, in favor of an attempt to restore the Compromise Line, because:

1st. He stands pledged before the whole country against the agitation of the Slavery question.

2d. Because the seventh section of the Platform which he accepted is utterly inconsistent with the idea. That section reads as follows:

7. The recognition of the right of the native-born and naturalized citizens of the United States, permanently residing in any Territory thereof, to frame their constitution and laws, and to regulate their social and domestic affairs in their own mode, subject only to the provisions of the Federal Constitution, with the privilege of admission into the Union whenever they have the requisite population for one Representative in Congress. *Provided always*, that none but those who are citizens of the United States, under the constitution and laws thereof, and who have a fixed residence in any such Territory, ought to participate in the formation of the constitution, or in the enactment of laws for said Territory or State.

A cotemporary shows the state of opinion on this topic, at the North, in the following paragraphs:

The New York Courier and Enquirer of Friday, 15th, has a column of arguments to prove that Mr. Fillmore is opposed to all efforts for the restoration of the Missouri Compromise. It cites the votes of Fillmore's friends in the House during the election of Speaker, and the declaration of Mr. Fuller, their candidate, that he was opposed to the agitation and should vote against any bill contemplating such restoration—that twenty-six of the party out of thirty-four voted against a resolution declaring the repeal of the Missouri Compromise "unwise and unjust to a portion of the American people"—that every one of them voted the same day against a resolution declaring that "until the Missouri restriction of 1820 shall have been restored, *in fact or in substance*, to the said Territories of Kansas and Nebraska, fully and completely, to that extent and for that purpose, it is our solemn duty to the past, the present, and the future, steadily and firmly to persist in our efforts;" and that on the last vote for Speaker, every man of the party, except four, "voted for Mr. Aiken, a pro-slavery Democrat." It also says that on the resolution to send a committee to Kansas "to expose the border ruffian outrages," but three Americans voted *yea*—that on the resolution to appoint a committee to investigate the "Sumner outrage," the party generally "were opposed to taking action on that abominable act," and, finally, that "on the vote last week to admit Kansas with her free (Topeka) Constitution, not a man of them voted in favor of the bill, except Messrs. Milward and Edie, of Pennsylvania."

Verily, says the Savannah Republican, this is a telling record for the South, and while it is paraded to weaken Mr. Fillmore at the North, how strange that Democratic editors here are equally assiduous in their efforts to destroy him at the South!

The argument being given, the Courier and Enquirer sums up as follows:

"Thus, it is seen, that on every question touching the extension of slavery in the Territories, or its interests and credit as an institution, the American party in Congress which now supports Mr. Fillmore, are a pro-slavery party—as strongly and completely so as the Administration party itself."

The article closes with the following brief paragraph, which we give just as we find it:

"THE FACT IS INDISPUTABLE, THAT THE SUPPORT OF MR. FILLMORE IS THE SUPPORT OF SLAVERY LICENSE AND PROPAGANDISM."

But the truth is, the people cannot be made to believe that Mr. Fillmore entertains any such ridiculous notion as that a restoration of the Missouri Compromise is practicable. Like many patriotic men of the South, he was opposed to its repeal, because he believed that such repeal would endanger the peace of the country—but that is radically a different idea from that of restoration.

from any slaveholding State voted for the amendment, or for the bill amended. The whole Southern vote, without distinction of party, was in the negative, and on the final vote they were aided by thirteen members from the North.

After this was over, Mr. Dunn, of Indiana, brought forward the new Kansas project, which is considered as the ultimatum of the House for the settling of Kansas affairs.

The parliamentary state of the question was this: The Senate originally passed the bill, from the Territorial Committee, for a new census in Kansas, a new election, a new convention for the forming of a State constitution, for the admission of Kansas into the Union as a State, with or without slavery, as the people may thereby decide. This bill went to the House, and sleeps there. The House passed what is known as the Topeka bill for the admission of the State at once into the Union, with the abolition constitution formed by the irregular party convention at Topeka. The Senate, when this bill came to them, amended it by striking out all but the enacting clause, and inserting their own bill instead. The House bill went back so amended as to be the Senate bill in fact.

In the meantime, the House had before it a bill which had passed through two readings, and been referred to the Committee of the Whole, to annul certain acts of the Territorial Legislature of Kansas. To reach the subject immediately, and get the new project of the House before the Senate, Mr. Dunn, of Indiana, obtained a reconsideration of the vote referring this bill, called it up on its third reading, and then moved to amend it exactly as the Senate had amended the Topeka bill, by striking out all after the enacting clause, and inserting a substitute.

This was done, and carried through all the stages, and the bill passed by a vote of 88 to 74, a majority of 12. The list of yeas and nays will be found in another place. The same sectional character attaches to the vote, as to that on the Army Appropriation. The 88 yeas all Northern Free-State men. Every Southern vote cast was in the negative, assisted by about twelve Northern members.

The bill, therefore, goes to the Senate as the amended House project, for the adjustment of the difficulties in Kansas. The leading provision of the bill is a repeal of the principal features of the Kansas Territorial law, and the reorganization of a new Territorial Government, with the reenactment of the Missouri Compromise restriction upon the existence of slavery within the Territory, affirming the power of Congress to abolish slavery in the Territories, and enforcing it upon Kansas.

It annuls the laws passed by the present Legislature, treats them as an irregular and intrusive body, and provides to create a new Territorial Government, as though the act in force had never been lawfully put into operation; and by special enactment dismisses all prosecutions and charges now pending in any of the courts, for resisting the Territorial authorities.

The twenty-fourth section repeals, in express terms, the clauses of the Nebraska-Kansas bill, which pronounce the Missouri restriction upon slavery "inoperative and void," as "inconsistent with the principle of non-intervention by Congress with slavery in the States and Territories, as recognized by the legislation of 1850, commonly called the Compromise measures, and reserves in express terms and applies to Kansas and Nebraska the prohibitory clauses of the old Missouri act of 1820.

Between this bill and the Senate bill for a new census, a new convention, and a new constitution, leaving the slavery question to the decision of the people of the Territory in their acts, the Senate must choose in the first instance, and the House in the second. If the Senate refuses to yield, and the House persists, both of which are likely, two consequences result. For the first, Kansas will be left to all the disorders and dangers which beset the internal peace of the country, and be kept as the theme for partisan clamor, and the practicings of abolition demagogues upon the excitements of two contending sections—the aggressive passions of the North, and the patience and endurance of the South.

The second probable result will be the revolutionary attempt of the anti-slavery majority to coerce the Senate into compliance with their demands, under the threat of defeating the appropriation bills, and thus paralyzing all the motions of the Government.

If the error is as threatened, upon the House, not upon the Senate, will the responsibility be immovably fixed; and even if they fail to execute their proclaimed purpose, to rule or ruin, and enough of them shrink from the enormous outrage to defeat the scheme, the project remains as a lasting stigma on these counsels and counselors, and will attach itself as a perpetual opprobrium to all who may have identified themselves with it.

A party is never so near its defeat as when, in audacity or in desperation, it undertakes to insult the moral sense of the community by propositions so wicked and revolting.



The Daily Picayune.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, AUGUST 6.

We follow, as closely as possible, the proceedings in Congress in regard to Kansas affairs, which have reached a very critical position.

The amendment to the Army bill, adopted in Committee of the Whole, forbidding the use of the army to sustain the laws in Kansas, was passed in the House, and the bill finally passed as amended. The vote was 89 to 82—giving a total of only 169 out of 231 members. Sixty-two absentees, in addition to three vacancies. One member voted for the bill because he was sure the Senate would amend it! There must have been a very extensive system of dodging, or a very large pairing off, which is another way of dodging the record. It is worth noting that but a single member

From the Detroit Tribune.

The Issue without Disguise.

The South fully understands the magnitude of the present issue, and that it is not alone the fate of Kansas which is concerned, in this struggle, but of the vast scope of Territory stretching toward the Pacific beyond. Is the North equally awake to the magnitude of this issue? It is no longer pretended, by the South at least, that the "Squatter Sovereignty" humbug is to be applied to the settlement of the Kansas question, and this being thrown aside both by the South and in the Cincinnati Platform, whose construction it presided over, the issue assumes the simple form—shall Kansas become a free or slave State. We will present some extracts in proof of this position. We first quote from a letter from Mr. John Townsend, read at a meeting held at Charleston, South Carolina, for the purpose of promoting emigration to Kansas:

"In gaining Kansas, we shut out an enemy from our camp; we support Missouri, and immeasurably strengthen our outposts on that important frontier; and with her we not only secure Missouri to our ranks, but the Indian Territory, which is large enough for two or three States, will cease to be doubtful ground—as it now is—and all will be certain for the South. Kansas then is the Malakoff fortress, the taking of which will decide our victory in this battle with abolitionism in that quarter—a battle in which from three to five States are to be the prizes to be won or lost to the South and her cherished institution."

So the South is not only contending for Kansas, but for "two or three States." But we will quote another extract from a speech made by Hon. Josiah J. Evans, a leading democratic member of Congress. Speaking in the Senate, on the 3d of March last, he said:

"Well, sir, Kansas, although it is but one State when added, will be good enough for three more. And was it strange, then, that the South should desire possession of Kansas merely as a guarantee? There is no pretense that any of the great staples that constitute the great material of our foreign commerce can be cultivated anywhere within the limits of the Territories, outside of the Territory of Kansas. There, Mr. President, are the reasons why we desire Kansas."

We have another expression from Mr. Cadwalader, a leading Buchanan man of Pennsylvania, made in Congress on the 5th day of March. We quote:

"Justice required that the Missouri restriction should not be maintained eastward of the Rocky Mountains if it could not be extended westward of them to the Pacific.

"Property in slaves was thus in effect excluded wholly from their limits (the Territories acquired from Mexico.) The principle of the former partitions having become inapplicable, and slaveholding settlers having been altogether excluded from that Territory, the slaveholding States were of right entitled to an indemnification for their loss, if it could be afforded, by giving to them access, with their slaves, to other territory.

* * * * *

"These examples, which might be multiplied, suffice to show the inconclusiveness of the general reasoning of those who assume that what is legal is, therefore, necessarily rightful in a moral point of view; and of the reasoning in particular of those who, conceiving the total exclusion of slaves from the Territories to be lawful, assume that such conclusion is therefore necessarily rightful. Before concluding 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."

In these extracts the disguise is thrown off.

There is no fine talk about Kansas coming in as a free or slave State as the people thereof may determine. It is plainly avowed that the Missouri Compromise was repealed for the purpose of making Kansas a slave State. But not only is this object avowed, but the member of Congress, from Mr. Buchanan's own State, and his intimate personal friend, placed it upon the high ground of "morality and justice"—the very ground which the *Richmond Enquirer*, Mr. Buchanan's principal organ, says it should be placed upon. Here we observe a most significant harmony of opinion between leading democrats of the two sections.

Now if the purpose of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise was, as specifically avowed above, to extend slavery over Kansas, can any intelligent, candid man doubt that the subsequent proceedings in Kansas which have excited civil war there, have been acquiesced in and assisted by the Administration in pursuance of the original understanding? In view of the above disclosures what are the people to think of such men as Gen. Cass, who came home to his constituents and declared in public speeches that the repeal of the Compromise of 1820 would redound to the interests of freedom, when at the same time it was understood by the leaders North and South that it was an act specially done for slavery? Can the freemen of Michigan again repose confidence in such a man?

But we hear that Mr. Buchanan is a new man and not identified with this agreement of the locofoco party to make Kansas a slave State. Let us see. James Buchanan and the Cincinnati Platform are one and the same. The Platform repudiates Squatter Sovereignty and so does Mr. Buchanan, of course. The Platform endorses Pierce's administration and so does Mr. Buchanan. Mr. Pierce in his speech at Washington, in response to the Cincinnati nominations, said:

"I congratulate you that your choice has fallen on a man who stands on the identical platform that I occupy, and that he will take the same, with the standard lowered never an inch."

But we have this point still more strongly put, if possible, in the remark made by Senator Douglas in his speech at the New York ratification meeting, when he said:

"Buchanan and myself have, for several years, ever since I came into public life, held the same position on the slavery question, from beginning to end."

Could it be possible for a man to be more completely identified with all that has made the locofoco party a stench in the nostrils of the people than is Mr. Buchanan? To vote for him is to vote for Pierce; to vote for him is to vote for the repeal of the Missouri Compromise that Slavery may spread over the free soil of Kansas—your soil, yours by a sacred compact of whose benefits you have been robbed—to vote for him is to vote for the whole infamous policy of Douglas; to vote for him is to vote for the invasion, rapine and murder in Kansas, for the Court of Lecompte, and the prairie and river pirates of Strang, fellow and Donaldson. Weigh well the vote you shall cast next November, and see if it be possible to cast it for James Buchanan.

DAILY REPUBLICAN.

QUINCY, ILLINOIS.

THURSDAY EVENING, AUGUST 7.

CIVIL WAR IN NEBRASKA.

Read! Read!! Read!!!

The Border Ruffians are determined to 'subdue' all opposition. Free State emigrants are not to be permitted to enter the territory at all! The ruffians have now invaded Nebraska, to drive back or murder every emigrant passing through that territory to Kansas. No doubt they calculated on Douglas' bill passing Congress, and their policy is to drive out all free State

men that can be driven, and to prevent any more from getting in till after election.—
Read the following, which we take from the Council Bluffs Chronotype, of July 30.

The Border Ruffians invading the Territory—Free State Men to be Stopped—A Fight anticipated.

We have startling intelligence from Southern Nebraska. The Border Ruffians, from Missouri, have invaded the Territory, and, up to Sunday, had arrived within 20 miles of Nebraska city. They are over one thousand strong, are composed of Missourians, South Carolinians and Georgians, and are fully armed with cannon, &c., prepared for war. Their object is to stop the free State settlers on their way to Kansas, through the territory.

The news of this invasion reached Nebraska City on Saturday, and caused great excitement. About 150 men immediately volunteered to go to the assistance of the free State settlers, and messengers were despatched to learn the true state of affairs. Some 80 men were also raised to go to the aid of the Border Ruffians.

We gather the above facts from passengers who arrived in the stage on Sunday evening, and we presume they are in the main correct. Persons from Kansas, by the same arrival, also report a most disastrous state of affairs in the territory. The free State men are everywhere being driven from their dwellings, and compelled to leave the territory. The pro-slavery party seem to be determined now to make clean work of it, and drive every northern man out of Kansas.

WASHINGTON HUNT.

Mr. Hunt has hitherto been an old line Whig in New York. He has written a letter to Jas. A. Hamilton, which has found its way into the Newspapers, and among the rest the St. Louis Republican

Mr. Hunt after taking a general survey of the political arena, comes to the following conclusions; that it will not do to support James Buchanan, because that would be "endorsing some of the worst measures of the present administration, and giving our sanction to views of policy both foreign and domestic, which our best judgment condemns." He cannot support Fremont, because, that would be "combining sixteen of the United States into a political party against the remaining fifteen." He is however induced to vote for Fillmore "on national and conservative grounds, without any adhesion or allegiance to the party which nominates him." What these 'national and conservative grounds' are, does not very clearly appear in Mr. Hunt's letter, especially as he distinctly says,—"No man condemns or deploras more deeply than I do, the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, or the whole train of wrongs usurpations and outrages to which that evil measure has given birth. No one is more anxious to put an end to these calamities, and to PREVENT BY JUST AND LEGITIMATE MEANS THE EXTENSION OF SLAVERY INTO KANSAS OR ANY OTHER FREE TERRITORY"!!!!

Now as Mr. Fillmore endorses the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and does not offer a word against those "wrongs usurpations and outrages" arising from the said repeal, is decidedly in favor of letting the

wrongs go unredressed, and threatening the North with a dissolution of the Union unless they submit to the government of the slave power, and refuse to elect an anti-Nebraska President,—in view of these things we confess, that we are some what at a loss to conjecture what these national and conservative grounds are, which induce Mr. Hunt to vote for Fillmore. We are also unable to comprehend the force of his objection against Fremont. Why a majority of the states with a large majority of popular votes, have not the constitutional right to elect a President, we are at a loss to conceive. The framers of the constitution did not deem it necessary to insert a stipulation that a majority of states could not elect, unless they were divided between the North and South. It would certainly be no worse for a majority of states with two thirds of the population to choose a President, than a minority of the states with one third of the population to do the like. And this latter will be the case precisely, if Buchanan is elected, for he will be as much a tool for the south, as Douglas or any other slaveholder they could select.—He will be, if elected, to all intents and purposes a Southern President.

One conclusion drawn from Hunt's letter by the St. Louis Republican, which by the way is correct, is that he has no hope whatever of Fillmore's election. He has determined notwithstanding to throw away his vote on Fillmore, on "national and conservative grounds." The Republican takes occasion to draw another conclusion, from which we dissent in toto! viz: that it is the duty of Whigs to vote for Buchanan, because there is no chance of electing Fillmore.—For that very reason as well as others, we say let all honest men, Whigs or democrats vote for Fremont. Fremont is the only candidate who takes the views of the Repeal of the compromise and its direful consequences expressed by Mr. Hunt. The bugbear of arraying one section of the union against the other is worn out—it does not alarm anybody. The South has had their men in the Presidential Chair long enough—let the North have a chance for one term at least.

GETTING TIRED OF IT.—We learn from Western Missouri that the business men of the border towns—Westport and Kansas City, in particular—are getting thoroughly tired of the troubles growing out of the numerous raids of the Missourians upon Kansas. Their sales do not reach half their usual amount; debts for large stocks are pressing upon them, which they have not the means to discharge; collections are bad; and ruin stares them in the face. So, sensibly, the merchants in Kansas City—not the merchants only, but the larger part of the mechanics—have resolved to attempt to arrest the atrocious outrages which are impoverishing them, and to bring their perpetrators to punishment. With this view, they have formed a Free Trade Association, numbering one hundred or more members, the object of which is to protect emigrants who choose to land at their levee, and to defend those who come to the town to buy or sell, regardless of their politics or place of residence. They have at last learned that Border Ruffians, filled with bad whisky and loud oaths, swaggering around, each with a bowie knife and revolver, ready for a row, whenever he has an advantage, or for stealing a horse when opportunity offers, or for cutting a throat whenever necessity compels—are not the men to make a country prosperous, or its merchants rich. They have discovered that the quiet Northern man, with his higher civilization, his demand for more comforts in his home, and more decency of apparel, for machinery on his farm and in his workshop, and books in his house, is the true and best patron of industry

and commerce; and they are again reaching after his trade. The discovery is made late in the day, but it is valuable, and we trust the Free Trade Association will act upon its suggestions.—Chicago Tribune, 7th Aug

The Republican.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.
THURSDAY MORNING, AUGUST 7, 1856.

THE DISPERSION OF THE KANZAS FREE STATE LEGISLATURE.—In the rapid backing down of the administration upon Kansas affairs, it has at length attempted to shirk the responsibility of the outrage of dispersing the Topeka legislature by U. S. bayonets, on the fourth of July, and endeavors to shift it upon Col Sumner. Whether the gallant colonel will submit to the soft impeachment his reply to the secretary of war will probably soon inform us. Col Sumner certainly stated distinctly to the free state legislature that he acted under the orders of the president. He certainly left the impression upon everybody that he was acting by direct orders from Washington to do that particular deed. If he meant only that under his general instructions to do the bidding of Gov Shannon he was indirectly but virtually doing the bidding of the president, he should have so stated. If that is not the true version then there is a simple question of veracity between the president and Col Sumner. If it is the true version, then the president is fully responsible for the dispersion of the legislature, and it is not manly in him to attempt to throw the odium of the transaction upon Col Sumner. No such artful dodging can save the administration from public condemnation for its crimes against the people of Kansas, or shield its party from the consequences of endorsing and sustaining those crimes. The haste of the administration to retreat from its former insolence and injustice towards the citizens of Kansas, or rather to appear to do so, is nevertheless a most cheering indication of the power and promise of the great movement for freedom which now unites the people, a movement which no death-bed repentance of the traitors at Washington can arrest.

The MISERABLE BLEAR-EYED RABBLE who have been transferred, like SO MANY CATTLE, to that new country, are more to be pitied than blamed. This is what the Washington Union says of the northern emigrants who have recently gone into Kansas. The friends of these "miserable belear-eyed rabble" will have something to say in reply on the 4th of November.

Boston Daily Courier.

THURSDAY MORNING, AUG. 7, 1856.

KANSAS EMIGRATION. The Nebraska City News of July 26 has the following paragraph, which shows that Northern and Western emigration is steadily pouring into Kansas, and that the territory is likely to soon fill up with a law and order population, who will defy the borderers and their aids, and will settle the land with a people who are opposed to the establishment of slavery:—

Ho, for Kansas. About five hundred emigrants for Kansas have been encamped in our vicinity during this week; they are mostly from Indiana, Illinois and Ohio; and are principally composed of young active men from the country; and during their stay with us have conducted themselves in a quiet orderly law-abiding manner, and will be a valuable acquisition to any country that they may settle in. The route taken by this company has been by railroad to Iowa city, and by overland to this place, by the way of Oaklousa, Chariton, Osceola, Alton, Quincy, Frankfort and Sidney, and thence to this place. Sidney being distant from this point fourteen miles East. They describe the route as a good one, accommodations along the route are ample, with plenty of grass and water for teams; distance about three hundred miles. We learn that thousands more are taking the Iowa land route in preference to the Missouri River by boat, and that

Nebraska city will be the crossing point. In company with the above is a large company of Milwaukee emigrants equipped in the first style of emigrant art; with large convenient covered wagons. They bring with them their families, farming implements, cows, teams, &c., and intend settling in a community together.

The Atlas.

THURSDAY MORNING, AUGUST 7, 1856.

MENDACIOUS MEANNESS.

Does any one know what has become of one Franklin Pierce, about whom a great potheer was made some three years since? It is a long time since we have heard any thing from the gentleman. It is reported that he is in Washington, but the newspapers say nothing about it. His name has not been in print since that wonderful metempsychosis at Cincinnati the first week in June—the like of which Pythagoras never dreamed of; that change, sudden and unaccountable, in which a fine old fellow migrated from mortality to misery, without shuffling off the coil of life. A few days before that event Mr. Pierce was to be seen. It will be recollected that he astonished the country by a "glorious and Godlike" act about that time, by snubbing a fine old Englishman; but since then we have heard but little of him. The House of Representatives have enquired for him occasionally, desiring some information upon this or that point; but precious little intelligence have they received. He is evidently not to be seen.

The telegraph, however, informed us yesterday of fact or two, which may be interesting to the community. It is as follows:

"The President sent a message to the Senate, stating, in reply to a resolution, that no order was issued from the War Department to any officer commanding in Kansas, to disperse any unarmed meeting of the people of the Territory, or prevent them by military power from assembling. From the correspondence transmitted it appears that the Secretary is not satisfied that the circumstances were such as to justify Col Sumner in employing military force to disperse the Assembly at Topeka, and has called upon him to communicate on that point, it not yet fully appearing that the case was one upon which, by his instructions, he was authorized to act."

We have heard of a thing called a "little joker," a funny affair, by which credulous people could be gulled in spite of their senses; but we had no thought that Mr. Pierce could play a game so boldly, shrewdly, and wickedly.

We have no words with which to express our contempt of an act like this. Col. Sumner is an old soldier, and knows what it is to be a strict constructionist. He undoubtedly has obeyed his instructions to the letter. But the act performed by him is deprecated by the people; and besides, the act is doing damage to Mr. Buchanan; therefore, the President must perform an unparalleled act of meanness, by attempting to take the bundle of infamy from his own shoulders and cast it upon the brave man, who, while obeying instructions, declared it to be "the most painful duty of his life." Mr. Pierce, this will not do, you must carry the burden. No Mr. Legality, or Illegality, will relieve you of the bundle, heavier and more painful to be borne, than that which Bunyan's Christian staggered under; nor yet is there a cross, standing by the straight and narrow path, where tears of penitence may be shed, with a sepulchre at its foot to receive the load of sin. No, Mr. Pierce; a just and impartial public will not let you drop the responsibility. You shouldered slavery at the start—and now like the old man of the sea, it rides at will upon the political Sinbad. A monster, more hateful than the withered son of the sea, it has spurred Mr. Pierce on till death and oblivion stare the unfortunate, obsequious adventurer in the face.

But in contemplating the matter, we hardly know which deserves the most notice, the despotic vindictiveness of slavery, or the heartlessness of its poor tool, who can thus unblushingly throw obloquy upon a noble man. Poor Sancho Panza's tossing in the blanket, by the tailors of Segovia, was nothing to what

Mr. Pierce has received at the hands of the... No Maritornes gives him a cooling draught, and, lacking the pluck of the redoubtable squire, he pays his reckoning, and is then kicked out, only to cringe at the feet of those who eject him.

A record might be read, showing the deeds of the gallant squire, now riding at full tilt towards Col. Sumner, but we pass it.

The days of Mr. Pierce are drawing to a close. A few more months and the world will hardly know that he ever existed. He has done wickedly, and the time for repentance is short. His political candle is burning to the socket. Like the prayerless impenitent, in the pennyroyal fugue of our fathers:

"Poor man, he lies in sad surprise,
And thus he doth complain:
No grace I've got, and I cannot
Recall my life again."

Proudly Mr. Pierce stepped upon the stage, speaking high-sounding words; ignominiously he leaves it, with the hisses and imprecations of an outraged public following him.

THE DESTRUCTION OF LAWRENCE.—The Philadelphia Gazette says that Judge Lecompte has written a letter to Hon. E. A. Hannegan, replying to an inquiry concerning the order issued for the destruction of the hotel and newspaper office in Lawrence. Mr. Hannegan asked by what Court, and under what proceedings the order was issued. Judge Lecompte replies that there was no order, and therefore the destruction cannot be maintained to have been done legally.

It is confessed that the Court over which he presides was in session at the time, that the Grand Jury presented the hotel and printing-office as nuisances, and that the mob, headed by the United States Marshal, destroyed them in pursuance of that presentment.

It appears that the letter has been published in the Evansville Enquirer, from which the Gazette has the following extract:

"A minister of the law, and independently of this, always devoted to the maintenance of law as the palladium of our safety, I cannot justify aught done without its authority; but I may say, nevertheless, that it is matter of wonder, that under provocations so manifold as existed when Lawrence was entered by this posse, no more irregularities were committed. Nay, it is matter of congratulation that there was enough of fixed purpose to avoid excesses, to resist the temptation to commit them *ad libitum*."

These are precious sentiments! Judge Jeffries could not have uttered any more acceptable to the Joneses of his staff. We should like to see the whole of Judge Lecompte's letter. However, we can wait; there is something in store for that gentleman. Somebody has got to settle a bill at the Eldridge House that was. Those that dance must pay the piper.

THE PEACEFUL TIMES IN KANSAS.—A correspondent of the Rochester Democrat, writing from Lawrence, July 25th, has the following:

Mr. Gleason, a good old man from Pennsylvania, was robbed of his two horses the other night. He applied to the Major of U. S. troops for assistance to obtain them. He was told that the Free State men were numerous enough to help themselves, therefore he could not harass his troops about a couple of horses. Well, some boys, it appears, went on Saturday evening to A. B. Wade's, a member of the Bogus Legislature, and demanded guns or something of him, I cannot learn what, but nothing was taken, or any one hurt. However, an attempt was made to arrest Charles F. Doy, on Sunday, by twenty pro-slavery men. He objected to obey, and defied the authority of the Bogus Legislature; but told them to fetch one U. S. soldier and he would go; or three Free State men and three pro-slavery. Without this, go he would not. After about three hours' hanging around, they fetched three Free State men, and sent away all but three of the others, and he went with the bogus constable. He was told he should have an examination next day; but from that time to this nothing has been done, nor is any one allowed to speak to him. On demanding his release, on Monday night, the Magistrate said he should keep him as long as he desired, and we might go to h—l! Thus things stand at present. A man went to see him yesterday, but the Buford men who have him in charge, asked where the man lived? He said Lawrence. They put a bayonet in his breech and helped him out of the village of Franklin, where they have the prisoner.

Two or three of the old line Democrats have come back to Kansas, from their towns east and west, and all are converted to FREEMONT men. This I think is ominous that the "loaves and fishes" are likely to be dispensed by Fremont, as they have been old wire-pullers for years, and well understand the signs of the times.

Last night, Mr. Perkins, daguerrean, of our city, was coming from Franklin, three miles off, and was stopped by a number of Southerners, shot at and beaten, till nearly dead. The only words passed were the question, where he lived, and his reply, that he resided in Lawrence. They said that was enough, and acted as before stated.

There is a rumor that all the officers at Lecompte are to resign at a certain time, and a Vigilance Committee is to go into operation in double quick time after the resignation, and put all Free State "horse thieves," &c. &c. through. In fact, to hang them! They think they have sufficient force. We shall see.

The people here are almost driven to desperation. What can be done? We shall have nothing left shortly. Yearling cattle are shot and taken in the night to the camp of those fiends; and there is no redress.

A notice is just posted on the post-office door, ordering all persons having any property to appear on a certain day and give in a schedule of their property, in order that it may be taxed. Signed, Wm. P. Fain, Tax Receiver for Douglas county.

TELEGRAPHIC DESPATCHES.

By the House Printing Telegraph Line,
OFFICE 31 STATE STREET, BOSTON.

THIRTY-FOURTH CONGRESS—First Session.
WASHINGTON, Wednesday, August 6.

SENATE.—Mr. Seward introduced a bill, which was referred to the Judiciary Committee, providing for a change of venue in certain criminal cases now pending in Courts of the United States for the Territory of Kansas. The bill was founded on the petition of Gov. Robinson and others, presented yesterday.

The House then went into Committee on the legislative, judicial, and executive appropriation bill.

The clause appropriating \$800,000 to pay expenses of the courts of the United States was read.

Mr. Grow moved the proviso that no part of this money should be employed in prosecuting or detaining any person or persons charged with treason or any other offence in Kansas. He desired to withhold support from the courts in the Territory, in order that the prosecutions for the alleged treason might terminate.

Mr. Stanton moved to amend by adding "or any prosecution which has heretofore been instituted for political offences." He wished to express his disapprobation of an Army being employed in the nefarious work of crushing out Free State settlers, and to preclude from paying out even one dollar to the filibustering and marauding parties.

Mr. Keitt contended that these amendments asked the House to make itself a judicial body, to determine whether treason had been committed, and decide in advance of the proper tribunal, whether the laws had been violated.

Mr. Grow's amendment, together with Mr. Stanton's, were adopted by 69 against 57.

The Committee rose, when Mr. Campbell, of Ohio, offered a substitute for the bill, omitting the clause making appropriations for the Kansas Legislature, excluding the provisions of Dunn, Sherman, and Grow, and restricting the proposed expenditures.

Mr. Washburn, of Me., raised the point that the substitute was not in order; he was opposed to the action of the Committee of the Whole being superseded by that of the Ways and Means.

Mr. Campbell replied he did not speak for that Committee, but for himself. He then explained at length his reasons for offering the substitute.

The Speaker sustained the objection taken by Mr. Washburn.

The House then proceeded on the amendments reported to the bill.

Mr. Phelps wanted the question met in an open and manly way. The amendment in effect proposes to shield the traitors from deserved punishment.

Mr. Dunn's proviso, that, "no part of the money appropriated shall be drawn from the treasury until the passage and presidential approval of an act for the pacification of the troubles in Kansas, which shall, among others, contain provisions for restoring the slavery restriction to Kansas and Nebraska," was rejected—45 against 110.

Yeas—Messrs. Allison, Ball, Barbour, Bennett of N. Y., Billingshurst, Breton, Buffington, Chaffee, Clawson, Colfax, Cumberack, Daniels, Deas, Dodge, Dunn, Harris, Flagg, Galloway, Granger, Holloway, Kealey, Knapp, Knowlton, Lester, Matteson, McCarty, Morgan, Merrill, Mott, Oliver of N. Y., Perry, Pike, Robbins, Sapp, Sherman, Spencer, Stanton, Tappan, Wade, Walbridge, Watson, Washburne of Wis., Washburne of Ill., Watson, Wood, Woodbury.

The question was then on Mr. Grow's amendment to the appropriation for the Judiciary of Kansas, that the money shall not be drawn from the Treasury till the criminal prosecutions pending in the territory against

the persons charged with treason or alleged violation of the laws passed by a body of men at Shawnee Mission, claiming to be the Legislature, shall be dismissed by the Court, and every person who has been or may be restrained of his liberty by such prosecution. Agreed to by 84 against 69.

Yeas—Messrs. A. Bright, Allison, Ball, Barbour, Barclay, Benson, Benton, Billingshurst, Bishop, Elds, Bradshaw, Breton, Buffington, Campbell of Pa., Chaffee, Clark Jr., Clawson, Colfax, Combs, Covells, Cragin, Cumberack, Darrall, Dear Deck, Dobb, Durfee, Edie, Flagg, Galloway, Giddings, Granger, Grow, Holloway, Hughton, Kelly, King, Knapp, Knight, Knutson, Kunkin, Kuo, Lester, Mattes to McCarty, Miller of N. Y., Millward, Moran, Morrill, Mott, Murray, Norton, Oliver of N. Y., Parker, Pearce, Felton, Pennington, Perry, Pettit, Pike, Purviague, Ritchie, Robbins, Roberts, Rubin, Sapp, Sherman, Summers, Spencer, Stanton, Stranahan, Tappan, Todd, Wade, Walbridge, Washburne of Wis., Washburne of Ill., Washburne Jr., Watson, Wood, Woodworth.

NAYS—Messrs. Aiken, Howe, Branch, Caldwell, Cameron, Davis of Ohio, Carlisle, Caskie, Clingman, Cobb, F. A. Co., Crawford, Davis of Md., Dorsdel, Dunn, English, Eustis Jr., Faulkner, Florence, Foster, Goole, Greenwood, Hagen, Hickman, Horton, Houston Jones of Tenn., Jones of Pa., Keitt, Kelly, Kilwell, Lecher, Lumpkin, Marshall of Ky., Marshall of Ill., Maxwell, McMillen, Miller of Ind., Milson, Myers, Phelps, Forster, Quinn, Seader, Scarborough, Rivers, Rufin, Ruffalo, Seaboard, Seward, Shorler, Smith of Va., Sneed, Stewart, Swope Taylor, Thurston, Underwood, Valk, Warner, Watkins, Whitney, Williams, Winslow, Wright of Miss., Wright of Tenn., and Zuni &c. &c.

The amendment of Mr. Sherman, similar to the above, was rejected—39 against 111.

The clause appropriating \$20,000 for the expenses of the Legislative Assembly of Kansas was stricken out by 90 against 58.

Mr. Grow's and Mr. Stanton's amendment, that no part of the money be expended in prosecuting or detaining any person charged with treason was agreed to—82 against 62.

The bill was then passed by a vote of 84 against 55, the Democrats, together with the South Americans, and Mr. Dunn of Ind., and Mr. Bennett of N. Y., voting in the negative.

Daily Evening Traveller.

BOSTON:

THURSDAY, AUGUST 7, 1856.

Correspondence of the Traveller.

LETTER FROM NEBRASKA.

NEBRASKA CITY, NEBRASKA TERRITORY,
July 20, 1856.

Editor of the Traveller:

As the rain is falling in torrents, and prevents us moving from the camp, I am enabled to take advantage of the delay to inform you of our movements. We left Worcester on the 25th of June, and consequently have been on the road some twenty-six days. On our arrival at Chicago, Sunday the 29th inst., we found that the Missourians had completely barred the river to the Free State emigrants who might desire to enter Kansas by that road. We then had no alternative left, determined to, as we were to enter the Territory, but the land route through Iowa and Nebraska Territory, a journey of four hundred miles on foot, commencing at Iowa city, the farthest point West to which the railroad has yet been completed.

Our company consists of thirty-one, nearly all of whom are from the neighborhood of Worcester. They are fine, athletic, active and intelligent men; and if they reach Kansas they will prove a valuable acquisition both to the cause of freedom and to the development of the material interests of that beautiful land. At Iowa city we purchased teams, wagons, tents, cooking utensils, and all necessary appurtenances for the pioneer life we were about to lead. Iowa city is fast becoming a central depot for the Kansas emigrants, who, flocking in large numbers there, make business, and will give a great impetus to its progress. There were several small parties besides our own in the city, and Gen. Lane, with over two hundred men, left two days before our arrival. We started from Iowa city on the third of July, and spent the evening of the Fourth on the prairie, twenty-six miles from the capital. The thoughts that came thronging fast, and the memories of the festivities in the East came up in vivid contrast to the position in which we were placed. Compelled to travel on foot in the heat of July over the broad Western prairies, the journey of four hundred miles, because a ruffianly crew of slavery propagandists had closed the proper and legitimate entrance to the Territory of Kansas, was a humiliating position to contemplate on the Anniversary of American Independence.

We travelled steadily since we left Iowa city, and have reached thus far without molestation or hindrance, though rumors of danger have been rife during the last few days. We crossed the Missouri on Friday evening last, and found our selves to be the first party who have entered this Territory. Gen. Lane, with over 400 men, from various parts of Ohio, Illinois, Indiana and Iowa,

is encamped on the opposite bank, about seven miles above. There are also several other parties encamped within short distances, along the river, waiting the result of a request for protection to Gen. Smith.

During our two weeks' travel over the beautiful State of Iowa, we heard nothing of Kansas masters till we reached the river, when to our surprise and sorrow, we found that the President had superseded Col. Sumner and placed Gen. Persifer F. Smith in command of the troops in Kansas. Gen. Lane has forwarded to him a request for protection to the men and their families under his direction, now encamped on the Iowa bank of the river, who wishing to settle in Kansas, desire to enter peaceably and unarmed, and therefore request to be protected by the U. S. troops. Lane will wait the result of this movement, scarcely anticipating a favorable reply, but his party are determined to exercise the constitutional right they have to settle in the Territories, and doubtless at any risk, will assert and maintain that right. Most of the companies proceeding to Kansas are unarmed, and with the exception of shot guns, for killing game, &c., have only such things with them as befit peaceable settlers. We shall not wait for Gen. Smith's reply, but push on with the utmost despatch to Kansas, for time is valuable, and the instruments for the salvation of Kansas, "men and money," must not be delayed. To our friends in the East we say, the nearer we approach the Territory, the more imminent becomes the danger, and the great necessity of saving Kansas to freedom is more apparent.

We have journeyed over a large portion of the State of Iowa, universally considered one of the healthiest and loveliest of the Western gems that deck the brow of the Union, and my eyes have been dancing with perfect delight and my soul has revelled in almost wild ecstasy at the broad and fertile prairies, that waving with luxuriant grass, high as a man's head, and fragrant with the most beautiful perfumes from the countless wild flowers that decking the sod, during the last week have met our eyes on every hand. Beautiful and lovely as this land, the remark heard on all sides from those who have been to Kansas, is that that land far surpasses everything we have yet seen in fertility and beauty. This is the stake we are struggling for; this the land which is to be blighted by slavery. If the East is wise and knows her duties she will send on her young men and means to aid them till the struggle is over.

The wild life which we are compelled to endure, comes rather hard upon some of our party, who have been used to different fare; yet on the whole we are healthy and even enjoy the freedom and independence that it brings. Our party is divided into three messes, with a cook for each, and a tent to sleep in. We average about twenty-two miles a day, and the camp-ground at night presents a picture worthy the pencil of a master. The ruddy glare of the fires, with the bronzed and travel-stained faces of the men busy in their preparation for the evening meal and the night's repose, forms a picture that once seen will never be forgotten. The heartiness with which most of the party eat the rude fare, which in the East they would turn from, is quite refreshing to behold, and though some few have sickened on the "muss" and other preparations of Indian meal "corn bread" which has been the principal fare, the majority relish it keenly.

I found the feeling in the Western part of Iowa to be strongly Republican, for instance in one village, where we encamped over one day, we found that out of one hundred voters in the township, there were but three democrats. Even the Postmaster was a Fremont man, and intended to vote that ticket. Every exertion is being used by the Administration party to vilify and abuse the Kansas movement, by blackguarding the leaders, and heaping terms of reproach upon the men. I have not taken up a democratic paper, or conversed with a Buchanan man, but what we have been styled loafers, ruffians, &c. The men of Lane's party have been accused of stealing provisions, fodder, &c., but our friends may feel confident that such reports are utter falsities.

Nebraska City, near which we are encamped, is within a short distance of the Missouri, and, within sight of the opposite bank. A ferry runs from Kearney City, which is one of the mushroom cities, built up by land speculators, too common in the west, on the Nebraska side to the Iowa shore. The river here is broad and rapid, and this place must become very important. The boats on their way to Council Bluffs, stop here nearly every day, and the trade is constantly increasing.

This city is only two years old, and yet contains several hundred inhabitants, and with the rich and fertile southern half of Nebraska, it must be very prosperous. There is plenty of timber and stone for building purposes, and from the numerous clear springs in the vicinity, it has been called "The Fountain City." It is intended to run a line of stages from here to the principal points in Kansas, so that when completed, we shall not be dependent on the river, nor at mercy of the Missourians for everything.

We start for the Territory of Kansas to-morrow, and I will endeavor to write you from Lawrence. T. P. O.

Ebening Telegraph.

BOSTON, THURSDAY, AUG. 7.

THE KANSAS PRISONERS. Nothing more infamous has been done by those in power, since the Republic was organized, than the arrest and imprisonment of the free State leaders in Kansas on charges of "high treason." Everybody knows that the charge against them was a malignant contrivance of the border ruffians to get them out of the way. It is utterly unfounded. It is so clearly an infamous outrage that its authors find it utterly impossible to invent even a decent apology for it. The only aim of it was to make it impossible for them to aid the people by their advice and influence, and to give the border ruffian regiments a clear field for operations. Their immediate object was to destroy Lawrence and dragoon the people into submission; and the Missourians having a very wholesome fear of Gov. Robinson and his associates, dared not attack Lawrence and proceed with the business of rapine and murder until they were put out of the way.

The most despotic governments of Europe are not accustomed to do anything worse. Indeed the administration has adopted their methods in its treatment of the people of Kansas; and in its proceedings against the free State leaders has carefully imitated their modes of dealing with "political offenders." Those who can do such things are capable of doing anything. The President deserves impeachment. On Tuesday, Mr. Seward presented in the Senate the petition of Robinson and others now confined in Kansas, on charges of treason, praying for relief. Referred to the Judiciary Committee. The petitioners set forth that their trial is to take place on the second Monday of September, at Leecompton, and, believing that they cannot have a fair and impartial trial, such as the Constitution guarantees to every citizen, they pray that the venue may be changed, and they be tried by the Supreme Court of the United States. Mr. Seward made an earnest appeal for early attention to this petition, but we presume that nothing will be done unless policy compels. The Judiciary Committee consists of Butler, (chairman), Loucey, Bayard, Ceyer, Toombs and Pugh.

Mr. Sherman stated, in the House, that in the county of Leavenworth there were 65 men, and in Douglas 6, charged with treason and other political offences, which every lawyer knows to be unfounded. In Committee of the Whole on the legislative, judicial and executive appropriation bills, provisos were adopted, that no part of the money be drawn from the treasury till a bill be passed and approved by the President for the pacification of the troubles in Kansas, which shall contain a slavery restriction regarding Kansas and Nebraska; and that no money be paid until the pending prosecution for treason and other alleged offences against the laws of the Legislature, which assembled at Shawnee Mission, be dismissed. The compensation and mileage of the members of the Legislative Assembly, officers and clerks, and the contingent expenses, (\$20,000), were also stricken out.



Dover, N. H.

THURSDAY MORNING, AUGUST 7, 1856.

LIFE IN KANSAS.

The following extract of a letter written by a young man in Kansas to his friends in this city, though not designed for publication, will give the reader a good idea of the insults and persecutions to which the free state settlers of that territory are subjected by the border ruffians:

FREMONT CITY, June 29, 1856.

Thomas H., Mr. Cole, and Mr. Dole, went to Topeka to get work at the same time that I commenced work here. We owned an ox team between us, and Dole took it and went to Kansas City to get a load of goods to haul to Topeka. On his way here when he had got about eight miles, he was met by four men on horseback, and one of them drew a revolver and cocked it and pointed it at Dole's head and told him to stop. They then took him into the bushes and questioned him as much as they wanted to. On learning that he was a Yankee, and that he was hauling goods for Yankees, they took his team, and one of them drove it back, and the other three drove him to their encampment. They kept him there several hours, and then let him go. He then started for Lawrence, and when he had got about ten miles, he stopped at a pro-slavery man's house and told him what had occurred. The man said that he was going to Kansas City the next day, and if he would go back he would try to get his team for him. So Dole laid down beside the road and slept that night, got some breakfast of an Indian in the morning, and then started back to Kansas City. Near Westport, which is about five miles this side of Kansas, he was overtaken by this pro-slavery man in a carriage, and the man told him to hurry on as fast as he could. But shortly after he was met by the same men that took his team the day before. They asked him where he was going. He told them he was going to Kansas City, and when they found that he was going after his team, they told him to just turn about and go the other way. They drove him before their horses back to where he started from in the morning, and when he did not go fast enough for them, they would run their horses on him and drive him along as fast as he could possibly go. He at length got back to Lawrence, where he staid a few days. From there he went to Topeka, and then came here and stopped three or four days, and has gone back to Lawrence again.

Business is mostly stopped here, and it is hard to get work at all. Men that have money don't like to lay it out until they are sure that Kansas will become a free State; for if it comes in a slave State, nearly all the free State men will leave it and go some where else.

Thomas H., and Mr. Cole, after they had been in Topeka a day or two, joined a party of free State men that was going on a scouting expedition through the territory. There were about 33 of them, and they were gone a week. They had two horse teams to haul their provision and baggage. They entered one pro-slavery house where they found twelve loaded muskets which they took, and carried off with them. All the fighting they done was to kill one pro-slavery Buffalo as they term the pro-slavery men's cattle. I don't suppose it is exactly right for them to do so; but it is the only way that the free State men can get any recompense for their losses, for the ruffians have been stealing all the horses and cattle that they could lay their hands on, and if there are men in the territory that will uphold them in it, they must look out, that's all.



NEW YORK, THURSDAY, AUG. 7, 1856.

THE PACIFICATION OF KANSAS.—It is not probable that any bill for the pacification of Kansas will pass at this session of Congress. Nor would any bill, unless it took the administration of affairs in the territory out of the hands of the Executive, which could not be done, have the effect of pacification. The fault is not in the laws; it is in the men whom the President has sent there to administer and to expound them. So long as Donaldson and Leocompte and their creatures rule the territory, it makes little difference what the laws are. The laws are sufficient already, if they were fairly executed, to suppress the outrages upon persons and property, and the right of speech; sufficient already to punish the perpetrators; but the laws are not enforced; the provisions made for the protection of the people are perverted to their oppression. The men who are bound by the most solemn engagements to stand by the rights and interests of the territory have burnt houses, destroyed printing presses, imprisoned the leaders to whom the people looked for counsel and direction, and connived at every outrage, up to assassination. They will do this under any law; they were sent out to do this, if this should be found necessary to the establishment of slavery in Kansas. The repeal of the Missouri Compromise was doubtless a great wrong, a monstrous violation of faith; but it was not illegal, and it did not necessarily involve the outrages by which it has been followed. All these were the contingent consequences, the reserved forces of slavery.

The only hope for the pacification of Kansas under the present administration is in the reaction which all these outrages occasion. Of this there are hopeful signs. The Democrats are alarmed at their own work, and are threatening to desert the instruments that they have appointed to carry it out. The removal of Leocompte is taken off, and Col. Sumner, who appears to have performed his painful and repulsive duties only under the compulsion of military discipline, and who has been complained of by the Southern party for his leniency, is now accused of exceeding his orders, in dispersing the Topeka Legislature. Col. Sumner stated, at the time, that he acted under orders, and we have no doubt that he will produce full and peremptory instructions for all that he has done.

The plan of refusing the appropriation for the judicial expenses of Kansas, is full of danger. To make the salaries of the judges contingent upon the satisfaction of Congress with their decisions, would be setting a precedent that might be quoted to the invasions of the dearest rights of freemen. The proper course would be to impeach the judge who has instructed the jury, in effect, that to speak against slavery is treason to the United States, and who has procured the destruction of a hotel and a printing office, on the authority of a presentment of the grand jury that they were nuisances. To refuse an appropriation for those who call themselves the Legislature of Kansas, but who have no more right to legislate for Kansas than for Rhode Island, may be well enough; but the question of paying the salaries of the judges and the expenses of the courts should never be raised. And indeed this remedy of stopping the supplies is not well suited to a republican government. In a monarchy it is a great safeguard against executive power; but here we have other remedies. It is our own fault if we do not apply them.

KANSAS.—Everything is quiet in Kansas Territory, from which we have accounts up to Tuesday. Lane's command of ragamuffins, to the number of 200, were still in Iowa. Lane himself had turned his head to the east, in the expectation of being able to levy further contributions in money, upon the credulous and easily-gulled Black Republicans of the North. But it is a little too late in the day to do much. All the money now contributed in "aid of Kansas," from the old spinsters and weak brotherhood of the Free States, will be wanted and used in the "corruption fund" to secure the election of Fremont.—*St. Louis Op.*, Aug. 2.

THE "BLEEDING" PATRIOTS.—It appears that the "bleeding Kansas" orators sometimes go in for "bleeding" hotel keepers. The Genesee Democrat states that a Republican leader held forth in Batavia a few days since in behalf of "bleeding Kansas;" and after running a bill of \$15 at the American Hotel, left for parts unknown, without paying the landlord.—*Albany Exc. Statesman*, Aug. 6.

GUNPOWDER PREACHING.—A pious young lady from the South who attended church last Sabbath morning near the Bangor House, was asked on her return how she liked the sermon. She replied that she felt as though she had been to a Fourth-of-July celebration.—*Bangor (Me.) Journal*.

DO THEY WANT PEACE.—We have been long convinced that the abolitionists did not desire peace and order in Kansas—that they expect to derive from the disturbances in that Territory, and the misrepresentation of them all over the country, their chief stock in trade in this canvass. If peace were restored in Kansas, and that "bugaboo" obliterated from the present contest, what would be left to nourish the passions of abolition for a single day? Nothing. It would sink back to its former insignificance, and tens of thousands now following its disunion banner would turn from it in disgust.—*Northwest*.

For the Journal of Commerce.
RELIGIOUS POLITICIANS.

MESSES. EDITORS.—I cut the following *morceau* from the close of an article in one of our city religious (!) papers "The Christian Herald (not Bennett's) and Messenger," of July 31, 1856, published in "New York and Irvington." The writer, who is evidently inoculated with the sweet spirit of the reverend riflemen employed in another "religious" sheet, closes an article upon the "coming Presidential election," in which he earnestly exhorts all who are opposed to slavery to "cast their votes for Fremont," with the following inspiring strain, evidently original. It is hard to tell which exceeds,—the *piety* or the *poetry*. The Beekman street Doctors must look out, or some of their "religious cotemporaries" will rob them of their laurels. Observe the "divine affluents."

Fremont's one that's bound to "run,"
On next election day,
And Dayton, too, a Jersey "blue,"
Will make a grand display.

They take their stand upon this land
Of freedom and of fame,
Resolved to see poor Kansas free,
And Douglas writhe in shame.

The Independent.

NEW-YORK, AUGUST 7, 1856.

DEAR INDEPENDENT:

Good and evil are most strangely blended in this world of ours, and in no department of it more than of the political. It is sometimes hard to ascertain clearly what is duty, and true men are necessitated to give their votes to a measure which involves antagonistic principles to one who supposes that an American Congress divides itself into two parties and suffers each party to propose and vote upon their preferences, with intermixture, is most decidedly verdant.

The last Congress passed the Kansas-Nebraska Act—a measure of infamy in its conception, and in all the features of its birth and growth. Connected with

he had a backbone. The political surgeons connected with the "White House," pronounced his successor plastic enough to be moulded according to the pattern made by the slavery fillibusters, and he was commissioned. He was too lumber in his spinal column, and found himself upon both sides at very inconvenient and inopportune moments. Besides, he had not sense enough, or else thought too much of his own reputation, to bear the entire burden of tyrannical usurpation which has marked the administration of affairs in that territory. The President and his Cabinet; yea, the regular democracy, had to bear the load, for Shannon blurted out his instructions upon every fresh outbreak of his tyranny against freemen there. The marshal and the judges, all pro-slavery men, went to their work as naturally as a butcher goes to his place of slaughter. But somehow the Governor was troubled with his official sins against liberty, and insisted that the father who beget should also acknowledge and assume the responsibility of his offspring. So Shannon is removed, and a third trial of the governorship is to be made. It will avail nothing. He must obey his instructions, and screen the democracy against the clamor of a free people, or his name will be soon written with the Ex as a prefix. And what have the people said and done during this slavery stock-jobbing operation of political managers? In the first place, they have consigned to their political graves most of the Northern men who passed the Bill. Secondly, they have purposed to elect as the successors of those men, a class of representatives whose principles were the very opposites of those politically defunct ones, and have accomplished their design with a few crooked exceptions. Thirdly, they have demanded the restoration of the Missouri restriction, and uttered an unqualified negative to the question as to whether slavery should be extended.

After eight months of time spent in a drawn battle upon the floor of the House, in which liberty has been providentially favored so as to be victorious in most every vital question, this healing measure for the nation has at last been reached, and a vote had upon the restoration of the Missouri restriction and the repeal of the Kansas-Nebraska Act. The report of the Territorial Committee was full, clear, and explicit; but Mr. Haven, of New-York, and Mr. Dunn, of Indiana, had each amendments in the form of substitutes. Israel was numbered, and it was found that the Committee's bill could not carry, but Mr. Dunn's substitute could, and the House was brought to a vote upon it. The amendment was adopted by a vote of eighty-nine (89) to seventy-seven (77), and the bill as thus amended was passed by a vote of eighty-eight (88) in the affirmative to seventy-four (74) in the negative. Thus has the popular branch which represents the people directly, repealed the Kansas-Nebraska Act and restored the Missouri Compromise. Of course it will fail in the Senate.

But now at what price has this been done? Read the record and see the evil blend most infamously with the good. In the twenty-fourth section of the Bill are the two following provisos:

"Provided however, That any person, lawfully held to service in either of said Territories, shall not be discharged from such service by reason of such repeal, if such person shall be permanently removed from such Territory or Territories prior to the first day of January, 1858; and any child or children born in either of said Territories of any female lawfully held to service, if in like manner removed without said Territories before the expiration of said date, shall not be by reason of anything in this Act emancipated from any service it might have owed had this Act never been passed. And provided further, That any person lawfully owing service in any other State or Territory of the United States and escaping into either the Territory of Kansas or Nebraska may be reclaimed and removed to the person or place where such service is due, under any law of the United States which shall be in force upon the expiration of said date."

Now if those provisos do not constitute a political mistake the basis of anti-slavery principles in him, the broad acres of what is to be a portion of the great center of our country. The government of the territory in all its official capacity was appointed for that single purpose. The first Governor (Reeder) bolted taken as slaves from thence to interminable bondage course which was laid out for him to pursue, and was removed for want of pliancy in his nature. In short, of cotton at the South. And furthermore that they may be taken to other Territories of the United States,

thus impliedly admitting what every freedom and constitution-loving man denies, i. e., that slavery can exist in the Territories under the Constitution. It effectually ignores the old, true doctrine, that if slavery has any existence whatever, it has it by positive State law; and where that pirate code of might does not exist, every man leaps into life a freeman, his freeman's right being the gift of the God who gave him being. Another feature of these provisos is found in its sanctions of the infamous fugitive-slave enactment of 1850—a code for the rendition of fugitives from slavery that is revolting to every Northern and Western nature. This is called into fresh power to take chattels under its protection, and at the expense of the public treasury deliver them manacled into the hands of men who, to spread the curse of slavery, took them to the Territory for the purpose of subjugating it.

And all this was passed. What for? In order to secure the repeal of the Kansas Act, and to restore the Missouri restriction. Too great a price to pay for a victory which was, and even now is, contingent upon the action of a pro-slavery Senate. The guard of liberty looked sober. They gathered in little groups, and labored earnestly, and begged that this cup might pass but if the numbering was correct it was the only chance. The illustrious prisoners of slavery in Kansas upon the charge of treason, seemed to implore the sacrifice, that the power of the modern Jeffries, alias Le compte, might be broken, and with a shrug and grimace too plain to be concealed they swallowed the nauseous dose. Some rose and entered their protest upon the record against the obnoxious provisions, while others supposed it would be taken for granted that they loathed it. Thus passed one of the most important acts of this Session.

Who will say that it does not need wisdom and patience, yea, and nerve also, in this battle of life, where the evil and good in too many cases "have to grow together until the harvest of the great day," when good and evil principles will, like their possessors, find an eternal separation?

Immediately succeeding this vote came the question of the contested seat of Whitfield. The Committee of Elections reported two resolutions—first, that John W. of Whitefield was not entitled to a seat in this Congress; and second, that Andrew H. Reeder was elected as a delegate from that Territory. This opened the whole Kansas question afresh, and the debate was spirited and powerful. Mr. Reeder was confined by sickness in Philadelphia, and his argument was read to the House by the clerk. Whitfield in person defended his claim in which he was aided by some of the ablest debaters upon the slavery side of the Hall. But the huge volume of legal proof taken by the Investigating Committee was an immovable barrier, and every shot which struck it fell powerless. The analysis of that report, and the classification of its facts by Mr. Sherman of the Committee, was powerful and conclusive. Nay, more; he himself was a witness, and put the question plumply to Whitfield as to whether he did not tell him in Westport, Missouri, that he (Whitfield) was then going into Kansas. And further still, that he (Sherman) saw Whitfield with a large number of Missourians en-route for the Territory. This was a blow between the eyes, and the meek and timid ones could not longer occupy a doubtful position upon the final vote of Whitfield's rejection. The vote stood one hundred and ten (110) against Whitfield, and ninety-two (92) for him. So the light of his countenance fades from the sight of the House, and Missouri does not represent Kansas in this body. The vote was strictly sectional for Whitfield, for not a single representative from the Slave States voted against him, if my notes are correct, and they were taken with great care. Two-thirds of the Northern Buchanan Democracy voted for him, and will answer to their constituents for the vote. I am slow to believe that in this struggle for the life of freedom in our country, any portion of our great North and West will sanction the Kansas infamy. Not certainly if the Christian men of the districts do their duty, and act as they profess, and as they daily pray.

The second resolution failed by a vote of eighty-eight (88) in favor of Reeder's admission to one hundred and thirteen (113) against him. Many bolted, declaring Reeder's election without law, but admitted that he had a majority of the votes of the actual set-

ters. And so Kansas—without a delegate. I cannot see either how they can have one in the present state of affairs in that territory. The legislature is pronounced "bogus" by this House, and any election ordered by it must also be "bogus" or void, and if any man should be sent here as a delegate elected by order of that fraudulent legislature, he could not be permitted to take his seat according to the decision of this House. The only hope for Kansas rests now in the emphatic utterances of the people of the country in the coming election. If, through the indifference or supineness of our friends, we are beaten at the polls, it will be taken as an endorsement of the slave-propagandism policy of this Administration, and we must give up that territory to the lusts of slavery, or its citizens will emancipate themselves from the curse only by a hard-fought and bloody issue. I have tried to impress upon your readers since January last the great fact that the slavery men are *terribly in earnest* in this crusade. It is its Waterloo battle, and it will result in its confinement within its own limits, or it will ravage the whole country with its demands. If you have anything to do, reader, *now* is the time. I believe in a Divine overruling Providence, and bless God for the sweet conviction that He reigns to bless well-meant labors, but as a correspondent expressed it, I also believe in the omnipotence of *work* in this crisis. Let every freeman do his whole duty manfully—all can do something. Each man has a neighbor to compare notes with, and by the Divine blessing we may return from the hustings in November crowned with success.

On Friday Mr. Brooks, of South Carolina, appeared with his credentials of reelection to a seat in this Congress, and was sworn in by the Speaker, while poor Sumner, I am informed, is very much debilitated, and great fears are entertained as to his ultimate recovery. South Carolina endorses this act with but *sic* dissenting votes, and thus places her public and official seal to the use of the bludgeon for the defense of slavery against the freedom of speech. The judge of the district fines the offender the paltry sum of three hundred dollars, and then holds out an expectant hand for an increase of his salary. I understand a bill has been before Congress for some time for an increase of pay to this and second, that Andrew H. Reeder was elected as a delegate from that Territory. This opened the whole Kansas question afresh, and the debate was spirited and powerful. Mr. Reeder was confined by sickness in Philadelphia, and his argument was read to the House by the clerk. Whitfield in person defended his claim in which he was aided by some of the ablest debaters upon the slavery side of the Hall. But the huge volume of legal proof taken by the Investigating Committee was an immovable barrier, and every shot which struck it fell powerless. The analysis of that report, and the classification of its facts by Mr. Sherman of the Committee, was powerful and conclusive. Nay, more; he himself was a witness, and put the question plumply to Whitfield as to whether he did not tell him in Westport, Missouri, that he (Whitfield) was then going into Kansas. And further still, that he (Sherman) saw Whitfield with a large number of Missourians en-route for the Territory. This was a blow between the eyes, and the meek and timid ones could not longer occupy a doubtful position upon the final vote of Whitfield's rejection. The vote stood one hundred and ten (110) against Whitfield, and ninety-two (92) for him. So the light of his countenance fades from the sight of the House, and Missouri does not represent Kansas in this body. The vote was strictly sectional for Whitfield, for not a single representative from the Slave States voted against him, if my notes are correct, and they were taken with great care. Two-thirds of the Northern Buchanan Democracy voted for him, and will answer to their constituents for the vote. I am slow to believe that in this struggle for the life of freedom in our country, any portion of our great North and West will sanction the Kansas infamy. Not certainly if the Christian men of the districts do their duty, and act as they profess, and as they daily pray.

But enough for the present, so adieu.

Yours,
PUTNAM.

SATURDAY, Aug. 2, 1856. POLITICAL ACTION VS. SLAVERY.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE INDEPENDENT:

The communication of "Victor" of the 10th July, and your comments thereon, seem worthy of a few words of inquiry from one of your readers.

"Victor" says, after quoting from Col. Fremont's letter of acceptance, "We cannot indorse the idea of state sovereignty so shielding the horrid system that the general government cannot reach it." This may be the opinion of Col. Fremont. He says (evidently referring to executive action under federal government), "While I feel inflexible in belief that it (slavery) ought not to be interfered with where it exists under state sovereignty," etc. If slavery exists by authority of state sovereignty, that is one thing. If only shielded by state sovereignty, it is another. Suppose that shield removed by a competent judicial decision. We take it, that Col. Fremont will execute the laws. We ask of him nothing more if the way does not appear clear to do more.

The legality of slavery then, not only in the territories but in the States, is one of the questions to be considered, and one of vital importance to the welfare of the nation.

I am not anxious that this question should in any way be brought to bear invidiously upon Col. Fremont, or any one, during the present canvass. If a good title, and one that would have stood the test of English law in 1776, can be shown for slaveholding, Col. Fremont's answer is a good one. If the title, however, proves to be a bad one, his answer is effect. While I dismiss Col. Fremont upon this point, he power and duty of Congress and the people upon all questions affecting the fundamental law of "justice, liberty, and the general welfare," is plain.

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An eminent judge remarked to those who practiced law under him, that it must be assumed that the laws were founded on "justice and morality." This is wisdom, for it prevents wrong implications where great interests are at stake, and they cannot be subverted except by express statutes by the law-making power. "To the law and the testimony," then, do we appeal in disposing of these twin evils, slavery and polygamy. Cannot we have the aid of *The Independent* on both these questions. The moral part being already settled, in the comments alluded to, there remains only the legal part to be made effective for their removal especially from the territories.

I respectfully ask then of *The Independent*, the authority for saying that "we cannot reach polygamy in Utah except by moral means." Can it be that we have a community in the very heart of our national territory over which we cannot, if we will, exercise "needful rules and regulations?" May we do it in Minnesota and not in Utah? I do not see why Congress may not prohibit and punish polygamy in Utah as well as slavery in Kansas.

[These questions are fully answered in our last issue under the heading, "Polygamy in the Territories." Our correspondent does not quite apprehend us. We hold that Slavery and Polygamy being contrary to natural law are thereby precluded from all territories of the Union. They do not require to be prohibited to become illegal. And the federal government has no right to ordain or sanction either, but is bound to keep out both.—Eds.]

Thank a kind Providence, the very men who undertook to establish "popular sovereignty" in the territories have been compelled to ignore their own acts and "squatter sovereignty" is among the things that were.

You say further that "slavery exists in South Carolina by the laws of that sovereign State." I call attention to two points in this statement. 1st, Authority that slavery exists by law in South Carolina, and 2d, the evidence that the States are sovereign on questions affecting personal and inalienable rights. Allow me to inquire also if those laws were made by competent authority previous to 1776, or the decision of Lord Mansfield in the Somerset case, and also, if any of the colonies had the power to establish slavery by their charters.

Again I ask, Can that be law in South Carolina which contravenes the Constitution of the United States? If not, is South Carolina a sovereign State wherein lies your authority that Connecticut sovereignty can shield those who have escaped from South Carolina to that State provided they were legally held to service or labor in that State at the adoption of the Constitution of the United States? If not, Connecticut is not a sovereign State. Under the constitution state sovereignty so shielding the horrid system that the general government cannot reach it." This may be the opinion of Col. Fremont. He says (evidently referring to executive action under federal government), "While I feel inflexible in belief that it (slavery) ought not to be interfered with where it exists under state sovereignty," etc. If slavery exists by authority of state sovereignty, that is one thing. If only shielded by state sovereignty, it is another. Suppose that shield removed by a competent judicial decision. We take it, that Col. Fremont will execute the laws. We ask of him nothing more if the way does not appear clear to do more.

The powers of the States in effect are municipal while the general government, while the power "to be believed" is forbidden to the States, as well as Congress except by due process of law.

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"Flourish Union" is a fallacy and the sublime anarchy of the people of these United States, to ordain this constitution is a deception. The Constitution of the United States was not made by the States, but by the people of the States, independent of State authority, requiring of the several States before they could share in the benefits of the Union, a republican form of government, which the general government is pledged to maintain.

We cannot too highly prize our glorious constitution or the freedom of these States, and in the language of Kossuth, that people is happy and prosperous in proportion as they are controlled by municipal laws.

What you say of the "one issue" is well said, viz., "whether slavery shall be set up by law under the sanction of the federal government upon soil which is free by nature and by the constitution." How can it be legally done on such premises? The danger is, that slavery will be practiced in the territories as it has been in the States, and then under plea of State rights and lack of authority of the federal government to interfere for freedom to the slave, (according to the opinion of the Supreme Court in the Kentucky slave case,) slavery becomes fastened upon all new States. Only one more step is necessary for slavery to take, and that is that the free States have no right to set slaves at liberty that are brought into their borders, and we become as a nation perfectly inert to protect the liberties of the people.

"The Philistines be upon thee, Samson." He was a strong man, but suffered martyrdom because his eyes were out. Look well to the legal questions that underlie political action.

"GUNPOWDER FOR LAMBS."

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NEW-YORK OBSERVER:

In an article under the above heading, you speak inof defending liberty in the pulpit, you say that "I mis- evere terms of remarks reported to have been made cerasibly mistake my Master's will, and prove beyond all y me at the late meeting of the General Association question that I am either totally unfit to be called a f Connecticut, and as you call upon those "who have minister, or have fallen from my first love, become ot yet bowed the knees to Baal" to pray for me, worldly and carnally minded, and am in danger of mak- resume that you are willing to have for yourselves, and shipwreck of mind and soul." As you express such o report to those whom you thus call upon to pray, fears of my terrible end, it may be well for me to state that my religious instruction for a time previous to my

Your quotations, if taken from any pretended report entrance upon the ministry, was from the Rev. Dr. f my speech, were from a very bungling one, in ac Erskine Mason, of New-York, who, above all other men, had me in thought and feeling; and who, with

At the meeting of the General Association, in answer to a brother preceding me, who condemned on the par of that city, dared to say in his own pulpit that "he f ministers any action, by resolutions or preaching would not be disfranchised because he was a Christian ed the Gospel I am still a member, and as you have against wrongs involved in political affairs, and lecture minister." Of that church to which Dr. Mason preach- ed the Gospel I am still a member, and as you have them upon disregarding the words of Jesus Chris ed the Gospel I am still a member, and as you have taken such a deep interest in my spiritual state, I sug- gested that you inform the present pastor, Dr. Joel Par- ker, of my fallen condition and of the peril to which

"Feed my lambs," I did say, we do intend to obey th my soul is placed. You charge me with "becoming a politician," and with "the lust of power." By what right do you words of Jesus Christ, we will feed His lambs—we will make such a charge? On what ground do you build feed His lambs in Kansas; we will give them bread such a gross assumption? Do you know that I belong for the body and powder to protect them against the to any political party? that I attend political meetings? make political speeches? Not a whit of it. I belong wolves of Missouri. I did not assume that to give the Christian people in Kansas bread to save to no political party; attend to no political wire-pulling. he robbers of Missouri—the wolves—(Did not Christ simply vote among the interests of virtue, humanity say, "I send you forth as lambs among wolves?")—was and liberty are at stake, for honest men if I can find a closer sympathy with the words of Jesus Christ than them. How then can you charge me with the "lust of power?"

Worthy members of Christian churches in New- of power?" You express your sorrow at the fact "that I inher- England have gone to Kansas, and us they have been robbed of their property and driven from the fields they the name of Winslow." Now, if you will somewhat were cultivating, and are now in danger of starving, is it refresh your memories in reference to the early bearers not in accordance with the Gospel of Christ, to give of this name, you might learn that however unfit I may them bread? "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one be for the pulpit, I have not so far departed from the of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me." The son and the grandson of Edward Winslow were engaged in military expe- Jerusalem and placed in the castle, he learned that ditions and held military commissions. My grandfather "more than forty" men had "bound themselves by unbelonged to the army of the Revolution, and my father oath to kill" him. Of this plot he informed the chief to that of the last war with Great Britain; and they, captain, who immediately provided a guard of several with myself, were born in Massachusetts. Therefore I hundred soldiers and sent the Apostle by night to Ce- have a legitimate right to use gunpowder in my figures sarea, and this military protection Paul sought and ac- of speech, and to sympathize with the friends of liberty cepted. Not forty, merely, but hundreds and thousands in Kansas. Governor Winslow the first, when in Eng- land under the despotic reign of Charles and Arch- have sworn to drive out or kill every Free-state man bishop Laud, was accused by the latter of "teaching

in Kansas; a threat against all the Christian ministers of the territory and the law-abiding Christian people; and we call upon the chief captain, Franklin Pierce, who, if he had a soul in him, would have done it ere this, to protect them from this ruffian invasion. These are the sentiments which I advocated in the Association.

Do you believe in the duty of the Government to protect its citizens? Do you believe in the right of self-defense—a doctrine held by the great mass of all the Christian people of this country?

You charge me with a purpose "to use the pulpit as the politician does the stump and the trader does the rum—to get votes; and that "this is my idea of the object of the pulpit and of the Gospel." The whole is an assumption or an inference from a gross misrepresentation of what I did say. I said no such thing. I said nothing about "going into the pulpit to get fifty votes." But I did say this, that if honest men would do their duty at the ballot-box, there would be no occasion for preaching on these subjects; but as they did not, but on the other hand neglected the primary meetings, thus allowing corrupt partizan leaders to furnish unfit candidates for the people; and alluding to the fact that the politician could go into an Irish row, and with rum buy fifty votes to defend slavery. In view of all this, I did say that I would go into the pulpit and speak fifty words for liberty, hoping thereby that some good influence might be worked upon the people. I said nothing about "preaching for votes"—nothing about taking "politics into the pulpit." I simply declared my purpose to speak for liberty when impelled by the slave power. Do you deny to the Christian minister this right? Do you teach in your paper that a minister has no right to speak in defense of liberty? Then you denounce the conduct of all the fathers of New-England who have adorned the Christian ministry and in whose fame we glory. Because I claim the right

of defending liberty in the pulpit, you say that "I mis- cerasibly mistake my Master's will, and prove beyond all y me at the late meeting of the General Association question that I am either totally unfit to be called a f Connecticut, and as you call upon those "who have minister, or have fallen from my first love, become ot yet bowed the knees to Baal" to pray for me, worldly and carnally minded, and am in danger of mak- resume that you are willing to have for yourselves, and shipwreck of mind and soul." As you express such o report to those whom you thus call upon to pray, fears of my terrible end, it may be well for me to state that my religious instruction for a time previous to my

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in the church, and of taking authority to perform the ceremony of marriage," to which Winslow replied, "that he did exercise his own gifts to help the edification of his brethren when they wanted better means; and that having been called to the place of magistracy, he had sometimes married some." And further he stated "that marriage was a civil thing—that he found nowhere in the Word of God that it was tied to a minister." And for this he was cast into prison, and there kept for months. It was then an ecclesiastical despotism, clothed with civil power, which denied to a layman his rights as a man and a Christian. It is now a political despotism, backed up by pious newspapers, which denounces the Christian minister for defending the rights of man, and discussing great moral questions involved in political affairs. It is the despotism of Charles and Laud, only under new banners. In this matter, about which I am so much blamed, I have asserted no doctrine which was not held by all the leading men who first planted New-England. I have asserted no doctrine which has not been assumed by the great body of all the leading men who have adorned the New-England ministry. And now, in the name of Christianity and of common honor, I ask why you make such wholesale charges against a man as yet unimpeached by his brethren; who was not rebuked in the body where he uttered the words which furnish an occasion for your assault? Why do you thus charge a man with "trampling the holy principles of the Gospel under his feet," when, if you know anything of his ministry, the charge is slanderous; and if not, it is made in such gross ignorance as would cover an honest man with the blush of shame? Why do you send your paper into my parish, laden with charges against me, which, if true, would for ever disgrace me in the eyes of all decent people? Oh! it's a burning shame that Christian men can so fall from the ways of honor! It's a burning shame that there is such a willingness to blast a minister's reputation and destroy his usefulness. A shame that a religious paper can so pander to the spirit of Despotism!

I demand, as an act of justice, that you publish this in your paper, that I may stand not by the words of a reporter, but by my own. HORACE WINSLOW, NEW-BRITAIN, CONN.

SPEECH OF HON. HENRY W. DAVIS,

OF MARYLAND,

Delivered in the House of Representatives, on the

17th of August, 1856, on National Politics.

Mr. Davis, of Maryland, rose and said: "Is Philip dead? No, by Jove—but he's sick!" Such was the chatter of the factious Democrats of Athens, chilled by the shadow of the coming Chironas.

"Will Fillmore decline? No, but he's too weak to get a single State"—say Democrat or Republican, shivering before the blast of the coming November.

Mr. Chairman, they consult prophets who prophecy pleasant things. Their hopes are the oracle speaking by the inspiration of their interests. And yet while they trust to the prophecy to produce its accomplishment, they confidently sigh, "Would it were bed time, Hal—and all well!" That bed time will surely come. But whether the couch of victory or the bed of death will be spared—ah, that's the question.

Sir, a party at brag and bluff is a suspicious witness to the goodness of his own hand; and the bystanders I believe do not usually regard him as a better witness to the badness of his adversary's.

If Democrat and Republican have conspired together mutually to play by-bidder at each other's mock auction—to put off on the country plated brass for gold—the people will have the sagacity to see that though Liberty be on one side, the image and superscription of the Union is not on the other, and the lacking weight will reveal the counterfeit.

I desire to make this discrimination. I wish to inquire into the weight of this style of brag, which has, to my poor understanding, exhausted the resources of my opponents.

Say the Democrats, "Do not vote for Mr. Fillmore, because he cannot get a single State at the North." Say the Republicans, "Do not vote for Mr. Fillmore, because he cannot get a single State at the South." And both are so simple as to suppose by thus excluding him from the regions of their opponents, that they have finally dealt with his pretensions.

Why is it that two parties as wide apart as the southern and northern poles have conspired together in this significant and novel way for the purpose of denying to their most danger-

ous opponent strength in the regions where the adversary of each is strong? There are two organized parties in this country which claim to represent adverse local interests. The Democratic party rests itself on its boasted and self arrogated privilege of supporting and sustaining the peculiar institutions of the South. Its strength, and its whole strength, consists in its assert on that it alone is the defender of Southern rights. It is therefore dangerous to them for anything to arise within the limits of the South and claim a hearing of the Southern people, which touches more nearly the rights of the people and appeals to the more elevated and noble sentiments of devotion to the Union and the Constitution. The gentlemen of the Republican party of the North aspire to represent that sentiment which is likewise local and peculiarly confined to the boundary of the North, and having no power beyond it. They likewise are jealous of the intrusion on their domain of any topic of such stirring interest as will call the minds of the North away from the contemplation of the perpetual cry: "Freedom is national, and slavery is sectional;" "the rights of man;" "the oppressions of the South;" "the equality of the negro race."

All these minister to the excitement in the North. They are subjects in themselves neither interesting nor attractive—not so interesting or attractive but that an appeal to the great interests of the country, the great fundamental principles of our Constitution, to the great danger of the agitation of these topics, may possibly reach the ear of the most besotted, and startle the reason of those who are still rational, that they whose talk is of negroes, and who think that the servants at the altar should live at the altar, may find themselves preaching to empty benches. One, therefore, and the other, each within his own region, seeks to drive out and destroy everything that may sow wheat among his tares. They may touch anything else but these rights of sovereignty, but put forth your hand and touch them in the very body of their power and they arise and curse you to your face.

The Democrat is jealous of anything which impeaches the high duty of extending the institution, and is impatient of men who accept it as an existing institution, to be protected as any other great national industrial interest is to be protected.

The Republican tolerates no man who questions the practical honesty of the higher law, and suggests the conscientious duty of conformity to the practical enforcement of the Constitution.

Both cry out, no compromise; both execrate all adherence to the existing condition of affairs as wisest and best. Each boasts conquests in the future over his antagonist. Each lives and moves and has its being in an atmosphere confined to its own region; it cannot breathe a moment the air on which the other thrives. Neither has any representative in the region of its adversary to soften their antagonism. They are both strictly sectional parties, tending to bring into collision hostile opinions, feelings, and interests, concentrated without mixture at the opposite polls of the country—each intensified like opposite electricities by the intensity of the other, and threatening, if brought into contact, an explosion which may shake the foundations of the Republic. Each knows that unless it can keep exclusive control of the whole region there is no hope of triumph, nor even of a collision.

In this lies at once their strength and their weakness.

Unless Mr. Buchanan can carry the whole South, and trust—not to party discipline, for that has died away—but to the chance of the bribe of high office to persons in the North to make up the deficiency of the Southern vote, my Democratic friends know full well that they have not the most remote prospect of succeeding in carrying him to the Presidential chair. And our Republican friends on the other side, with equal reason, based on equally notorious facts, know, if the State of New York is stricken from them, that they are a powerless minority, out of doors, and that no nominee of theirs can darken the doors of the White House. It is, therefore, not because of their strength but because of their weakness that the one and the other seek to produce the impression, which it is possible, and in charity ought to be conceded, each believes; but which it is difficult for men who hold a moderate and middle position like myself, not to regard in a very different light. It is for this reason that each party, deluded into the idea that it is enthroned in the exclusive control of its own sectional interest and its own sectional power, attempts the vain task of persuading the country that a man like Mr. Fillmore, resplendent with the glories of a great administration which speaks to those pervading and national considerations which wake responses in the hearts of the people, must be left in an insignificant minority of a few rational men of the North and South.

Mr. Chairman, long lists of names have been paraded of new converts to Mr. Buchanan.

Letters have been spread before the public, urging arguments with all the authority of names entitled to the profound respect of the House and the country. I know in these lists, whether they relate to Maryland or elsewhere, of no man who at the fall election earnestly supported the American cause. I see among the names on that list none who were regarded as the friends of the American cause. I see in most of them neophytes of Democracy, then hardened sinners against its benign rule, who were baptized last fall, whose tender faith has been duly instructed by the sponsors at their baptism, and whose public and formal declaration now is nothing but the ceremony of confirmation to the world of their earlier conversion. There is nothing in that list which need shake the confidence of any friend of the American party. There is nothing which makes the scale of Mr. Fillmore vacillate for a single instant in its inclination in the State of Maryland. There is nothing that in the slightest degree increases the difficulty of repeating, with larger majorities and greater eclat, the triumph of the past year.

But, sir, I rise now to test the argument thus supported by great names and wide-spread authority.

We are not to vote for Fillmore, because a majority at the North are opposed to his patriotic and wise administration—so runs the reason: because the majority of the North are not favorable to compromise and conciliation—so runs the reason: because the majority of the North regard the time as come when they must get a scourge for the South—because the majority of the North are of that opinion, therefore, in this contest which they superciliously assume is to be between the Northern candidate and the Southern candidate, all men must desert the candidate who is alone the candidate of the Constitution and the Union.

The argument is hollow and insidious. If the majority of the North be such, then the time for voting is past; it is no longer a question whether we will vote for Fillmore or Buchanan as President of the United States, because the South is in a pitiable minority in the Electoral College, and every vote cast there leaves her where she is, and without the power of self-protection. If the hour of madness be come; if reason be dead in her chosen seat; if the conservative North has ceased to be conservative, and is inspired by the hatred this argument ascribes to her people; then we have no election on the fourth of November for President of the United States. Mr. Buchanan will be ineligible as a foreigner to rule the South! We have passed by the time of the election of that man whose name is to close the fast of that illustrious line. The people in 1852 divined well that they were choosing the Honorable of the Republic, and fitted the man to the station.

The argument proves too much, if it is true. If it is not true, it is trash.

But the argument is put in a different shape, and it is pointed directly at Mr. Fillmore. His merits are made his incapacities. His truth to the Union is made the reason why Southern gentlemen, for whom he ran the greatest risk against the opinion of his own region of country, are to turn against him, desert him, for a man who has encountered nothing for them, or for the Union. The majority of the North are opposed to Mr. Fillmore, because of his wise and patriotic administration; they will then vote for Buchanan, because his administration will not be so wise and patriotic! They are opposed to Fillmore, because they are opposed to conciliation and compromise; they will vote for Mr. Buchanan, because he and his party have said no more compromise, and no more conciliation. They will not vote for Fillmore, because they want a scourge for the South! Unwittingly the argument pictures the result of that policy—which our Democratic friends have inaugurated and followed out to its bitter end.—The majority of the Northern allies of the Democrats, are supposed very likely to vote for Buchanan, because he will be a scourge to the South. If that be not the argument, then the argument is unmeaning!

Well, if that be the foundation of the argument, will not the gentlemen who appreciate the force of reasoning, cease to use it? Will they not give some better reason why Mr. Fillmore can get no strength at the North? Will they not say, "come let us reason together," and say that Mr. Buchanan better respects the great fundamental principle of the Constitution, and not base their argument on the revolutionary assumption that the majority of the men of the free States are run mad against the men of the South? It is very tempting, I know, to Southern Democrats. If the majority of the North are madly bent on punishing the South, they will pass Mr. Fillmore by, and inflict on it Mr. Buchanan as the more cruel scourge. The argument is good, sir—the fact on which it rests is not true.

Far different is my estimate of my Northern brethren. I am not aware of any act of the North, as they appear upon our statute books, or as executed from the Executive chamber, however wild may have been the votes occasionally of a majority upon this floor, or however dangerous the arguments pressed into their support, which in the slightest degree

has sullied the honor, or injured the interest of the South. They have differed upon industrial questions and decided them by party tactics; they have been set, one party against the other, in party manoeuvre, party triumph, and domination; but, I say that, during the eighty years of the Republic, there is no portion of this great land which has reason to cast into the teeth of either the North or the South that any great right of either section has been trampled down; any great right of the Constitution deliberately violated; any fact showing that madness rules the majority either at the North, or at the South.

But there is a solemn fact which my Democratic friends admit. There is hostility at the North. They adroitly point it at the South. They vainly strive to place the South between themselves and the shaft that has already smitten them to the earth. There is a wrath boiling up at the North, but it is a wrath which boils against them. There is a hostility at the North—but it is a hostility which they have aroused, which has stricken them down and will keep them down.

I wish to feel the pulse of the North to-night. I wish to see whether it be reason or madness throbbing there—whether it be the rational wrath of men who, believing they have been outraged in their dearest rights, or whether it be the madness of men who have flashed into fury causelessly.

Sir, there are a series of great facts which strike us wheresoever we turn our eyes. In 1853, the present incumbent of the Presidential chair was elevated on the shields of twenty-seven States, and born to the White House amid the acclamations of an exultant people, rejoicing in the advent of an era of peace. Three suns have run their course and now

"He is at supper—not where he eats, but where he is eaten. A certain convocation of politic worms are e'en at him."

"Since he miscauled the morning star, No man nor fiend hath fallen so far"

When he ascended the chair of State, a great majority of seventy in this House, obsequiously awaited his will. The sun had not thrice run his course ere that majority had shriveled to seventy-four men. Their place knows them no more. This side of the chamber is a charnel house of dead Democrats. The few survivors tread mournfully as they cross it—as a Roman might walk over Cannae. "The bloody ghost of the murdered Wright" still to the eye of the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. Cobb) disputes the stool with his successor of flesh and blood, (Mr. Fuller,) and many other spectres have left untimely graves to warn the pale survivors by their fate.

My honorable friend from South Carolina was early at the sepulchres of the righteous in New Hampshire vainly seeking signs of the day of resurrection of the body. But the snow still lay on the marble—the crocus of the early spring had not pushed through the frozen soil—and he returned sadly, chanting:

"A cold, deceitful thing is the snow, Though it come on dove-like wing—the false snow; 'Tis but rain disguised appears; And our hopes are frozen tears—like the snow."

Indeed, sir, the resurrection of the Democratic party at the North is an event not at all anticipated there. It has sunk from view—like water spilled upon the ground, not to be gathered again.

A stubborn resolution has been manifested at the North. Since that great day there has been nothing which shows that my honorable friends on the Democratic side of the House have a majority in one single State north of Mason and Dixon's line. There is not one single fact that shows that they can carry a State north of Mason and Dixon's line on national politics even by a plurality. The account of loss and gain stands at a set-off. If in Pennsylvania Democrats and Whigs and Americans have combined to elect a canal commissioner by a plurality only, in Maine Democrats and liquor men have united, and carried a local election by a plurality. In New Hampshire and Connecticut the Americans have carried the local elections by pluralities. If New Jersey had given a Democratic majority in a local election, California has come to the Americans by a great majority.

The faithful fondly hoped that some of those elections indicated a change of tide. They forgot that Falstaff "parted just between twelve and one, e'en at turning o' the tide." If there be any compunctions of conscience forcing them to cry out, God! God! God! let them beware of those Dame Quicklers who, to comfort them, bid them not think of God, and hope there is no need to trouble themselves with such thoughts yet; for when the parting Falstaff so cried and was so comforted, and had more clothes laid on his feet, the comforter, Dame Quickly, knew there was but one way, and when she put her hand into the bed and felt his feet—they were as cold as any stone—and then she "felt to his knees, and so upward and upward, and all was cold as any stone."

Sir, the fatal hour is come. Even while I speak, the stricken field of Iowa brings to them defeat and disaster, crushed hopes and cruel disappointment. Their feet are already cold in the North, and as we feel upward and upward and upward towards their head in the

South, all is cold as any stone. As yet we have no more clothes on the feet, for their pants are already rotting; that men may pray for the parting soul. But, sir, they are not without consolation. There are true Bardslophs, who, when told of their death, will exclaim:—

“Would I were with them wheresoever they be—either in heaven or in hell!”

Now, sir, why is all this? We need no election statistics for the response. They were the triumphant and dominant party at the North, and this great flood. Now they do not number more than fourteen members from the populous North in this hall. They were the party said to be specially devoted to the interests of the South at the North before this great flood. None so sound, none so unshaken, none so true to defend the South, through thick and thin, at all hazards and to the last extremity, as the Democrats of the North. Where are they gone? “Are they asleep, or on a journey, or at a feast,” or have they forgotten their duty, or have they become mad, or have they played like children—casting one vote for my honorable friends and another for their honorable opponents?

Sir, the American people have been bred in American habits. They are not in the habit of capricious and causeless change. And yet there is a change. I mean to speak the cause of that change out loud. It is, the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the enactment of the Kansas-Nebraska act, and the outrages in the Territory of Kansas, denied or defended by my honorable Democratic friends. They were warned by the honorable Senator from Illinois, who reported that measure, in his first report against it, of the dangerous consequences, and they would not heed the warning. In an evil day for his reputation he allowed himself to be overcome by party and personal ambition, and to be deluded by the hopes of party domination. He allowed himself to be deluded by the supposition that he could bring to the support of that measure the great body of Southern men, Whigs and Democrats, and that the temporary excitement would only raise the froth upon the surface, while the depths of the ocean would roll on in their sluggish sleep. Sir, he cast the javelin against the cave of Æolus, and all the winds of strife have rushed forth across the ocean and cast up a tempest which leaves of the vast fabric of the Democratic party nothing but scattered and broken fragments, cast on the shores for the wreckers to collect, and, as they measure the dimensions of mast and spar, to wonder what great admiral it was that has gone down in that terrific sea.

Sir, is not that the reason? I do not ask gentlemen to tell me whether it is an adequate reason. I do not ask gentlemen to say if the North is reasonable in her anger. I simply ask gentlemen upon their candor and honor if that is not the reason of the existing condition of things? There is no gentleman here whose breast does not echo that it is. And I venture little when I say there is scarcely one of my Democratic friends who can appreciate the position in which it has placed them, who does not, from the bottom of his heart, curse the day on which he was so misled. If they adhere still to the Kansas-Nebraska act, it is from necessity, and not from choice, that my honorable friends, finding themselves at the bottom of the water, have, like Cooper's sailor in the Western lake, seized a root to keep themselves there. It is from necessity, and not from choice, that with a mill-stone round their necks, they march down to the water for a swimming match, with light men having floats on.

Why, sir, what are their apologies—their apologies to the North, their apologies to their Democratic friends whom they have slain, murdered, and sent to the land of ghosts, for whose absence my friend from Georgia weeps? The Missouri Compromise—say they—was unconstitutional. But since when? say the North to them. That does not rest well, gentlemen, in your mouths, for it was a Democratic majority that passed it. It was the great men of the Democratic party, and more than all others, the great Marylander, Wm. Pinckney, who proposed, and advocated, and carried that great measure of healing in that day. The great argument which he addressed to vindicate the sovereignty of a State from the binding control of conditions imposed by Congress, is the argument misunderstood, broken into small fragments suitable to the strength and stature of those who use them, and misapplied now by gentlemen to deprive the power of Congress to pass the very Missouri restriction on a Territory, which he all along advocated at the very time of that great argument, and incorporated into the very act which is his triumphal monument to the peace which he conquered and perpetuated by it. And Mr. Monroe, their President, signed it—signed it not hastily—but after consulting his cabinet, in which was Mr. Calhoun, on the precise question of constitutionality.

Is that long ago? Has wisdom arisen in a later generation? Have new lights been discovered in the Constitution? Have judicial decisions cleared away the difficulty? It was in 1845 when that great Democratic measure was passed by which Texas was annexed to this Union, and my honorable friends, or their pre-

decessors, then in a majority of both Houses of Congress, passed the Texas resolution which enacted that every thing against which Pinckney directed the argument which they now make the arsenal for weapons to assail what he advocated. They cast their votes for it, and President Tyler, on the third of March, signed it. Oh, but Tyler was not a Democrat! Yes, but he was, by conversion or perversion, or treachery and desertion; he was by acceptance and adoption; he was by his cabinet and his administration; he was doubly so by the presence and counsel of Calhoun; the incarnation of the very idea of Southern strict construction; and it is understood that the resolutions came down from the Secretary of State, who was Mr. Calhoun; that it was his influence which despatched the resolutions to Texas for acceptance on the last day of President Tyler's term; and Mr. Polk, though on the spot, did not recall them.

That resolution declares that all the territory south of 36 deg. 30 min., whenever Texas should be divided, shall come into the Union with or without slavery as the States may determine; and that, in such State or States—(I ask gentlemen to bear the word State in mind)—in those States which shall be formed out of so much of the Texan territory as lies north of 36 deg. 30 min.—in those States—(I wish the word to burn itself into their seared consciences.) It is the thing which was in issue in the Missouri struggle. It was the only thing which was there disputed. It is the thing which was decided in the Missouri controversy in favor of the South to be an unconstitutional limitation on the sovereign equality of the States—in those States which shall be formed out of the territory north of that line, slavery and involuntary servitude shall be prohibited. And James Buchanan was one of the Democratic majority who advocated and passed it!

ALEXANDRIA:

THURSDAY MORNING, AUGUST 7, 1856.

Kansas Matters.

The House of Representatives, on Tuesday, in committee of the whole, had under consideration the civil and diplomatic appropriation bill. Further attempts were made to interrupt legitimate legislation by submitting amendments with a view of bringing the agitating subject of Kansas affairs before the committee. After considerable discussion, the item making appropriations for the Territory of Kansas was passed, upon the express conditions that all prosecutions pending in said Territory for refusing to act as a part of the posse comitatus, or for treason, or for taking part, as officer or otherwise, in any legal or illegal elections therein, or for political causes or offences, shall be suspended until Congress shall have passed upon the validity of the alleged legislative assembly of said Territory; and until such time, all persons now in custody for said offences shall be discharged from custody, and until such time no one shall be charged with any such crime or offence, &c. &c. The conditions and provisos to the Kansas appropriations embrace all the objectionable features of Mr. Sherman's amendment to the army-appropriation bill, and of Mr. Dunn's amendment to the Senate pacification bill, together with some new features suggested by Mr. Grow. As a matter of course, the House will adopt what was agreed on in Committee of the Whole; and, if persisted in after the Senate wipes out the extraneous matters, the civil and diplomatic bill will go by the board. The present House has done so many unparalleled things that we would not undertake to predict that it will not even resort to the defeat of this bill sooner than pause in its career of revolution, “Rule or ruin” is, so far, the practical motto of the House. The Senate and Executive must both yield, or the government is to be brought to a stand still!

The Scioto Gazette.

CHILLICOTHE:

THURSDAY EVENING, AUGUST 7, 1856.

They (the Republicans) have got up the Kansas question under the false front of lessening the measure of slavery,” and they have produced “a geographical division of parties” for the purpose of securing them “the next President.”—Advertiser.

The Republicans “got up” the Kansas question, did they? That's about the richest specimen of electioneering it has been our lot to meet with during the campaign, and we would advise our neighbor to take out a patent immediately for his discovery.

Allow us to ask who it was that repealed the Missouri Compromise, and thereby “got up” the excitement about Kansas! Do you suppose there would have been any excitement about the Kansas question if your party had not been guilty of that outrageous breach of faith with the Free States? Are you silly enough to suppose that the North would submit quietly to such an outrage as that! And now if we express our disapprobation of that act, and endeavor to send men to Congress in whose hands our interest will be safe, we are denounced as agitators, and are impudently told that we have produced “a geographical division of parties for the purpose of securing the next President.” The Advertiser must have very little confidence in the intelligence of its readers if it supposes they will believe such gammon as that.

It was your party, Mr. Advertiser, that “got up” the excitement for the purpose of making a President of Stephen A. Douglas; but the people have already placed their seal of condemnation upon him, as they will upon the party that approves and endorses his acts, and it is decidedly independent in you, now that you are sick of the odium that attaches to your course to try to lay the blame upon the Republicans. We expect soon to see you getting sick of the nomination of “ten cent Jimmy” and trying to lay the blame of that act on the Republicans.

Lynchburg, Virginia.

Thursday Morning, August 7, 1856.

President Pierce and Kansas.

Why was Gov. Shannon removed? We have seen no justification of the act by any of the President's friends. We are not aware of any call for it having been made, except by the free-state party. Gov. Shannon's only offence, so far as the public have been informed, is that he recognized the late Legislature of Kansas, as an authentic body & sought to enforce its laws. In this he was right, and should have been upheld by the Federal Executive. But there seems to have been from the beginning a determined purpose on the part of the President to make Kansas a free State.—Seeing that there was to be no contest in regard to Nebraska—that the South willingly surrendered that Territory to the North—he appointed a Southern man its Governor—but seeing also that the South was about to make an effort in Kansas, as if for the sole purpose of counteracting her exertions, he appointed a Northern man there—one whose sympathy with the free-soilers very soon became apparent—who threw the whole weight

of his personal and official influence in favor of the Free state party, and was, so far as we know, justified and sustained in it by the President: for be it remembered, when Reeder was finally removed from office, the reason assigned was that he had been speculating, against law, in Indian lands. The Governorships of both Territories became vacant—Nebraska by death, and Kansas by removal. The President adhered to his original policy and appointed a Southern man to the former—and tendered the appointment to the latter to two or three Northern men—when it was finally accepted by Wilson Shannon, of Ohio. He has refused to aid the free state party—and is now removed in behalf of another Northern man, of whose opinions we know nothing, but whose preferences in regard to Kansas may be inferred from the circumstances under which he receives the appointment, and the locality from which he hails. The Black Republican press is rejoicing over Shannon's removal. It becomes the friends of President Pierce and Mr. Buchanan to show some sufficient reason for the act. Till that is done, we are authorized to impute it to the fixed design of the President to make Kansas a free state.

Mobile Daily Tribune.
MOBILE:
THURSDAY MORNING, AUGUST 7, 1856.
Kansas.

The Charleston Mercury, in publishing the Appeal from Kansas, of which this morning we give an extract, says: "Following it is the brief, but stirring address of Maj. Buford, to the southern people. By the last accounts he was in Richmond. He may not be able to visit Charleston, but, at least, Charleston, can go to him, by furnishing resources to sustain a cause to which he has devoted his fortune and his life. Everything is in our favor, if we but seize the opportunity. The soil of Kansas is found to be admirably suited to slave-labor; it is the rear guard of the great slave state of Missouri; the majority of its present settlers are pro-slavery, but they are liable at any moment to be overwhelmed by an avalanche of free-soilers sent out by Abolition Aid Societies. It is the office of the south to meet and turn back this current."

In the Winnsboro' (S. C.) Register, we see a communication from Mr. W. W. Herbert, from which we extract the following paragraphs:

The idea of the Abolitionists having a majority of voters in the Territory is a humbug. The Pro-slavery party have beaten them in every election, notwithstanding the aid received from the North, by persons coming in and voting and leaving in a day or two after the elections. The very best proof I can offer in support of this opinion, is that Gov. Reeder gave certificates of election to over two thirds of those elected to the Legislature; while he would not have done, had he thought there was any possibility of the Pro-slavery members having been elected by fraudulent means. Those who know anything of the history of the man will come to the same conclusion with me. But although we have a majority in Kansas, yet our efforts should in no wise relax, for it stands us in hand to give them a blow in the coming election that will unshrink them; we should keep the advantage already gained, and by future emigration from the South overwhelm them with an increased majority, so as to put the matter beyond dispute. The emigration this spring has been five to one in favor of the South, and if this good work continues through the summer and fall, we will be prepared by spring to elect members to the Convention who will frame a constitution to the liking of the most fastidious South Carolina "fire-eater."

Mr. Herbert goes on then to describe the fertility and advantages of the territory. There is, according to him, a field there for all classes of men—all professions, except the doctor, who has his place with sickness and pain. But it is especially a tempting place for the mechanic and the farmer, whether the

latter operate on a large or a small scale. The greatest defect of some of the most valuable lands—those within the prairies—is a lack of timber; but as an imperfect substitute for this there is stone for building purposes. Water is every where abundant, and of the purest quality. As to the other characteristics, the following is related:

The lands will produce the first year (in corn) from twenty-five to fifty bushels per acre, and this without doing any other work than breaking up and planting. After the first year you may sow wheat or hemp, both of which grow to the greatest perfection. The fact is, Gen. Atchison, who is well acquainted with the country, is moving from Missouri over into the Territory, believing it to be a better farming country than Missouri. He thinks that a hemp grower may make from five to eight hundred dollars to the hand every year. This certainly must pay better than cotton or sugar any where at the south.

Kansas is as fine a stock country as America affords: In June (8th day) the grass on the prairies was in many places knee high, and all kinds of stock seem to flourish on it.

During the fall months any quantity of good hay may be cut for winter use. The winters are very cold, but this matters little to the hemp grower, as the most laborious part of his work is done in bucking his hemp after it is housed.

The summers are made pleasant by the constant breezes which prevail there at all seasons, owing, I suppose, to the openness of the country.

Usually there is reason for scepticism in cases like this, wherein there is a strong desire to induce men to pursue a certain path. It may be said by many people that the writer is eager to tempt men to emigrate to Kansas, and in order to accomplish this he holds out brilliant promises. This scepticism would be wise, if there were a conflict of opinion or statement on the subject. In all honesty, we say that so universal testimony—from all manner of diverse observers—we have never seen as is given in favor of the great merits of Kansas. The zealous abolitionist; the zealous southron; the lazy fellow who goes to the territory, hoping, like Wilkins Macauber, esq., that something may turn up to make him easy—the Missourian, whose interest in the territory has been enlisted more by a knowledge of its value than by an apprehension of a contiguous population pernicious to his welfares. All these men have given of it most tempting accounts. In short, there is no reason to believe that the harmoniousness of the witnesses in the case is not entirely due to the great, essential fact that no man can deny that Kansas is a land of great fertility, of great beauty, and of great healthfulness—a land wherein the white man may labor successfully for himself and the negro may be made as useful as within any part of the south.

The Daily Picayune.

THURSDAY MORNING, AUG. 7, 1856.

I think I have already intimated that Mr. Sherman, of Ohio, contemplates moving an amendment to the civil and diplomatic appropriation bill, restricting the civil authorities in Kansas from enforcing the laws passed by the Territorial Legislature. The effect of this amendment, and the one already adopted in the army bill, will be to suspend but not annul the said laws until Congress shall have either declared them valid or invalid. Mr. Sherman seems quite confident that these amendments will finally pass the Senate, with the aid of Clayton, Crittenden, and other opposition Senators who have declared themselves in favor of annulling all laws in Kansas which seem to abridge the liberty of speech or the press, or which prescribe other test oaths than one to support the constitution. I think he is mistaken, however, in his calculation, and that the army bill will be lost by disagreement between the two houses on the amendment. The proposed amendment to the civil bill will not be persisted in by the House, simply for the reason that some three or four Republican members will be personally and peculiarly interested in the passage of the bill, who will not consent to jeopard it in the Senate.

[For the Chronicle.]
ALL HAIL.

All hail the People's Candidate, John C. Fremont, all hail!
The sound goes out by Telegraph, 'tis choru'd back by rail,
Along our rugged Northern shore, across our prairies wide
'Tis rushing like a mighty wind, 'tis roaring like the tide.

Though nurtured in the sunny South, his is a free-man's breast,
And freemen's prayers ascend for him, the noblest and the best;
And bleeding, burning Kansas too, sends up a joyous cry—
"Thank God, there's hope for Kansas yet, Fremont and Victory."

Through all our land where Freedom dwells, our hearts united beat,
With one glad shout we'll place him in, the Presidential seat,
And when that glorious hour arrives, all freemen brave and true,
With heart, and soul, and voice, and vote, will "give them Jessie" too.

Our own Connecticut, our home, the home we love so well,
Hark! o'er her hills and through her vales, the notes of triumph swell;
When Freedom's battle shall be fought, her rank will be the front,
And on her banner broad inscribed, "Free Labor and Fremont."

But oh! the South will not submit! to whom the North elect,
And this from *Him*, whom all rever'd, whom all did once respect,
Not! for the South *late* noble Sons, sprung from a noble race,
They'll hurl the insulting libel back, defiant in his face.

That venerable "Wheatland Sage," why is his cheek so pale?
He fears the doom he's sure to meet, in each autumnal gale,
Forgetful, when at Slavery's shrine he basely bowed the knee
That "he who rules o'er freemen brave, himself must first be free."

CHESTERFIELD, 1856 W. T.



NEW HAVEN:

FRIDAY, AUGUST 8, 1856.

From Our Kansas Colony—How Fremont is Greeted—Douglas' Bill—Things as they are—Buford's Men still in Kansas—Douglas and Atchison—Town Lots Distributed—Saw Mill—Fillmoreism—Republicanism.

WAUBONSE, July 25, 1856.

MESSES. EDITORS:—We are greatly encouraged in our hopes for the future of Kansas, by the evidence pouring in upon us from all quarters that FREMONT is to be our next President. I am almost as sure that he will "come in" as you tell us Senator Wilson was. The starting of the campaign seems so much like the one of 1840 and '48—there is the same enthusiasm and confidence of success, which always are a prestige of ultimate triumph. But on the other hand we are uneasy through fear of the effect of Douglas' bill, new

ing in Congress. We rear that trap, so finely
receive some of our friends, and jeopardize
our cause,—but let us explain. The bill on its
face seems very fair, and apart from events trans-
piring here would be so. It provides for a Conven-
tion to consist of 52 members, and to be apportioned
to the different Counties according to popula-
tion, all which is well until you know how things
are being managed here.

For some weeks past special efforts have been
made to rush in to all the border towns large
numbers of Missourians and Southerners, and we
know that an unusual stock of provisions have
been taken to these places, evidently to feed these
adventurers—at the same time the propagandists
having control of all the inlets to the Territory,
are preventing Free State men from landing or
rather from proceeding on their way to the inter-
ior. Hence, while the pro-slavery districts are
rapidly filling up, the Free State localities in the
interior are blockaded. The murders and robberies
have to a great extent subsided, but the Buford
men are still operating in the way indicated above.

One of our teamsters direct from Leavenworth,
only a few days since, states that he saw one of
the Buford men, with a Sharp's rifle, in a store
where he was trading, and that the merchant told
him that it was one taken from a company of emi-
grants, sent back a few days before. He learned
while there that what has been before stated in
regard to the sending back of Free State men, is a
fact of every day occurrence, which nobody denies.
Hence it appears that Douglas and Atchison are
acting in concert, the one arranging a bill so plau-
sible as to deceive many of our truest friends, and
yet sufficiently dove-tailed into the operations here
as to render their success in some measure proba-
ble. The accumulation of a large population in
the border towns operates against us in a variety
of ways. It not only secures a large proportion of
the delegates, but under the bill it is very likely
also, in some cases, to swallow up adjoining Free
State Counties, because they may prove to be frac-
tious. By another clause in the bill, the very fair
yet deceptive, provision is made which allows per-
sons who have left the country on account of the
disturbances, to return and claim the right to vote.
This will accrue altogether to the advantage of the
pro-slavery party, as it will not only admit hun-
dreds of Southern adventurers, who have been
driven out of the Territory as armed bodies, and
are now prowling about Kansas City and Westport,
but also any number from Missouri, who can make
some show of citizenship, upon that ground,
while it is well understood that the Free State
men who have actually been driven back, some of
them quite recently, have gone too far to be likely
to avail themselves of this provision, especially in
view of all the other disabilities to which they
would surely be exposed.

The provision predicating the census upon the
residents in the Territory on the 4th of July, is
worthy of special notice, as we know that while
there probably were not a dozen Free State men in
Territory at that time, except actual settlers, there
probably were hundreds, if not thousands, of
Southern patriots and Missouri ruffians, scattered
over the country solely for seditious purposes,
who had no idea of anything further than contrib-
uting to make Kansas a Slave State. Yet this
bill offers every man of them the privilege of vot-
ing by simply making a nominal residence, in
Leocompton, or any other border town, from Aug.
1st to Nov. 1st. The whole arrangement is a most
striking illustration of concert of action between
the propagandists here and in Washington. We
therefore feel that the passage of this bill will
greatly jeopardize our cause, although we know
that to-day there are at least five actual settlers in
favor of a Free State to one of different views.—
But this bill is drawn with such consummate skill,
so plausible, so well guarded, such ample provision
for the protection of the ballot boxes, and yet so
perfectly adapted to serve the purpose of the slave
power, that we are in danger of being swallowed
up in the contest.

But, if the bill passes, we shall do the best we
can, and fight it out to the last, and perhaps we
may not be as badly defrauded as we fear. We
can bear a large cheat, but they may make it too
large. They certainly will have an opportunity as
has already been shown, if the bill passes; but we
must wait—be patient, and when the time comes,
be at our posts and do well our part for Freedom,
Truth and Justice.

We are quiet in our community and all things are
well with us. We have just divided our town site
into parcels, and a few days since distributed to
each man his share. Our plan was as follows:—
We first reserve for church sites six lots, for pub-
lic buildings six lots, and for school houses thirty lots,
part of them for sites, the balance to be hereafter
sold for school purposes, the remainder were di-
vided into parcels of eight lots, each as near equal

in value as possible, and drawn for by the mem-
bers. The size of these lots is 300 feet deep by 100
front. There is also one lot to each member, on
the bank of the river, somewhat smaller, making
for each nine lots, leaving also a surplus over and
above the reservations of nearly 100 lots, to be
hereafter disposed of. Our men are well pleased
with the arrangements and by a unanimous vote,
adopted rigid rules to secure to each man his
right and protect the Company from embarrass-
ment, by means of individuals trading off their
lots and removing to other points, or by any other
illegitimate system of speculation.

We have also started our saw mill under the in-
fluence of the first steam engine ever heard in
in Waubensee, and we think these two circum-
stances will give a fresh start to our business
operations and the development of the town. Feel-
ing as we do here, we were not a little surprised to
see a call for a meeting to ratify the nomination of
Fillmore, and still more to see certain names at-
tached to the call, and more yet at the suggestions
in connection with it in regard to sectionalism, as
connected with the nomination of Fremont. Have
these very intelligent and excellent citizens for-
gotten how supremely sectional all our Presiden-
tial campaigns and platforms have been for the
past twenty years, have the two great parties have
been compelled to submit to the most humiliating
resolves and promises to the slave power—how
they have vied with each other to see who could
stop the lowest and become the meanest suppli-
cants for Southern votes, and all in reference to
the protection of slavery? How the North, as a
"section," have been overshadowed, never press-
ing for a pledge upon any point, and how the
whole power of the government has been so wield-
ed by the public authorities as to favor the cursed
system, which never deserved to be mentioned or
thought of in a political convention, except to se-
cure a solemn pledge from all parties that its fiery
billows should be forever walled into their pres-
ent localities, by the common consent of the
country, and how the present position of the Re-
publican party is the result of excessive sectional-
ism in the administration of the government, sub-
verting its high powers and basely prostituting the
trust confided to them for the purpose of fostering,
extending and perpetuating the "peculiar institu-
tion," the very existence of which is a blot upon
the fair fame of our country; and how to effect
their purpose, a solemn compact, the very duration
of which for more than a generation had cemented
its walls, as we supposed, beyond the power of any
disturbing force, has been assailed and battered
down, throwing the whole country into agitation
and a blaze of excitement, and this section of it in-
to an incipient civil war.

And now because the people have organized to
check this current of sectionalism and arrest the
progress of the government, rushing as it is with
all the power it can control, toward a complete ab-
sorption of its functions by the fanatical propa-
gandists of slavery, the cry is rung in our ears
from the Potomac to the Gulf of Mexico, that we
are sure to dissolve the Union because we have for
the first time in the history of our government
started a sectional party.

The truth is the people of the Free States were in
a position where they must either yield to every
trespass upon the rights of Freedom, to every in-
vasion of the Slave Power into the Territory sol-
emnly guaranteed to Liberty; or organize to resist
these encroachments. In these circumstances they
have organized, and they have declared their pur-
pose and what is it? Simply that the infamous
measures that have been adopted to secure the
sectional ends of the devotees of slavery, by es-
tablishing it where it never ought to go, shall, if
possible, be defeated. That is all.

The Republican party have planted themselves
upon the broad principle of equal rights to all sec-
tions, and intend, if possible, to prevent the con-
summation of the most unholy sectional measure
ever proposed in our country, and for this they are
denounced as a sectional party. The charge is ob-
viously groundless. It cannot be vindicated by
an appeal to facts, and there is too much good
sense among our people to be finally humbugged
with it, and yet Millard Fillmore counsels nulli-
fication, if this effort to resist sectionalism should be
successful, and he finds, in his position, supporters
in Connecticut. When will wonders cease? We
may be all wrong and our esteemed friends all
right. If so the explanation must be found in our
obtuseness and we hope to be enlightened. The
only Fillmore men we have seen, are a few ultra
pro-slavery merchants in Kansas City, who were
formerly whigs. They now go in for the Ex-
President strong, and well they may, for he
would answer their purpose equally well with the
democratic candidate. To me it is quite obvious
that every vote in a Free State, given for Fillmore
by an anti-administration man, is a vote for the
subjugation and bondage of Kansas, and by con-

sequence the vassalage of the Free States, so far
as their political rights are concerned. May he
who rules over all, guide in our affairs and by
such means as may please Him, save this fair
heritage from the stain and the guilt of slavery.
L.

FROM WASHINGTON.—Gen. Whitfield, the rejected
delegate of the border ruffians, has gone back to
Missouri and Kansas to prepare for his re-election.
A supplemental bill for army appropriations has
been submitted in the Senate and referred to the
finance committee. This is an attempt to dodge
the army bill which came from the House with the
odious Kansas provision attached. The dodge
won't do, as the Republicans will add the same
proviso.—Senator Thompson of New Jersey (Buchanan)
has prepared a speech, which he intends
to deliver as soon as he can get the floor, claiming
that the conquest of California, instead of belong-
ing to Fremont, belongs to Commodore Stockton.—
Senator Jones of Tennessee (old line Whig) will
follow him, making the first campaign speech in
the Senate for Buchanan.

DAILY ADVERTISER.

BOSTON:

FRIDAY MORNING, AUGUST 8, 1856.

KANSAS.—The affairs of Kansas have at no
time been in a more interesting position than at
the present moment. The administration appears
now to be driven by the force of public opinion
and by the terror of losing the impending elec-
tion, to recede very considerably from the un-
tenable positions formerly assumed; and to de-
sire to extenuate, if possible, by a hasty and
late repentance, for the grievous wrongs either
directly inflicted or willingly tolerated by the
federal government. The new governor is
about entering on the scene of his labors. The
House of Representatives, by its action on the
appropriation bills, is applying a screw to the
adjustment of the machinery of the govern-
ment, which has not been called into requisition
on this continent since the times of the
colonial assemblies which preceded the revolu-
tion.

We printed yesterday an interesting letter,
and we give this morning further advices from
authentic private sources in Kansas. These
letters show the existing state of things in the
Territory. We also print this morning the
petition of the Kansas prisoners; and likewise
two of the letters recently laid before the Sen-
ate by the President, which indicate a disposi-
tion on the part of the administration to throw
the odium of the dispersal of the legislature at
Topeka on the shoulders of Colonel Sumner.
That gallant officer might well pronounce this
proceeding "the most unkindest cut of all."
He said publicly when he dispersed the legisla-
ture, that he was engaged in the most disagree-
able service of his whole military life; and he
asserted that he performed his part in obedi-
ence to his orders. We have no idea that he
exceeded his instructions; but the fact that the
administration appears anxious to disavow the
ugly business, is vastly significant.

We are not of the number of those who ex-
pect to see in the new governor, Colonel Geary,
another subservient tool for executing the abomi-
nable design of forcing the growth of the insti-
tution of slavery in Kansas, nor can we join in
the denunciations which have been poured upon
him in anticipation. The history of his life
as we have read it—the testimony of those
who have known him—and the circumstances
of his appointment, lead us to form a different
opinion of the man. Those Pennsylvania

EXPERIENCES IN KANSAS.

Mrs. H. A. R., the talented authoress of the admirable work—*Six Months in Kansas*—sends us the following interesting letter, which we are sure will interest our readers.

BALTIMORE, July 26, 1856.

My Dear Mrs.—: Since my return from Kansas, I have been suffering intensely from repeated attacks of chill and fever, a recurrence of the abominable pestilence which pursued me with such tenacity during the whole of last fall and winter. Although my mind has reverted to you a thousand times, and I have dwelt with gratitude upon the remembrance of your kindly offices, in consequence of this disability, I have been unable to present you the attention, until now, even of a line through the mail. But I am satisfied you will excuse me, knowing, as you do know, how utterly unfit this distressing malady, with which I am afflicted, makes me, for even the ordinary duties of social intercourse.

During my late sojourn in the territory, I was quite roughly handled, and had a very disagreeable time of it. I was beset at every turn by armed gangs of President Pierce's "law and order" militia; and, although no warrant or legal process of any kind was issued against me, I was arrested by a file of soldiers, placed in confinement, and when set at liberty, ordered to leave the territory. Failing to comply with this order, at the time designated, I was forced, at the point of the bayonet, on board a boat on the Missouri river, and set adrift. At the next landing place, however, I left the boat, and went up into the territory, and laid my grievances before His Excellency Gov. Shannon, who told me he could afford me no protection. The hotel at which I stopped, within ten yards of the Governor's office, was then surrounded by a mob of the most fiendish looking desperadoes I ever saw, who gave me fifteen minutes in which to leave the town. Satisfied that these assassins were encouraged by the Governor himself, and believing my life in danger, I left Leocompton, and retraced my steps to Kansas city, stopping one night at Lawrence. On my way down, I was stopped by a body of the pro-slavery banditti and searched, for arms; but having none about my person, was allowed to proceed. At Kansas city, I was again assailed by a large crowd, and very narrowly escaped on board a boat, with my life. In three days afterwards, I reached St. Louis—a fugitive, without crime or blemish,—driven from my chosen home in one of the Territories of the United States, by an armed mob, acting under authority of my own Government. So much for being opposed to Slavery in the middle of this nineteenth century, in this boasted "land of the free." Talk of "human progress"—pshaw! This "Model Republic" leads off, does it, in the grand march of civilization, treading up with steady and giant strides, the unbroken pathway of the race towards the summit of perfectibility, where clothed with eternal sunshine, we shall bask in the glory of a millennium! Beautiful—beautiful—moonshine, and tom-foolery. Our "Model Republic" is going down—down—to . . . where it belongs. This is its true direction; not up to Heaven, but down to —. And the sooner it arrives at its destination, the better.

Just before I left Lawrence for Kansas City, on my way East, I met Edward. He looked very well, had his coat off, and sleeves rolled up; was hard at work, at something, as usual. Poor "Uncle Jeff," he was also standing by. He looked fearfully hard. The prairie sun seemed to be drying him up. I don't tell his folks, at home, how used up he is; and he tells them all, invariably, when he writes, that, although times are very hard out there at present, yet he thinks they will be better soon. What a dark account you, and Edward, and Jeff, and I, have against the Government of the United States! It ought to be smashed to pieces for what it has done to us, if for nothing else. But Jeff is bent on getting his land. I am satisfied, however, they will cheat him out of that. Senator Atchison will no doubt want his quarter section and the Government of the United States will take it away from Jeff, and give it to Senator Atchison. And if Jeff does not quietly submit to the robbery, the President of the United States will order him to be indicted for high treason, and hanged. Where is the use of trying for anything under such a government as ours?

As for my poor self, I know not what I shall do next. I have exhausted all my means; am completely broken up; and am left, withal, in the enjoyment of a rich legacy of chills and fevers, contracted by hardships and exposure in fighting the Government of the United States, for the essential rights of American citizenship. As soon as I am sufficiently well, I may wish to go back to Kansas; but, in attempting

to do so, I shall be met on the common highway, by the paternal arm of the Government of the United States, stretched forth in the shape of a company of Col. Buford's "enrolled militia;" to put a bayonet or a bullet through my body, or hang me by the neck to the nearest tree. But no; I do not think I shall wish to return to Kansas, unless a change take place in the state of the country. If there be a sufficiency of public virtue in the Free States—whose rights no-less than ours have been trampled in the dust in this business—to draw the sword, at any time to come, against the despotism of the Government of the United States, in Kansas, I shall return, to assume my part of the responsibility and the peril. Not otherwise. To look to a change of administration, through the thimble-rigging juggle of a Presidential election, for relief and protection in Kansas, is absurd, as well as spiritless and low-lived. I put no trust in politicians. The election over, the verdict of the ballot-box will show only the omnipotence of party machinery, and the doings of the present administration will receive the false sanction of an apparent public approval. What then? Quiet submission to an insolent, nigger-driving despotism; nothing else. This is unlike and unworthy a people jealous of their liberties, and fit to be free. The sword, believe me, is the only remedy for our wrongs; and the sooner it leaps from its scabbard to its work of holy warfare, the better; for procrastination, in such cases, only prolongs the ultimate triumph of the right, and renders more difficult its achievement. A people to be free, must be watchful to detect, and prompt to check the first approach of tyranny—clearsighted to penetrate its specious disguises, and daring to meet it with stern resistance.

But I must draw my scribbles to a close. I sat down to write without any definite ideas, except to tell you I was sick, and remembered you with a great deal of gratitude, and I have gone on and given you very lengthy notes of a brief sojourn in Kansas, under the reign of law and order, interspersed with extemporaneous interpolations respecting my indignation and desire to fight, &c., &c. This is, in a great measure, out of my usual way, but it is doubtless owing to the stimulating effect of the quinine, which I swallow at regular intervals all day long, to keep the fever from away from my vitals. However, what I have written may not prove uninteresting to you, and I let it go.

I sent to Boston the other day, and got a copy of your book. Why don't your publishers send a quantity to their agents here to sell? I am very much pleased with it, indeed—(the occasional complimentary allusions to "Mr. C." and to "M. F. C." of course excepted.) I am free to say that so correct an understanding of the life and events in Lawrence during the last winter, cannot be had in any other publication of which I know anything, as may be had from this book. It presents the inside view. The style of composition I like. It is clear, easy, graceful, and proper; events are well narrated, scenes well described. Perhaps a plan of arrangement admitting of more display might have made it more popular. A perusal of it reproduced very vividly in my mind many of the pictures of that season of horrors which it essays to portray, and affected me very much, indeed. It ought to have a wide and rapid sale. My poor old mother reads it, and weeps; not on account of my past sufferings, (who am now by her side,) nor the sufferings of others, so much as for poor "Uncle Jeff," who is still far away from her, patiently struggling against the accumulated miseries of "war, pestilence and famine!" The "dedication" went to her heart before she read the book. She was one of the "mothers;" to which it so touchingly refers.

And how is Alice?—poor, gentle Alice. It almost affects me to tears sometimes, in my weaker moments—you know I have such weaker moments sometimes—to think of the fine, tender, delicate frames, which were brought out into that bleak Territory, to shiver, and hunger and die, as many of them did during that winter of unprecedented storms and trials. I call to mind many individual instances, and my heart bleeds. I feel more poignantly now on this subject, as I recall these cases, than when they actually transpired before my eyes; for I had then grown callous by long suffering myself, and by being constantly a witness of almost every form of human misery. But I trust the shadow of that dark hour has passed forever from the fair face and form of your dearly beloved child; and that its countenance is again wreathed, as was its wont to be, in the rosette smiles of health and beauty. My best regards and kindest wishes to gentle Alice.

I wish you a long life; and may God Almighty prosper you and yours. Be pleased to convey my respects to your excellent mother. My mother, wife and sisters wish, with grateful hearts, to be remembered. Adieu.

The Senate then took up the Army Appropriation bill, which was reported from the Finance Committee, with an amendment, striking out Mr. Sherman's proviso, offered in the House, 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 a Legislature chosen in conformity with the organic law, and until Congress declares so, that it shall be the duty of the President to use the military forces to preserve peace, suppress insurrection, repel invasion, and protect the persons and property of the citizens of the Territory on the highway 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.

Mr. Hunter said the proviso was irrelevant, and if for no other reason, should be rejected; but for the House to insert such a proposition, and insist upon it, to stop the wheels of Government, was not only factious but revolutionary.

Mr. Wilson said if the bill failed to pass, the responsibility would rest on the Senate, and not on the House, which had made a thorough examination of the affairs of Kansas, and ascertained that there had been a violation of the organic law, and a trampling down of the rights of the people. The House, he said, had acted with intelligence and patriotism.

Mr. Wade maintained that the invaders made unjust and tyrannical laws, to which no citizen ought to submit. Pierce, the traitor, now sits in the Executive Chair, stimulating the people, as far as he can do it, to civil war. The object of the House amendment was to prevent outrage in Kansas, and should meet the approbation of every patriot.

Mr. Thompson, of Kentucky, and Mr. Trumbull, of Illinois, advocated the proviso.

Mr. Hunter said if the House insist upon the proviso, and the bill is lost in consequence, there will be a general outburst of indignation throughout the country.

Mr. Butler thought the proposition the most unconstitutional one that ever had found its way into a bill. Inflammatory violence and illegal means are resorted to for the purpose of attaining improper ends. It was hastening the country to a crisis, when the South would have to take care of itself.

Mr. Fessenden justified the action of the House, which had made appropriations for all the purposes of the army, restricting only expenditures in Kansas. If the Senate defeats the bill on account of this, the responsibility is theirs. The Senator from South Carolina had not informed them how the exercise of such right had violated the Constitution.

Mr. Douglas said the proviso withhold money for the execution of certain laws. The Constitution enjoins on the President the execution of all the laws, and Congress cannot interfere to prevent him from so doing. The proviso likewise grants amnesty to the men who murdered their fellow citizens by cutting their throats and tearing their hearts out. He would have them hung by the neck for their crimes. If the judges of Kansas are so corrupt that justice cannot be meted out, as is so frequently asserted, why do not Mr. Wade's friends, who have a majority in the House, impeach them.

Mr. Wade—If we have a majority, they were culpably negligent of duty.

Mr. Douglas—They are culpable negligent, or dishonest in their professions.

Mr. Fessenden said perhaps the House had not confidence in the tribunal that would have to try them.

Mr. Douglas thought Mr. Fessenden had thrown an insinuation against his fellow Senators.

Mr. Fessenden emphatically denied this, saying the Senator from Illinois could not so torture his language as to make him say that the majority of the Senate were corrupt.

Mr. Douglas was still of the opinion that it was an imputation upon the Senate.

Mr. Wilson said the Republicans had not a majority in the House. If he were a member of that branch, he would vote for the impeachment of Judge Leconte, but with the fullest conviction that a majority of the Senate would never convict him.

Mr. Trumbull replied to Mr. Douglas, insisting that the proviso does not interfere with the present execution of the laws. If the laws of Kansas are legitimate, there was no need of an army to enforce them. In reference to the Judges of Kansas, Leconte sadly misunderstands his duty, or is a very dishonest man.

Mr. Douglas responded, objecting to the proposition to repeal the laws of the Kansas Legislature, for it would leave the people without any law at all for the punishment of crime, and operate as a general

jail delivery. If, as was said, the Republicans have not a majority in the House, how did they pass the bill with the proviso now under consideration.

Mr. Wade said they were assisted by half a dozen righteous men outside.

Mr. Sherman's proviso was then stricken out by a vote of 29 against 9.

YEAS—Messrs. Adams, Allen, Bayard, Ball of Tenn., Briggs, Bright, Brodhead, Butler, Clayton, Douglas, Geyer, Hunter, Iverson, Jones of Iowa, Jones of Tenn., Malory, Mason, Pratt, Pugh, Reid, Sebastian, Sidel, Stuart, Thompson of Ky, Thompson of Wis., Weller, Wright, Yule.

NAYS—Messrs. Collamer, Fessenden, Foot, Foster, Harlan, Seward, Trumbull, Wade, Wilson.

Owing to this decision, Mr. Seward said he could not vote for the bill, and justified at length the action of the House, in the afternoon, on the proviso of Mr. Sherman. He spoke of the successful usurpation and tyranny in Kansas, and said the mere fact of an army being necessary to enforce the laws there, was conclusive evidence that the laws of the territory were not such as ought to be enforced.

Mr. Stuart replied to Mr. Seward's speech, which he termed extraordinary. He said Mr. Seward was eminently responsible for the present trouble in Kansas, and his present argument seemed intended to encourage the House in factious opposition to the Senate and President. There were no funds to sustain the Army till this bill was passed, and the Indian war on the Pacific coast rendered the service of troops absolutely necessary.

Mr. Foot desired some convenient opportunity to address the the Senate on Kansas matters. The hour was late, and he was reluctant to detain the body tonight.

He would like to have that opportunity on Saturday.

Mr. Thompson, of Kentucky, also wished to make a political speech on the same day, if there was time after others finished.

The bill was then passed by yeas 27, nays 9.

Nays—Durkee, Foot, Foster, Harlan, Seward, Trumbull, Wade, Wilson.

CHIEF CLERK, Secretary
J. H. ...
Authentic from Kansas.

The following intelligence has been received from authentic private sources:

A letter has just been received in this city from Dr. Cutter, dated at Atton, Union Co., Iowa, July 24. His party of New England emigrants had plodded patiently on, until they were then four days journey from the Missouri river. He has no definite news from the dangerous country before him, but from the fact that the Missouri spies visit his camping ground almost every evening, naturally infers that there is "mischievous ahead." His men are in good health and spirits, firmly convinced of their right to enter Kansas as peaceful emigrants, and prepared to defend themselves, in case of attack. He regrets that there are not more emigrants on the way, as the best way to secure a peaceful entrance into Kansas, is to overawe the opposition likely to be made by Missourians. He adds, that he is speaking almost every evening to political meetings. "The excitement in Iowa is increasing, and is now intense. I am surprised at the vast accessions to Fremont from the democratic party. If there are the same changes in other States as in Iowa, Fremont is safe."

The latest letter from Martin Stowell, conductor of another party of Massachusetts emigrants, is dated at Nebraska city, (Nebraska) July 20. He left Iowa city a week before Dr. Cutter, and crossed into Nebraska, July 19.

He states that there is likely to be suffering among the emigrants who have been gradually collecting at Nebraska city, and prevented from proceeding by apprehensions of armed opposition, which they are not numerous enough to overawe. Their provisions and money are now nearly exhausted. This is the body of men, women and children, not half of them armed, who are absurdly and designedly distorted by telegraphic despatches and administration newspapers, into an organized army, under Gen. Lane, armed to the teeth with Sharp's rifles, Colt's revolvers and bowie knives!

At Nebraska city "there are both free state and pro-slavery men, but both are desirous of keeping free from agitation, to keep business good. We want more men to join us, before going into the territory. We intend to leave for the Kansas and Nebraska line, in a day or two, and shall wait there until we are joined by as many as the circumstances may seem to demand, before we go into Kansas."

[This caution is commendable, for there is reason to believe from other sources, that the body of Missourians assembled at St. Joseph and vicinity, is at least six hundred. When the writer was at St. Louis, a month ago, it was well understood that so soon as the blockade of the river was sufficiently established, the whole attention of Atchison and Stringfellow would be turned to a similar process on the Nebraska side.]

Finally, a letter has just been received from a Boston gentleman traveling in Iowa, whose name (could I give it,) would command general confidence. It is dated Tabor, Iowa, July 26. He states that Stowell's party were then waiting ten miles west of the Missouri River, and that Dr. Cut-

ter's in a few days, would join them. Besides these there were some three hundred.

"The emigrants now halt in Nebraska, awaiting an answer to a request sent to Gen. P. F. Smith, that an escort be granted them into Kansas. There is no doubt that Missourians are making preparations to oppose the emigrants on the frontier of Kansas.

I have no doubt about Smith's course; he will utterly refuse to believe, upon any evidence, that the emigrants are what they profess to be, and he will refuse an escort, and in the last resort will drive the party back.

The crisis approaches. Missouri has blockaded the river; she is blockading the land route; she asserts her ownership of Kansas; and defies all the free States. How long will they submit to her rude and bullying dictation?"

Comment is unnecessary. After these statements we shall know what to expect next.

Worcester, August 6. T. W. H.

Boston Journal.

FRIDAY EVENING, AUGUST 6, 1856.

REV. MR. TYNG OF PHILADELPHIA. Our readers will recollect that several weeks since considerable excitement was created in the city of William Penn by a discourse of a political nature, preached by the Rev. Dudley A. Tying, rector of the Church of the Epiphany. That discourse has been published, at the request of laymen in Boston, by John P. Jewett & Co. Whatever may be thought of the propriety of preaching such a discourse on the Sabbath, none, we think, will deny its ability and eloquence. To illustrate its spirit we make some extracts. After describing the state of affairs in Kansas, Mr. Tying says:

A fourfold process of oppression has been used to ruin and drive out those whose only crime is the claiming of rights guaranteed them by the very law which invited them to Kansas. First, innumerable indictments for imaginary crimes are made out by a corrupt judiciary against all free State men of influence, while the worst crimes by men of opposite politics have gone unnoticed. Secondly, armed hordes of ruffians, under pretence of maintaining "law and order," patrol the country, committing all the outrages which have been described. Thirdly, the United States dragoons are made use of by the local authorities to suppress any risings for self-defense, and kept out of the way when attacks are to be made. And lastly, "vigilance Committees" are appointed, to drive out with threats of lynching all those who, by the other methods, have not been subdued. All this has been going on for months. And recent accounts announce that the sufferers themselves are driven by desperation to armed defense, and the hostile bands are now watching each other, and meeting in deadly conflict. Civil war is begun. And where is it to end, unless it can be suppressed at once in the place of its birth! Let it not be said that we have no interest in this matter. Distant and feeble as the country by Kansas is a member of our body politic. The same life-blood which nourishes our own country flows through her. And the wounds and anguish which she endures are felt to the remotest parts of the Republic. Ties of friendship and of blood unite her suffering children to all sections of our country. And were these wanting, a common nationality binds them in one body to us all, and the great heart of humanity enfolds them in its sympathies. Whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; or one member be honored, all the members rejoice with it."

On the Sumner affair he makes the following comment:

With the freedom of the press overturned in Kansas, and the freedom of the Senate assailed in Washington, how long before the freedom of the pulpit shall be also at the mercy of a regular majority of a gross and excited bully? There is not a legislator, or an editor, or a clergyman in the country, whose right to advocate what he conscientiously believes, nor a citizen whose right to representation of his sentiments, has not been assailed in the blows which laid the eloquent Sumner senseless on the Senate chamber. But the act itself is not so ominous of evil as its endorsement. To hear it defended and enjoyed throughout the whole section represented by the assassin, in public assemblages, and votes of thanks for his iniquity, by the press almost unanimously holding it up as worthy of imitation, and by fellow-representatives who screen the offender from punishment, may well make one feel sadly apprehensive for our country. It indicates that we are becoming unworthy of our heritage, and that the sentiment of justice and right has rotted away in the foundation of government. Alas for our country when the makers of her laws dare not speak in defense of what they deem human right, or must go armed with deadly weapons for protection in the discharge of their duty; God forbid that the ministers of religion should refuse to speak in reprobation of the evil.

The following delineation of the effect of slave upon free labor is forcible:

Slavery degrades bodily labor. It makes a man's bodily strength and manual skill less availing for his own profit and elevation. It thus diminishes and takes away his inherent property in himself. It lessens his pecuniary reward, and shuts up the door of promotion. The question is, therefore, between the right of one man to the muscles of his neighbor and the right of thousands to the full benefit of their own muscles. It is whether one man is to leave his slave behind him, or whether a thousand white citizens are to be enslaved if they go. The rights of all our laboring classes, ten thousand to one slaveholder, are invaded in the attempt at the violent subjugation of Kansas. Moreover, there are many methods of remunerative labor of more intellectual character that are available only in a free community. In fact, there is scarcely a department of industry or power, which the history and present state of our country do not show to be circumscribed and depreciated by the presence of slavery. The intellectual, literary, and inventive as well as the bodily

powers of man, become less available for individual and social prosperity. Every man, therefore, who is not himself a slaveholder, is interested for himself, his children, his relatives and friends in the extinction of slavery.

The reverend gentleman states the duties of the present crisis as follows:—1. A right public sentiment; 2. Pecuniary relief of the sufferers in Kansas; 3. Reinforcement of the pioneers in Kansas with Free State settlers; 4. The independent and conscientious use of the ballot-box; 5 (and chiefly). Humiliation and prayer before God.

COL. BUFORD IN THE FIELD AGAIN. The Charleston (S. C.) Mercury publishes a stirring appeal to the South from Col. Buford of Alabama, for funds to enable him to carry more pro-slavery emigrants to Kansas, "that indispensable break-water to the angry tide of abolitionism." He says:

"Consider that if Kansas, our natural boundary to the Northwest, is lost, that then Missouri and all west of the Mississippi—nay, too, all east of it—must soon follow; while, if we maintain it, the Territories west of Arkansas and Texas are safe to us—nay, the future is safe. Ask yourselves whether you are prepared to surrender white supremacy in the South, to debase your blood, to degrade your social and political status to the level of an inferior race, by submitting to Abolition's mandate to fraternize with it. Remember that I, and all who know the country, will tell you that slaves thrive and do well in Kansas, and that there, and in Western Missouri, their labor pays better than in any cotton State in the Union. Reflect that we have everything to encourage us in the struggle—we still control the government of the Territory, our immigration is daily increasing, while that from the North has greatly diminished."

The Major is very urgent in his demands for money to take out a colony of one hundred men. He betrays his disappointment in regard to his first company by the remark—"I want only men who, as long as required, will abstain from liquor and will implicitly obey orders." Wonder if his men read the bibles that were given them with such a flourish of trumpets?

VOX POPULI.

LOWELL, FRIDAY, AUGUST 8, 1856.

KANSAS NEWS.—The N. Y. Times has news from Leavenworth, Kansas, to the 19th. Its correspondent says:—

"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 over land into the Territory."

Essex County Mercury New York Day Book,

AND WEEKLY SALEM GAZETTE.

FRIDAY MORNING, AUGUST 8, 1856.

THE FIRST GUN FROM THE WEST.

Our first returns from the Western elections are most cheering. Missouri, from which State, least of all, was any thing of an encouraging nature anticipated, transmits to us the tidings of the election of Hon. Francis P. Blair, Jr., from the St. Louis district. Mr Blair was the anti-Nebraska, anti-Administration, Benton candidate, and his election is a substantial Republican triumph. Upon all the measures affecting the Kansas question Mr Blair will vote with the right—border ruffianism will meet with no favor or mercy at his hands. He is a strong personal friend of Col. Fremont, and will be found among the most reliable supporters of his administration, when he is elected—as elected he will be—President of the United States next November. Mr Blair takes the place of Luther M. Kennett, a Border Ruffian Fillmore man, who has voted to endorse the murderer Herbert, the would-be murderer Brooks, and to sustain the worst atrocities of ruffian outrage and crime. The Honorable Mr Kennett may now retire to private life, satisfied that he has gained nothing, either in self respect or public esteem, by his brief course in Congress.

From Iowa the telegraphic reports are most suspicious, so far as they go. Des Moines county, which two years ago gave a Loco Foco majority of 168, on the gubernatorial vote, and elected the entire Loco Foco ticket to the State Legislature, is now reported as having given 100 Republican majority. Muscatine, which gave 89 majority for Thorington in 1854 is now reported Republican by 150; and in Scott the Republican majority of 190 has been increased to one of 350, a net gain in these three counties alone of 489. The same relative gain throughout the State would make the Republican majority in Iowa nearly ten thousand, or three times what our friends there have claimed at the present election. If the first gun from Iowa is at all indicative of what we are to expect from other parts of the State, the rout of the Buchanians is most unexpectedly overwhelming.

PROVIDENCE JOURNAL.

FRIDAY MORNING, AUGUST 8, 1856.

Letter from Col. Topliff.

We have received the following letter from Col. Topliff, formerly of this State, now of Kansas, and who was reported to be mortally wounded:

LAWRENCE, K. T., JULY 25, 1856.

To the Editor of the Journal:

I was much surprised when I noticed that several of the Eastern papers have through some source that I know nothing about—published to the world that I was brutally murdered, while at the head of a guerilla party. This is not true. I have not been murdered. Neither do I command a guerilla party. But as Commander of the Free State Forces, I have established several small armed bodies in the vicinity of our Free State settlers whose lives have been threatened and their houses burnt down over their heads.

As the United States troops only afforded protection to the Border Ruffians, South Carolinians, Georgians, and Alabamians, of course there is but one alternative, and that is to protect ourselves against the marauding bands that are scouring the country and committing all sorts of depredations among the Free State settlers of Kansas. They are determined to drive every Yankee as they call us out of the Territory.

These small bands of Free State men are organized not as guerillas but for the defence of their lives and property.

I think that this report was got up by some of our enemies for the purpose of discouraging emigration from the east, and to worry my family.

I have on more than one occasion been exposed to the bullets, as well as to the insults of the Ruffians, but thus far have escaped all danger, and I enjoy my accustomed good health, and am ready to meet the enemy at all hazards, in trying to make Kansas a Free State. C. M. TOPLIFF.

OFFICE, No. 17 ANN STREET.

N. R. STIMSON, EDITOR.

FRIDAY EVENING, AUGUST 8.

[From the Kansas Herald]

Was there ever such a farce in all human experience as this Topeka Constitution? What is this Topeka Government? Applying the principles of general or national law to it—that governments are of two kinds, viz: *de jure* and *de facto*—it is only, to make the most of it, a government on paper—without life or motion, head, or arms, or feet, or soul. It is not a government *de facto*, for it does not exist. Its so called Governor is in prison on a charge of treason, and its officers have long since abandoned all idea of attempting to exercise any of their powers. It is not a government *de jure*, for it is confessedly a government born of a revolution against the legally constituted authorities of the Territory.

John W. KANSAS August 8, 1856 251

From Our Special Correspondent.

LAWRENCE, K. T., July 26, 1856.

Mr. Chapman, a Pro-Slavery man who lives in this place, over the ravine, and who was a member of the Legus Council, elected by the Missourians for this District, was yesterday arrested for murder, and taken to Leocompton. There is nothing political in this affair, as the victim is a Pro-Slavery man also, he being recently from Carolina—his name, George Wilson. As this is one of the few arrests made in Kansas, except of "Abolitionists," for State offenses, I will notice it briefly.

The deceased had been traveling with his daughter, who is quite young. Two days ago, he hired a horse and hit wagon from Chapman, to go to Leocompton, and on his return refused to give more than three dollars, although Chapman had charged him four. It appears that Wilson had been drinking while at Leocompton, and Chapman was dissatisfied by his keeping the carriage. He declared that he would get that dollar, or take the worth of it out of him. On Thursday morning, while Mr. Wilson was getting in the Leocompton and Westport hack, for the purpose of going to Westport, Mr. Chapman came to him and demanded the dollar. Wilson refused to pay it, when Chapman, without further parley, raised his stick, and struck him a heavy blow on the side of the head, above the ear. This happened across the ravine, near Chapman's house, where I suppose they had been staying. Mr. Wilson's head was cut, and the wound bled pretty freely. He came over with the hack, and stopped in town, at the Cincinnati House, where he had his head dressed by a physician. He got into the hack again, his young daughter attending him with great care. I had not been in to examine the wound, but now saw where it was. It was with a feeling of anxiety that I saw the anxious and delicate young girl get her father in the hack, and sit beside him to watch him, while they drove off to cross that long, weary Shawnee Reserve, on one of the hottest days of July. Yesterday we heard he was dead, parties having come up to arrest Mr. Chapman. He had died a few minutes after he got to Westport. What were his sufferings that day, and the anguish of his companion, can only be guessed.

I have just learned that the "Law and Order" men about Leavenworth are greatly exercised. A report reached that place, by boat down the river, that several hundred men—six hundred and fifty it was reported—had crossed from Iowa into Kansas. Fiery placards, calling the Missourians and Pro-Slavery men generally, to arms, to drive out the Abolitionists, were posted up. Men armed with muskets and bayonets were parading about, and parties starting and getting ready to start for the northern frontier. If they go in that direction they are likely to have a good time. Meetings were held in Leavenworth every day, and several of the most prudent of the "Law and Order" men suggested that General Smith be requested to drive them out, and to get them to help him to do it. I hear that General Smith has sent for another company of dragoons to Fort Riley. What he intends to do with them I do not know. If he goes up toward the Nebraska line he will find that all the emigrants that have come in are at work, have taken claims and have brought agricultural implements and tools with them. All I have feared is that the troops would go up to intercept them, and as they are obliged, in coming in, to come in parties large enough to protect themselves from the Border Ruffians of Missouri, who are clustering up there, that the troops would take the pretext that they were an armed body and refuse to let them come in. I fear this is the game, as both Sumner and Smith have been heard to declare against this Northern emigration through Iowa, declaring it was an "armed body," &c. as if anything but an armed body could get into Kansas, or be safe after they were here. One thing is certain—a considerable number of armed bodies of South-western, Territorial Pro-Slavery men, and Missourians, have gone up toward the Nebraska line, with the avowed purpose of driving back the Northern emigration. Of this fact I do not see how General Smith can be ignorant, and yet there have been no steps taken against them.

Last week a Quaker named McDonald, who lives in the neighborhood of Palmyra, had his load of flour and other articles taken from him while coming into the Territory from Westport. The trade between Kansas City and the Territory is nearly extinct, but some people have still got goods in the warehouses at Kansas City. As none of Mr. McDonald's neighbors felt safe in going, they got him to go for them. He is a very peaceable man, and has never taken any part in the affairs of the Territory, not even voting. He had a pass from

of Westport, certifying that he had sight and directing Pro-Slavery men to pass his... pretty rigorously, and this last trip they declared that he was hauling provisions for the Abolitionists; so they stole his lead from him.

I have just heard by a gentleman from Hickory Point that some forty or fifty Southerners, armed with muskets and bayonets chiefly, came up from Westport to the Territory a few days ago, and held a caucus or Convention in Hickory Point, at which they nominated candidates for the Legislature to be holden under the bogus laws early in October. Another party of these scamps, had some rather further up the Santa Fee road to the house of Capt. Sanders, a Pro-Slavery man, where a similar nominating Convention was to be held yesterday.

A young Southerner, recently imported, has been acting as tax collector and assessor in the neighborhood of Palmyra. In answer to the inquiries of one man, he said the person first appointed would not act, and he had just been appointed. I believe that few of the actual resident Pro-Slavery men would take such appointments; hence this employing members of Buford's Carpet-bag brigade. This same collector carries five revolvers with him, of which he frequently makes ostentatious display. He entered the house of one quiet and peaceable man. This gentleman asked him what was his authority? He replied the "Territorial Legislature."

"Young man," said the old squatter, "my house is open to every man, be he from the North or South, who comes here to stay; but anything or any man that comes from that Legislature I treat with perfect contempt."

In some places this fellow got some money. Where he happened to visit a household of timid people who were not armed, on some occasions, they paid him what he asked to get rid of him.

It seems that the officer of dragoons detailed to guard the valiant Floridan incendiary, elaid-stalk, &c., have got sick of the small business in which they were engaged, and left Titus to take care of himself. There is now a camp of Georgians, some twenty-five, close to his house. The only thing I have heard of menacing him is a guilty conscience.

The Southern bravos are beginning to feel the situation described in Goldsmith's "Club" when the announcement is made that the "reckoning is drunk up." The last fifty thousand dollars sent from the South has just disappeared, and they are rather interestingly located in the present tense. These fellows are now at different points in the Territory and Missouri, and as a class do nothing but drink and gamble—that is, except warring on the Abolitionists.

At Leocompton there has been quite a row between these Southerners and the citizens of the place. I suspect that the "chivalry" have been carrying out the principle of all things in common against some of their Law and Order friends.

In Leavenworth these fellows had quite a discussion on finances, and one conclusive decided that as the Abolitionists ceased the war, they "should be made to sustain it." Whether they will be able to realize this self-sustaining theory is a matter of some uncertainty, but I have no doubt they will try it.

A MURDER AT LAWRENCE.
Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune.
Br. Louis Mo, Thursday, July 31, 1856.
The Missouri Republican publishes in this morning's issue the following communication, dated Westport, July 26, giving an account of the murder of a Mr. Wilson of South Carolina, at Lawrence on the 24th inst. "On the 24th inst. a Mr. Wilson and daughter of North Carolina, were in the city of Lawrence on a visit to Leocompton. The young man, Wilson, had been arrested about the 15th inst. by the name of O'Connell, a citizen of that place, about the time of some quarrel which occurred at the stage. The man struck by O'Connell with a heavy club, which was the cause of the death of Wilson, was made next of the wound, and he would soon recover, and it was thought that he would be able to go on his journey. They did so, and he did not get home until he arrived at the Harris House, in this city, his wife's daughter is in great distress, far from home, and some one came to the door of the Harris House, and was killed by the Old Fellow, and the citizens generally, at once seized him, and party started down the street to arrest Chapman. They succeeded, and he is now at Leocompton in the hands of the authorities, who, no doubt, will take good care of him."

The man Chapman, the alleged murderer, was a member of the bogus Legislature of Shawnee Mission, and is one of the three or four Pro-Slavery men who choose to live at Lawrence. I am glad the people of Westport, Missouri, have begun to arrest Pro-Slavery members in Kansas. It is to be hoped that they will continue in this good work till Clark, the Texas Indian Agent, Col. man, the murderer of Dow, and others, are brought to justice. Possibly in their progressions

around Westport, they might add the "Whit" of "Black" Jones.
The State election takes place here on Monday next. Mayor How has issued a proclamation to "prohibit and forbid all persons to sell, give, lend, barter, or exchange, or otherwise dispose of distillates intoxicating beverages," during the day of election, from midnight to midnight, agreeably to law. The maximum penalty for a breach of this law is imprisonment for a year, and a fine of \$500. The law, in my opinion, is a good one, and answered admirably at the city election last Spring. Barton and Blair will get large majorities in this city and county. How Benton will run in the State is not known. There are no bets offered on his election or defeat.
A boat which arrived here from Council Bluffs today, reports that Gen. Lane is encamped with four hundred men within a few miles of Nebraska City, on the Nebraska side of the river.
POTTER.

Ohio State Journal.

COLUMBUS:
SATURDAY EVENING, AUGUST 9, 1856.

For the Ohio State Journal.
PLEA FOR KANSAS.
Listen! Upon the Western breezes
Comes a wail of woe that freezes,
As upon the ear it seizes
In our hearts the blood.
Slavery's hots to arms are rushing,
Freedom's prostrate form they're crushing
Kansas's plains are brightly blushing
'Neath the purple flood.
Listen! hear ye not the sighing
Of the Goddess, Freedom, dying
On the fields of Kansas lying,
Weltering in her gore?
Hear ye not her mournful pleading?
See ye not her roxaries bleeding?
Lo! their souls from earth receding,
Call for vengeance sore.
Ye, who love the land that bore ye,
Love the God that reuth o'er ye,
Hark! their spirits now implore ye
Arm, in freedom's cause!
Strike! and free the land from slavery,
Strike! and banish Southern knavery,
Strike! and Heaven reward your bravery,
Earth will shout applause.
ROBERTS.

Amichburg Virgular.

Friday Morning, August 8, 1856.
FOR PRESIDENT,
MILLARD FILLMORE,
OF NEW YORK.
FOR VICE PRESIDENT,
ANDREW J. DONELSON,
OF TENNESSEE.

The Kansas Bill and the Democratic Party.

No journal committed itself more promptly or more heartily to the repeal of the Missouri restriction, and to that principle of the Kansas bill which left the regulation of their domestic affairs to the people of the Territories, "subject only to the provisions of the Federal constitution," than did this. Each of these propositions was a corollary of the other. The Missouri restriction was regarded as a violation of the spirit of the constitution, as destructive of the equality of the states, and as establishing a precedent for legislation by Congress with reference to slavery. Its original enactment we could not look upon in any other light than as a great wrong to the South, and its remaining upon the statute book was but a perpetuation of that wrong. We therefore rejoiced at its repeal, and were prepared to meet whatever consequences might result from it. The abrogation of that restriction brought into force the great republican principle, that had been for thirty years suppressed by it—the principle, to-wit: that all the people of all the states have equal rights in the Territories; and that the inhabitants of the Territories, when invested with sovereignty, have

a right to choose their own domestic institutions, and frame their own organic laws, and come into the union without conditions or restrictions—free, untrammelled and independent as the original members of the confederacy. Regarding the Kansas bill, fairly construed, as establishing this principle, we gave it a cordial support, and we have no thought of retracing our steps. But we feel it obligatory upon us to warn the people of the South of the danger there is that the Kansas bill will not only be emasculated of all virtue and vigor, but that it will be converted into an engine of mischief to the South—by the agency of the Democratic party. How this is to be accomplished we proceed to show.

As the Kansas bill was reported and passed, it contained a provision permitting foreigners, who had taken no other step towards naturalization than the first oath, declaratory of their design to become citizens, to vote and exercise all the privileges of citizenship in the Territories.— This provision was objected to in the Senate, and the effort was made by Mr. Clayton of Delaware to have it stricken out. We do not now remember the vote in the Senate—but either in that body, or the House (then Democratic by a large majority) the amendment was voted down, and foreigners, newly arrived in the country, totally ignorant of our institutions, with no intelligent ideas of government, but with a fixed hostility to slavery, were permitted to take part in determining the question whether Kansas should be a free or slave State. Seeing the advantage given them by this provision of the bill—the Emigrant Aid Society of Massachusetts immediately set to work to turn a portion of the stream of immigration upon Kansas. In an official publication, put forth by them, and quoted by Mr. Douglas in his Kansas report, they assert that it will be an easy thing to induce thirty thousand immigrants a year, on their arrival at our ports, to proceed at once to Kansas. A little over three years, at this rate, would give Kansas a population, composed altogether of foreigners, sufficient to form a State. It is needless to say that these foreigners, bringing with them the prejudices of all classes in Europe against slavery, and knowing nothing, as a political question, of the rights of the South, or, as a social one, of the condition and treatment of the slave, would, to a man, throw their votes in favor of Kansas being a free State. We are aware that during the present session the Senate have made an effort to get rid of this provision of the Kansas bill—but it still remains a part of the law, incorporated in it by Democratic votes. Horace Greeley has well said that immigration is the cradle of freedom—and Westworth, of Illinois, in a passage which was quoted from his paper yesterday, urges that the most effectual way to prevent the introduction of slave labor into the Territories is to anticipate it by foreign free labor. Thus, by the action of the Democratic party, the South is placed at the disadvantage of having to contend not only against the North—outnumbering her in white population nearly as two to one—but against the abolitionists of Europe, pouring upon our shores at the rate of a thousand a day. And what is true in this respect of Kansas is true also of all the other territories.

Another interpretation given to the Kansas bill by the Democratic party, in which the South is placed at a fatal disadvantage is this: Instead of holding that the Kansas bill gives perfect equality of right, in all the Territories, to the citizens of all the States—they take the position that in a Territory where slavery does not exist it cannot be introduced except by legislation authorizing it; that the constitution of the United States, which gives the Northern man the right

FREE KANSAS IN ALLEGAN.

JOURNAL OFFICE, ALLEGAN, Aug. 6, '56.

To the Editors of the Tribune:

Mr. Redpath, the Kansas correspondent of the Chicago Tribune and the St. Louis Democrat, being in Allegan on a short visit to his friends in this county, a spontaneous demonstration was made by the Fremont men of this town yesterday on his arrival.

A meeting was called at the Court House to hear an address from Mr. Redpath on Kansas and the great issues of the day. The attendance was large from Allegan and vicinity. The audience embraced men of all parties. There was a large sprinkling of old line Democrats in attendance, whose confidence had been shaken in what is denominated democracy, by Buchanan and Atchison. Mr. Redpath had always been a Democrat during his residence in this county. They listened to his recital of the horrible sufferings in Kansas, and his repudiation of the slave-driving Democracy, with the greatest interest, for three hours. The officers of the meeting were both heretofore Democrats. Col. John Littlejohn presided, and Joseph Pfeiffer acted as Secretary. After Mr. Redpath had concluded his remarks, on motion of D. C. Henderson the following resolutions were unanimously adopted by the citizens:

Resolved, That we, the citizens of Allegan, have listened with pleasure and profit to the address, this evening, of Mr. James Redpath of Kansas, on the great question of the day, and that we return him our warmest thanks.

Resolved, That a copy of these proceedings be furnished to Mr. Redpath by the officers of this meeting.

Although Mr. Redpath, like most of editors, is not a very eloquent speaker, yet he fairly electrified his audience by his descriptions of the rascalities of Pierce, Buchanan, Douglas, Atchison & Co. in Kansas, exposing the hollow fraud of "Popular Sovereignty," and the Toombs and Douglas conspiracy for the "pacification" (i. e. subjugation) of Kansas. It was expected that some of our Border Ruffian orators would reply to this effort of Mr. Redpath, but no one came forward, although three or four of the prominent Nebraskaite leaders were present and were challenged by Mr. R. to refute his arguments.

On the previous evening Mr. R. attended a meeting in Watson, in this county, which was addressed by Judge Bassett and others, and where Mr. Redpath was called out to reply. Bassett's sophistries on Kansas, the Constitution &c. were so strongly exposed on that occasion, that the meeting which was called to endorse Buchanan broke up with cheers for Fremont, Free Kansas, and Free Speech.

There is a very good state of feeling in this county. Our people are determined to be bamboozled no longer by the Littlejohns and Bassetts.

Allegan has ever been a Democratic county, but the reports of the outrages in Kansas sent home by reliable Democrats who emigrated from this section, confirmatory of the statements made in Mr. Redpath's letters and in his speech last evening, have opened the eyes of the masses and filled the office-holders with despair.

Many of the staunchest National Democrats who favored Buchanan previous to hearing Mr. Redpath, joined in the cheers given at the close of his remarks for Free Kansas and Fremont. Put down Allegan in the Fremont column. Our opponents are working night and day distributing documents from leading Southern Congressmen; but it is only necessary for the truth to be known to circumvent all the machinations of the allies of the slave-power in this section.

D. C. H.

Poor Whites at the South.

Notwithstanding the immense influence of the slave power in this government, it is a power reposed in comparatively but a small portion of even the population of our Southern States. According to the census of 1850 the exact number of slaveholders at the South was 347,325 and in this enumeration is included slave hirers, but not persons conjointly interested in slaves, which two classes, it is assumed, are about equal; but the latter class is in fact, much less numerous than the former. The superintendent of the census estimates an average of five persons and seven-tenths to a family, which gives 1,908,394 persons interested in slavery, in their own right, or by family relation. The whole number of whites at the South is 6,232,418, making the proportion of slaveholders about 32 per cent.

to go into any such territory with whatever property he possesses, gives the Southern man no such right, but compels him to wait on the outside till permission is granted him by some "competent legislative authority." It is true that Southern Democrats do not advocate this doctrine, but they have chosen to nominate, and are now supporting for the Presidency, a candidate who has openly avowed it, and whose election cannot be otherwise regarded than as the approbation by the party of the position he has publicly taken on this question, and has never recanted or modified. The effect of such a doctrine in practice must be that any such territory will be populated by anti-slavery men from the North and from foreign countries, who would never accord to the South the privilege of coming in. And as nearly all the Territories are now free, it follows as a consequence that they will continue to be so, and that the South will be effectually and forever excluded. The two plans harmonize admirably together to choose the South of its equal rights in the territories.—Southern men cannot go into a free territory to say that it shall be a slave territory—but abolition aliens have the doors thrown wide open to them, and are invited to come in and say that the territory shall continue to be free.

A third position immensely disadvantageous to the South, in the practical construction of the Kansas bill, to which the Democratic party, as a party, are committing themselves by the support of Mr. Buchanan, is what is commonly known as Squatter Sovereignty. In his letter accepting their nomination for the Presidency, Mr. Buchanan tells his party, and the country, that he considers the Kansas legislation establishes the principle that "the people of the Territories, like the people of the States," shall settle the question for themselves, whether slavery shall or shall not exist. We have seen how it is that the South is allowed no shadow of a chance in the free Territories by the Democratic party. A moment's investigation will show us how adroitly Squatter Sovereignty is contrived to cut the South out even in such Territories as may recognise slavery.—By it the first settlers of a Territory, so soon as they are authorized to hold a Legislature, are permitted to abolish slavery as effectually as "the people of the States." It is well known that the people of the South, by reason of their avocations, chiefly as farmers and planters, and the character of their property, for the most part land and negroes, are less migratory in disposition, and more tardy in their movements, than the people of the North. Change is to the former a matter of much inconvenience, to be pondered over long, to be prepared for deliberately, and to be undertaken with reluctance.—Not so with the people of the North. A large majority of them own no land or immovable property. They are active, flexible and fond of change. Crowded into large cities, with nothing of interest, and but little of attachment, to bind them to localities, they are ready at a moment's warning to go wherever profit may invite, or caprice carry them. They nearly double us in numbers, and are backed by a thousand arrivals a-day from Europe of adventurers seeking homes, and in travelling order. It follows as an inevitable necessity that a majority of the early settlers of any new Territory will be from the North and from abroad—in either case alike opposed to slavery. It is to these people that the Democratic party, by their support of Mr. Buchanan, are in favor of submitting the question whether slavery shall continue to exist in a territory where it already exists. It is useless to say what would be the invariable result. To satisfy ourselves as to the greater rapidity with which people from the North and from Eu-

rope move into the territories, we have only to inquire what has been the result hitherto? How was it in California? How in Michigan, Iowa, Illinois and the other States of the North-west? How is it in Minnesota, Oregon, Washington, Nebraska, and Utah? How is it even in Kansas? Lying on the border of Missouri, where self-defence demanded that her people should make a death-struggle—appealing to all the Southern States by the strongest considerations that could move them—taking up arms even to keep back the immigrants of the North, still there is reason to fear that even in Kansas the free State party predominate and will finally succeed. The fact that the North have a decisive and irresistible advantage over us in the first settlement of a Territory needs no demonstration—and we have but to advert to that fact to show how fatal to the South would be the concession that those first settlers should have the power of determining the existence or non-existence of an institution, in which she is so vitally interested. It is of no avail that Southern Democrats should protest that they do not approve squatter sovereignty. Northern Democrats do approve it, and Mr. Buchanan has avowed an opinion on the subject that makes him entirely acceptable to Cass, Shields, Richardson, the Van Burens, Cambreling and the whole squatter-sovereignty wing of the party. His election, under the circumstances, cannot be otherwise regarded than as the party's endorsement of the doctrine.

To sum up: we have attempted to satisfy the reader that the Kansas bill, which seemed originally a measure of justice, fair-dealing and right, between the opposing sections and interests of the country, is in great danger of being perverted by the Democratic party into an engine of immeasurable and irreparable mischief to the South. We have shown how, by Democratic votes, aliens were admitted to citizenship—and how, by Democratic construction, Territories now free must remain so, while Territories now slave-holding must inevitably become free also. We have made these observations, not for the purpose of impeaching the fidelity of Southern Democrats to their own section, but with the hope of awakening their attention to matters of most imposing concern to them and to us, the bearing of which they have not permitted themselves to see—by reason of an overbearing party zeal. We should be happy to believe that we had been instrumental in preventing Southern Democrats from doing, under the impulse of feelings that forbid calm and intelligent action, an injury to that section of the country with which they are identified, and whose rights and honor, we doubt not, are as dear to them as to us.

It is probable that the census enumeration states the number of slaveholders if anything rather high, and when we consider in addition to this that numbers of those enumerated are females and minors, it is probable that not more than one-fifth of the white male adults hold slaves.

Now it becomes an interesting question, what is the condition and prospects of the four-fifths of white male adults who do not own slaves? This is a question which appeals directly to every voter in this State. One thing is very obvious; none but slaveholders are sent to Congress, none but them are State officers, none but them are prominent in the public concerns of the South.—They are the rich men—the educated men—those who pursue the professions—those who own the best sections of land, and yet in numbers they are a very small minority of the population. Could such a minority so monopolize all the offices, riches and social position to the exclusion of so large a majority of thrifty, intelligent Northern men? Not at all. We must then pay particular attention to those persons who compose what is a majority of the white population of the South, and there seek a solution of the anomaly.

On examination we find them to be poor, compelled to till sterile and unproductive lands, idle in their habits, as a general thing immoral, and according to various testimony constantly deteriorating. A paper published in Dr Bow's Review, on the "Manufactures in South Carolina," in January, 1850, says: "So long as these poor people see no mode of living except by a degrading operation of working with the negro slave upon the plantation, they were content to endure life in its most discouraging forms, satisfied that they were above the slave, though often faring worse than he." The remedy suggested by the writer of this article for the wrongs of these people, was to introduce them into manufacturing establishments. WILLIAM GREGG, Esq., in an address delivered before the South Carolina Institute, in 1851, says: "From the best estimates I have been able to make, I put down the white people who ought to work, and who do not, at 125,000" (this is nearly one-half of the entire white population of the State of South Carolina, its total white population being only 247,543). * * * "Even penal law would fail to bring many of our country people to send their children to school." * * * "Any man who is an observer of things could hardly pass through our country without being struck by the fact, that all the capital enterprise and intelligence is employed in directing slave labor, and the consequence is that our poor white people are wholly neglected, and are suffered to while away an existence in a state but one step in advance of the Indian of the forest. It is an evil of great magnitude." This is a most lamentable picture. Speaking of this same class of persons, Gov. HAMMOND, of South Carolina, said: "They obtain a precarious subsistence by occasional jobs, by hunting, by fishing, by plundering fields or folds, and too often by what is in effects worse—by trading with slaves, and seducing them to plunder for their benefit." Mr. GREGG says, that if introduced into manufactories, these people would work for half the price paid to Northern operatives.

Hon. Jno. LUMPKIN of Ga., speaking of this same population declares them to be "poor, degraded, half-fed, half-clothed, and ignorant—without Sabbath schools or any kind of instruction, mental or moral and without any just appreciation of character."

We have before us the material to extend these quotations, but our space will not permit and we have perhaps quoted enough to convey to our readers some idea of the terrible effects of slavery upon the poor whites of the South. Nor does it seem that the condition of these people can be permanently ameliorated. Slavery has made labor degrading, and, and their great want is work that they are willing to do, by which they may obtain the means of subsistence. To the slaveholder, slave-labor will always be the cheapest, and it will be employed to the exclusion of the white laborer, and despite his poverty and wretchedness.

This is the institution, so terrible and lasting in its effects upon both blacks and whites which the BUCHANAN party are seeking to extend over the territories of the Union, and if not permitted will destroy the Union; and which extension the Michigan Democracy in Convention a day or two since said was all right. For this they repealed the Missouri Compromise, for this they have aided the subjugation of Kansas by

Southern ruffians, and now they are continuing power to push on their nefarious schemes until the tyrannical Southern minority with their black power shall rule the whole Republic.—Freemen of Michigan! can you be made parties to such schemes? You will say yea or nay in November next.

The Daily Transcript.

Z. K. PANGBORN, Editor.

WORCESTER, MASS.,
SATURDAY MORNING, AUGUST 9, 1856.

From Kansas.

(Extracts from a letter to a friend in this County.)

LAWRENCE, K. T., July 13, 1856.

Town lots in Lawrence have been selling readily for some time at good prices. Although everything is dull for this town, yet there are now being erected three large stone houses, two stone churches, Unitarian and Orthodox Congregationalist, some half-dozen wooden dwelling houses. In addition to this, twenty men are at work clearing away the rubbish from the Hotel site. The foundation will be ready in about a week for a new and larger building than the old one. We have in town, two saw mills, both in operation, two blacksmith's shops, one shingle mill, harness and saddle shop, two stove and tin shops, five large stores, one drug store, one bakery, three ice cream saloons, two daguerian rooms, several provision and meat stores, and boot and shoe shops. One of our residents, Mr Blood, is now getting ready two patent brick machines, for the manufacture of large sand and lime brick, with a hole through it, corresponding in shape to that of the brick, thus using less material in the manufacture of the brick, which, when laid, forms a hollow wall.

We are all in good spirits, and intend to make a living upon Kansas soil. If we are not supported here, or assisted, at any rate, by our friends North and East, many of us will, if defeated, take up our effects and travel for the Pacific coast. If such outrages as we have witnessed here are to be longer tolerated by the American government, then give me FREEDOM among the mountains, out of the limits of the United States, where I shall not expect its protection, and where I shall be justified and applauded for protecting myself. But we still hope we may be permitted to remain here and receive the protection that justice requires.

The last trick of the Border ruffians is to get away our post office. Bullard's devious have signed a petition, purporting to come from citizens of Lawrence, praying to have our Post Office removed four miles towards Leecompton. If this rascality is successful, the consequences cannot be foretold.

The writer of the above was one of the original settlers in Kansas, having emigrated with the fourth company that went out. His statements are perfectly reliable.

BOSTON POST.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 9, 1856.

LETTER FROM KANSAS.

Correspondence of the Boston Post.

Leavenworth City, K. T.,
July 26, 1856.

All acts of lawless violence have ceased in our territory, and we are now under the benign rule of peace and order. Things have quietly settled down in our midst, and agricultural industry has taken the place of political insurrection. Since the disruption of the Topeka bogus legislature every thing has moved on in the even tenor of its way, and not a ripple of interest has fallen upon our political waters. All has been peace and quiet. The abolitionists seem to have abandoned all idea of installing their spurious government, or exercising any of the functions of their treasonably constituted offices. If they only continue to desist in their unlawful designs, and make up their minds to submit to laws as long as they remain un-repealed, like good and law abiding men, all will be peace and happiness in our territory. Let them pursue this policy of acquiescence, and prosperity will be restored, and Kansas in one year's time will be the most flourishing territory of the United States. If they do not we have nothing to look for but agitation, disorder, violence and bloodshed. Obedience to law is the only basis upon which the peace and prosperity of a people can rest. In Nebraska, which

has the same organic law as Kansas, where the people have been true and loyal to their territorial government, the inhabitants have enjoyed profound repose and uninterrupted prosperity, while our territory has been convulsed with internal strife, murders, assassinations, house burnings, bogus delegates, legislatures and senators.

Now, why is this? Why have we not derived similar blessings from the same organic law? Why, we again ask, is it that Nebraska,—which is, compared with Kansas, a vast, cold, barren inaccessible region without half the natural advantages and facilities Kansas possesses,—presents such a contrast of prosperity and domestic tranquillity? It is because in Nebraska the citizens have peaceably submitted to their laws, while in Kansas they have wantonly resisted and violated them. It is because in Nebraska the true principles of the Nebraska-Kansas bill have had fair play, while in Kansas they have been circumvented and violated. It is because in Nebraska the people have been undisturbed in their right to form and regulate their own domestic institutions, while in Kansas emigrant aid societies and non-residents have interfered and controlled territorial action, in defiance of the wishes and regardless of the rights of her people. To these causes, and to these alone, may be traced the origin of all the disturbances that have occurred in our territory. What the people of Kansas want, in order to attain a degree of happiness and prosperity commensurate with their intelligence and enterprise, is to become law abiding men, and to be free from all foreign interference. Let them submit to our existing laws, and let them be protected from all foreign interference, and peace, harmony, quiet and everything to gladden the heart of a patriot will be the result. If our laws are bad, let them be repealed; but let it be done in a fair and legal manner—not by force and bloodshed. However impolitic and oppressive they are, they can only be remedied by the still but potent voice of the ballot box. This is the legitimate weapon of freemen under our system of government; and he who resorts to any other is a traitor.

The people are beginning to take preparatory steps for the election of representatives for our next legislature, which takes place on the first Monday in October next. Primary meetings are being held to appoint delegates to the conventions which meet in the several counties prior to the day of election, to make nominations. Our legislature convenes on the first Monday of January next, and will remain in session forty days, the time prescribed by the organic act. Both parties seem disposed to have a fair and honest election this fall, and to exclude all votes but those of bona fide inhabitants of the territory. The "sober second thought" is beginning to prevail here with both parties.

A report reached here yesterday that Lane and an armed force of some six hundred men were at Nebraska city about a week ago en route for Kansas. The report was brought here by the steamer Martha Jewett, which is just down from Council Bluffs, and is generally believed by our citizens. This same rumor, however, has been circulated in our territory for the last month, and has been talked of so much that very little attention is paid to it. The captain of the Martha Jewett vouches for the correctness of the report, and states that he saw the men with his own eyes.

Gen. Harney has been ordered to Fort Leavenworth, where he arrived on Tuesday last. Col. Sumner is absent on a visit to Washington. EXILE.

DAILY CHRONICLE.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 9, 1856.

Letter from Senator Wilson.

The following letter from Hon. Henry Wilson to the Committee of the Young Men's Ratification Meeting at Fitchburg, was received yesterday morning:—

SENATE CHAMBER, August 4, 1856.

Geo. H. HOYT, Esq.

Dear Sir:—Your very kind note, inviting me to attend "The Convention of the Young Men of Massachusetts," to be held at Fitchburg, on Thursday, the 7th of August," has been received. Nothing would give me more pleasure than to meet the young men of the old Bay State in council on that day, and to unite my voice with theirs in the endorsement of the platform of principles and the candidates presented to the country by the People's Convention assembled in Philadelphia on the 17th of June last, but I find it impossible to leave my post of duty here at this time, as the important business presses upon us in the closing hours of the session.

The enforced absence of my colleague, whose seat—never vacant for a single day before—has now been vacant seventy-five days, imposes upon me additional duties. As his voice was never si-

...the... never wanting when the interests of his State were in issue, I am sure the young men, who will assemble in Convention on the 7th inst., will prefer that I should remain at my post of duty here, and endeavor to perform the additional duties imposed upon me by the bludgeon of slavery by the hand of South Carolina.

I trust, my dear sir, that the young men of our Commonwealth, in this critical moment which is to decide the policy of the Republic, perhaps for years, will act with all the unselfish zeal and generous magnanimity of youth. Let every young man of Massachusetts resolve, that if three steps are to be taken to complete the union of all the friends of free Kansas, that he will take two of them, and let him act up to this resolution: All that is wanting to win a glorious victory; to prostrate forever in America the slave power, and enthrone the principles of the ordinance of 1787 in the National Government, is union among the people of the free States who hate slavery and love liberty. The young men of Massachusetts should show to their friends in other States, that they have closed their ranks, that they mean to make good the declaration of Louis Kosuth, that "Victory clings to Unity."

The hopes of the slave propaganda rest wholly upon the Fillmore diversion which they hope is to divide the North, and thus give them four years more of power. The Administration has hunted down for months Deputy Postmasters and even mechanics and laboring men, for supposed sympathy with Americanism. Now these men (upon whom they have proscribed, hoping to use them to defeat the friends of Free Territory. I regret to say that they find men with Americanism upon their lips—but slavery extension in their hearts—not unwilling to be their instruments. Only a few days ago a leading South American member of the Convention that nominated Mr. Fillmore, and placed him upon a pro-slavery platform, avowed to a leading supporter of Mr. Buchanan in the House, that "all the votes given to Mr. Fillmore in the free States increased Mr. Buchanan's chances." It is indeed sad to see men in the free States thus deluded by the artful cunning of the slave propagandists to the indirect support of their unhallowed schemes for the extension of slavery over the continent. I hope, at least the young men—the laboring men of Massachusetts, whose hopes and interests are involved in the struggle for free Kansas, will not be deluded by the tactics of the leaders of the slave power, or deceived by the weakness of respectable gentlemen who write letters of condolence to each other over the present crisis,—the philosophy of which they do not comprehend, and the issues of which they have not the nerve to meet.

Already the public press teems with the old catch phrases about the dissolution of the Union. The Halls of Congress echo with impotent threats to dissolve the Union, if Col. John C. Fremont is elected by the American people. Within a few days, a leading Senator from the South, who was ready in 1849 to "let discord reign forever," has declared, in a letter, that "the election of Fremont would be the end of the Union, and ought to be." Mr. Fillmore, fresh from his foreign tour, is ready to defend these threats against the Government, for he declared that the South would be justified in dissolving the Union, if Col. Fremont should be chosen. This declaration of a candidate for the Presidency should meet the stern condemnation of every Union-loving citizen of the United States, North and South. The man who would utter such a sentiment, "has," in the language of John Quincy Adams, "but one more step to take, and that is a natural and easy one—Join the enemies of the Union in destroying it."

I hope the young men of Massachusetts—young men who cherish the glorious words of Daniel Webster, "Liberty and Union—now and forever—one and inseparable," will rebuke these traitorous threats, come they from Southern secessionists, or Northern serviles, sustain "Liberty and Union," by placing in the Presidential chair John C. Fremont, who has taken the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States as his political chart, and who will lead his countrymen, if need be, to the maintenance of the declaration of Andrew Jackson, "The Union—it must be preserved!" with the same heroic devotion he displayed with his little band of explorers amid the snows of the Rocky Mountains.

Yours truly, H. WILSON.

Evening Telegraph.

BOSTON, SATURDAY, AUG. 9, 1856.

THE IOWA ROUTE TO KANSAS. The Kansas Central Committee of Iowa have published a circular, giving information relative to the route to Kansas through their State. Iowa city is now the most western point that can be reached by railroad. Messrs. Lane, Reeder, Pomeroy, Roberts and others, are trying to turn the tide of immigration in this channel, so as to avoid the Border Ruffians. The Committee say:

"It is proposed to take the following course through Iowa. Leaving Iowa City—proceed to Sigourney, thence to Oskaloosa, thence to Knoxville, thence to Indianola, thence to Osceola, thence to Sidney, and Quincy in Fremont County, Iowa, on the Missouri river, 80 miles from Topeka, the capital of Kansas. An agent has been through the 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 will be left to their own guidance."

They also say that any number of men can be raised in the West, and it is of no use to send them from the East. What is wanted is money, to defray expenses. They suggest that the Eastern people send agents, if they are unwilling to trust the funds to the Committee:

"Our citizens have just raised the means to fit out a company of 250 men which has this day started for Kansas. Another company as large can be raised as soon as means can be obtained. It is hoped that all companies formed in the East will be sent over this route, and those who desire that slavery shall not be forced in Kansas, should assist us in obtaining material aid."

The Circular is signed by W. Penn Clark, chairman; C. W. Hobart, secretary; H. D. Downey, treasurer; W. Penn Clark, C. W. Hobart, H. D. Downey, L. Allen, Jesse Bowen, M. L. Morris, G. D. Woodin, J. N. Jerome, J. Teesdale, Kansas Central Committee of Iowa, and is dated July 4th.

The Advertiser prints a letter from one of the Faneuil Hall Committee, (Dr. S. G. Howe, we suppose) dated at Mount Tabor, Nebraska Frontier, July 26th. The writer had traveled the whole breadth of the State of Iowa, "a seven days' tedious journey, partly through a country so sparsely inhabited that we had to sleep two nights in our wagon." Here, says he:

"I get such information from various reliable sources as convinces me that the whole northern line of Kansas is infested by bands of marauders, so that we cannot enter the Territory except by joining a large armed body of emigrants who can force their way in, or by mounting a fleet horse and running the gauntlet over one hundred miles of country. I hardly have the time and patience for the first, and have not the bodily strength for the second."

After all allowance for exaggeration, it is beyond doubt that robbery and murder is rife on the frontier; and that peaceable unarmed men cannot cross with safety. The assertion that the United States troops have driven out the Missourians, is untrue. They have been driven from the Southern portions of the Territory, but they swarm upon the Northern frontier, by which it is supposed Northern emigrants will go in, now that travel on the great thoroughfare—the Missouri river—is stopped.

The Northwestern part of Missouri is greatly excited and exasperated (as I learn) by the report that a large body of armed emigrants are marching through Nebraska for Kansas. More of this body, anon.

What a state of things for a peaceful country! The great thoroughfare up the river blocked up! The frontier beset by armed ruffians and no safe access to Kansas Territory but by asking for an escort! This is to be asked, too, of a commander who has probably been sent to Kansas for the express purpose of consummating the work of making Kansas a slave state.

In a few days I will write you further. Let me say, however, that I have been able to apply some of the funds for the benefit of citizens of Kansas who had been driven out and are now seeking to return. Of the details you shall hear. I have learned, too, there is great and pressing want in the Territory. There women and children are suffering persecutions and pinching poverty."

The writer also gives information concerning Lane's army, similar to that furnished by Mr. Higginson in an article which we printed yesterday.

Daily Evening Traveller.

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BOSTON: SATURDAY, AUGUST 9, 1856.

California and Kansas.

The state of things in California and Kansas is of a lamentable character, more for its effect in checking the growth of liberal institutions and popular government in Europe, than from any real detriment which is likely to occur therefrom to the general welfare of the United States, or any permanent evil to those sections of the country where these outrages and revolutionary movements have happened. The European journals, many of them, make a great display of the anarchy which prevails in these sections of our country, copying all the exaggerated statements of our opposing parties, and doubtless they will operate to deter leading statesmen of some of the European nations from embarking in the cause of reform, and check the impulses of no small numbers of the people, in insisting upon popularizing and liberalizing their forms of government, lest the change should be found to work evil instead of good.

We regard, however, the demonstrations which have taken place in this new State and recently erected Territory, as favorable rather than unfavorable to the ability of our people to preserve their free institutions; and that, under the most inauspicious circumstances and the most malevolent influences, there is yet a self-renewing power in the intelligence and good judgment of the masses, whenever a real crisis arrives, and they understand the questions at issue, will lead them to judge rightly, and preserve, amid all the collisions of antagonistical parties, the liberty, the prosperity, and the happiness of the whole community. We do not deprecate these agitating excitements, so much as many people, who manifest a great degree of alarm whenever they occur. Better that the stream should run on with a strong current, sometimes dangerous to unskilled pilots, or that it should occasionally overflow its banks and commit some ravages, than that it should be a still and stagnant lake, festering on its margin with all sorts of impurities, and exhaling baleful miasma from its surface.

California and Kansas have both been peopled under auspices which were calculated to draw to them the most restless, adventurous, and disorderly spirits in the country. There is peril, great peril, in all such revolutionary movements as have been witnessed in California, and the peril lies chiefly in their being too frequently resorted to, and for insufficient causes; and in the liability there is that they will move too fast and too far. There is good evidence that the gamblers, unprincipled adventurers, and murderers in California, have been sufficiently numerous and powerful to intimidate or corrupt the administrators of law and justice, and that the terrible and summary vengeance of the outraged and indignant citizens, fell on vile and guilty offenders, who began to feel that the control of the government was in their hands.

The first vigilance committee laid down their revolutionary powers and gave way to the organized authorities, at an early moment, after they had effectually punished the most notorious criminals; and the tone of the advices at the present time indicates that the present vigilance committee would have done the same, had not there been a disposition manifested by the authorities, urged on by the Governor, and seconded by the ruffians against whom the vigilance committee had acted, to take vengeance on the members of the committee, individually, the moment they disbanded. This was unwise on the part of the Governor; he should have been aware that the organization was too powerful and had the countenance of the people to too great an extent to be met with threats of vengeance. He should first of all have appealed to the sense and the patriotism of the revolutionists, and that failing, should have summoned the Legislature without resort to threats and declarations that the members of the vigilance committee should be dealt with as criminals. Finding the Governor and the constituted authorities determined on vindictive measures against them, and all the villains in the community would thus be encouraged to revenge themselves, we cannot wonder at the vigilance committee determining to protect themselves and maintain their organization until the people shall have passed upon

The question at issue by their votes at the State election. The whole tone of the letters and papers from California goes to prove that the vigilance committee unwittingly hold on to their organization as a means of self-protection against the threats of the Governor, and that but for these they would at an early day have disbanded. There is ample evidence, too, that the great mass of the people are with them, and will sustain them at the State election.

As to Kansas, when extraordinary means were taken on both sides to crowd emigrants into that State, we cannot wonder at the outrages which have been committed. Those outrages have, no doubt, also been magnified on both sides for political effect, and are far less numerous and flagrant than have been represented. The nature of the controversy, naturally led to the most exceptionable and ultra portion of both the pro-slavery and anti-slavery parties, emigrating there, and with such elements, collision was a matter of course. We do not anticipate, however, any serious evil from this collision. The most harm likely to arise is retarding the growth and prosperity of the territory. If the pro-slavery men gain the ascendancy, and out of resentment and to protect their frontiers from being lined with abolitionists enticing away their slaves, do finally succeed in establishing slavery, it will not probably be long sustained, for it is now fully demonstrated that a country like Kansas cannot be profitably cultivated by slaves.

The effervescence in both California and Kansas we doubt not will soon pass off, and society be left there in a more healthful condition than if it had never occurred. Thus far, our institutions have been made better and purified through all those fiery trials which have proved so severe for many other free people, and under which they have sunk down into wild anarchy, from which they were ultimately glad to be relieved by the strong hand of despotic power. Some may attribute this to the superior virtue and intelligence of our people, which knows how to restrain those impulses and passions that have proved the ruin of every other people, within the prescribed limits of safety. For ourselves, we confess, that looking to the history of our country, from its first settlement down to the present day, we have less confidence in any inherent power or ability in our people to save themselves, than seems now to be commonly entertained. We trust, rather to that good Providence, visible in every stage of our history, which has ever watched over our safety and has continually showered upon us blessings, and even from the most perilous evils has worked out good. The greatest danger which lies now in our path, seems to us to arise from the fact that too many, not only of our leading statesmen, but of our really good men, seem to have lost their faith in the protecting and guiding influence of the God of our fathers, and to trust mainly on the strength of their own right arm to give them victory and deliverance. This has always been the first omen of the downfall of men and nations. Aside from this we can see no insidious signs of the times, and no danger to our people.

NEW YORK HERALD.

New York, Saturday, August 9, 1856.

Kansas in Congress—The Artful Dodgers of the Administration.

The Senate of the United States lately passed a resolution calling upon the President for information in relation to the instructions under which Col. Sumner, with his dragoons, has been acting as the guardian of law and order in Kansas; and, in reply, the President has transmitted to the Senate the official correspondence, which we publish in another part of this paper.

Mr. Jeff. Davis, in his letter enclosing to the President this correspondence between the War Department and Col. Sumner, says that no orders have been issued from the department "to any military officer in command in Kansas to disperse any unarmed meeting of the people of that Territory, or to prevent, by military power, any assemblage of the people of that Territory." This statement from a Cabinet officer, in ordinary times would be generally considered satisfactory and conclusive. At this extraordinary crisis, however, our Washington officials are weak in the knees, and this statement of the Secretary of War is but a quibble, a catch, an attempt at

artful dodging, which is knocked in the head in the very first letter of the series from Mr. Davis himself to Col. Sumner. In that letter the authority to sustain the illegally established Missouri government of Kansas is broad and general. Col. Sumner is directed to obey the requisition of the Governor, and to employ the United States army in Kansas, when he may deem it necessary "for the suppression of insurrectionary combinations or armed resistance to the execution of the law." Here the distinction is clear between "armed resistance" and "insurrectionary combinations," but both are to be put down. The Missouri-Kansas government having been accepted and declared by the administration the legal and regular government of the Territory, was not Col. Sumner right in construing his instructions as applicable to the Topeka free State Legislature as an "insurrectionary combination?" There can be no doubt of it; for surely a Legislature set up in defiance of the pet concern of Mr. Pierce was properly regarded by Sumner as an "insurrectionary combination."

The denial, therefore, of the Secretary of War of any authority from him to Col. Sumner "to disperse any unarmed meeting of the people of that Territory" is a contemptible quibble. It is of a piece with the Greytown bombardment and the instructions to Captain Hollins. In both cases the instructions were adapted to effect the object proposed, and yet so shaped as to afford a paltry pretext for the plea, that the officer, in the very business expected at his hands, transgressed his authority. In reference to these Kansas transactions there is another letter of Mr. Davis which stultifies his declaration of innocence to Congress. In his instructions of May 23 to Col. Sumner he says, that "for the great purpose which justifies the employment of military it matters not whether the subversion of the law arises from a denial of the existence of the government, or whether it proceeds from a lawless disregard of the right to protection of person and property, for the security of which the government was ordained and established"—meaning the Missouri government of Kansas and the rights of the border ruffians, we suppose.

The moral of all this contemptible trickery is a fear of public opinion. The administration has been pursuing a policy in Kansas which, when called upon to account for, it denies. It is the Greytown affair over again, with this difference only—that the President shrinks from calling the free State settlers of Kansas "a camp of savages." He has been treating them as savages, but dares not call them so. He not only throws the responsibility upon Col. Sumner for what he was instructed to do, but covers before Congress, and says we shall call Col. Sumner to account for this—he has exceeded his instructions, and we shall so inform him. In the history of Kansas affairs there is nothing more contemptible, excepting, perhaps, those remarkable negotiations with Governor Reeder.

We think it high time that there should be at least a clear understanding extracted from the Pierce-Buchanan democracy in Congress of their exact position upon Kansas affairs. The proceedings upon the appropriation bills are not a bad beginning. We hold to the opinion that the South have a constitutional claim to Kansas; but it is none the less essential that there should be an end of this border war, and that the causes of it should be reached and removed by this Congress, if possible. If peace can only be obtained by the abolition of the Missouri-Kansas Legislature, let it be abolished. At all events, the conservative members of the House can yet enforce some definite settlement or armistice for Kansas during this session, and upon these appropriation bills; and we trust that they will make it the paramount question. Let us have Mr. Pierce smoked out.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 9, 1856.

There is not one honest, intelligent man who has carefully watched the progress of events in Kansas who does not know that the persons really guilty of treason there are the Border Ruffians who invaded the Territory on her day of election, filled the ballot-boxes with illegal votes, drove off the legal voters, and in some instances expelled the judges of election whom they could not bend to their will, with the Legislators and other functionaries whose pretense to legal authority is based upon these election outrages. The men who framed that Border-Ruffian code at Shawnee Mission were morally guilty of treason; those who have scouted and defied it have only done what true men were bound to do. We shall bear with regret, therefore, that all the infamous indictments for treason found by Lecompte and his tools at Lecompte have been quashed. Let the State prisoners now guarded by U. S. troops be liberated on nominal bail, and let the venue be changed to some place where they can have a fair trial—Vermont, for example—but do not let these cases be so easily got rid of. Let the prisoners out on nominal bail—not one of them will seek to evade a trial, as their persecutors well know—and let their case come on at some spot where to love Liberty and resist Villainy is not a crime. They ought to be secured a fair trial and freedom to prepare for it—more they do not ask or desire. When the turn of the real traitors shall come, we shall ask as much for them.

SOUTHERN AID FOR KANSAS—The Carolina Times publishes subscriptions made in the Chester district to establish Slavery in Kansas amounting to \$1,860 50.

THE ORGANIZATION OF KANSAS AND NEBRASKA.

To the Editor of The N. Y. Tribune.

SIR: In your remarks on the vote on Gov. Reeder's claims to a seat in the House of Representatives as Delegate from Kansas, you say, "Cases are frequent of the election of such Delegates in the most informal and unauthorized manner. We are confident the first Delegate from Kansas, (then called Nebraska), the Rev. Thomas Johnson, was so elected." This is a mistake, but one I should pass it unnoticed were it not for the injustice it does myself.

I was the first Delegate elected to Congress "from Kansas (then called Nebraska)." I was elected by a spontaneous movement of the people, and I came to Washington in accordance with their expressed will, presented my evidences of election, and, though not admitted to a seat in the House, I pressed the interests of my Territory upon the consideration of Congress with such success that a bill for its organization passed the House of Representatives by a large majority, and would have passed the Senate had it been brought to a vote at that session; but unfortunately for the country and for myself, this was not done.

I was elected for the second session of the 32d Congress. In the Autumn of the succeeding year, (1853), a Convention of the People of the Territory assembled at Wyandot and established a Provisional Government—a measure first suggested and the plan proposed by myself. At this Convention I was nominated for reelection. But a portion of the Convention bolted and another Convention was called, at which Mr. Thomas Johnson was nominated as my competitor. The Chief of the Indian Bureau at Washington sided, both by money and personal influence, with my opponent. This I can prove. The repeal of the Missouri Compromise was now first agitated, and it was thought important to success that the Territory should be represented by one favorable to that measure. Hence the interference. And as all the Indian Agents were under the control of the Government they obtained a very large Indian vote—persons who were not citizens of the United States, nor were willing to become such, and who voted against me, because these Agents told them "if they did not do so I would be elected, and they bring them under the white man's law." But a majority of actual citizens voted for me, ye the certificate of election was given to my competitor by the Provisional Governor. I contested the election, but the Committee on Elections, to whom the subject was referred, never came to any decision thereon. Mr. Johnson obtained lucrative employment in the Indian Department, and through the instrumentality of Indian treaties made himself rich, and I was taken sick, and have been on the verge of the grave most of the time since.

It was not the policy of the Pro-Slavery party to have the country north of 36° 30', known as Nebraska.

open for settlement, and for that reason it is not open for Indian civilization, and its settlement by white men was forbidden by law under heavy penalties. The few whites there were there by sufferance and by license. But circumstances, which it is not necessary for me here to relate, impelled me to urge upon the people of the Territory the necessity of a Territorial organization. I met with many difficulties, and on one occasion was threatened with imprisonment by the commanding officer of one of the military posts in the Territory, for my attempt at "revolution," as he called it.

But to give a history of my early struggle in behalf of Nebraska, (then including Kansas), would take more time than I have inclination to spare. Yet I can say, without fear of refutation, that but for my efforts there would not now be either Kansas or Nebraska open to the settlement of the white man. I have sacrificed much money and more time than any other living man in the cause of Kansas, and have never received one cent in return—not even the usual mileage and per diem hitherto paid to informal Delegates. Then do not, I beg of you, deprive me of the honor to which I am entitled. I have paid dearly enough for it, and think I should have full credit for what I have done. In your Almanac of the current year you have done me similar injustice, and I trust you will make the correction in both cases.

In regard to Gov. Reeder, I entirely agree with you. He ought to have been admitted, and I so urged whenever I had a Congressman's ear, without reference to the man, (I mean Reeder), who, to tell the truth, is very far from being without sin, although, had he even done his duty as Governor of Kansas, the present condition of affairs could hardly have been averted—it was a foregone conclusion.

Yours respectfully,
ABELARD GUTHRIE.
Washington, D. C., Aug. 6, 1856.

TRIBUNE KANSAS FUND.

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Jedged,	John Brown, Sr.,	2 00
E. Gould,	John C. Man of P. E.,	1 00
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Rev. J. N. Smith,	W. Symonds,	1 00
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H. S. Wheeler,	E. Leach,	1 00
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Kate Evans,	G. B. Lyrcree,	1 00
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A. Countryman,	James Silcox,	1 00
J. Halfpenny,		
E. Luppitt,		
A small sum for a large object,		
N. Coleman,		
	Total,	\$2,381 79

KANSAS.

Our Special Correspondent.
LAWRENCE, K. T., July 31, 1856.
Great uneasiness prevails among the people in the Territory, lest the fair aspects of the "Toombs or Douglas" bills should lead some who a

regard for justice and the interests of Kansas to support them. From Douglas and men like him we expect nothing. We know that they are dishonorable politicians, and fully-committed Slavery propagandists. There is another class, however, from whom we have a little to expect and a good deal to fear. On one hand they are to some extent amenable to their constituency, and have sufficient regard for their reputations to dislike appearing as the advocates of a dishonorable measure; on the other, they are subject to the pressure of a corrupt Administration and a powerful Oligarchy, and have the blandishments of a deceptive political theory to cover up their defection and iniquity. Under such circumstances, the people here contemplate the discussion of such an iniquitous measure with well-grounded alarm.

In order to show what the Slavery propaganda have think of it, I append an extract from *The Lawrence Herald* of last week. It alludes to the report that Stringfellow, Whitfield, Oliver and others were opposed to the Toombs bill:

"We are surprised that our friends should oppose this bill and condemn it as an instrument to insure Kansas as a Free State!" How can it make Kansas a Free State, unless a majority of the present inhabitants of the Territory are Free-State men?—which everybody knows is not the case, and which Gansfield and Stringfellow themselves have all along denied. Why, then, oppose the bill? Cannot any one see, and see plainly, that it is much better that the question of Slavery should come up for final decision by the popular vote of Kansas on the first Monday of November next than in a year or two from this time? Our party has now the majority in the Territory; but whether it will retain that majority is to our mind a matter of much doubt. Every one knows that the capacity of the Northern States for colonization is far superior to that of the Southern States. Then we say let this bill pass, and let the question of Slavery be brought up when our party has a majority in the Territory. We regard the bill as eminently wise and just, and believe that, if it takes effect, Kansas will be a Slave State."

In spite of all that has been done, I do not believe that the Pro-Slavery party has a bona fide majority yet, and therefore beg to dissent from so much of the opinion above. Still there is a fearful approximation to truth in it. The murders, robberies, intimidations, burning of houses, driving of men off, and stoppage of emigration by violence, coupled with the continual and heavy forced importation of the refuse of Southern society, as reinforcements to Buford's "army of occupation," place matters in a different position from what they have formerly occupied. It will not do to blind ourselves to the facts because they are disagreeable. If a fair and honorable vote was taken on the question of Slavery to-morrow, with all the men now in the Territory, I still believe that Kansas would be free. But, if any man fancies that there ever will be, under any circumstances, a fair and honorable vote in Kansas until the people here, through a State government regulate the matter, he is deceived, and the sooner he disabuses such illusion the nearer will he be to the truth. The allusion in the paragraph which I quote to "our party having how the majority," is a delicate and candid allusion to the means by which this desirable supposed result has been brought about.

This last Pro-Slavery bill indicates how the system will work very clearly, in its own terms. The provision that all persons who have been obliged to leave the Territory may return and get their names enrolled on the list of voters, is one of the odious loose screws. This specious provision has been used as a patent "stump speech." This is the panacea which is to secure abused Free-State men their rights, and heal the political sores of Northern doughfaces. Cool, very, with the Missouri River closed to navigation, and a Pro-Slavery board to adjudicate the claims of these returning voters, even allowing that they could get back. But is any one blind to the true intent and meaning of this? If so let me explain it. At the election held March 30, 1855, some five thousand, Missourians voted in Kansas. Some of the best legal advice that Border Rufianism affords decided that these were voters and inhabitants because they were in the Territory. Now the probability is that all of them left the Territory on account of trouble. They have been in the Territory, and even voted; and what is to hinder every Missourian who has ever been in the Territory from coming over at his leisure and having his name enrolled as a voter? Certainly not a Pro-Slavery Board of Commissioners.

In this connection I will mention that in a conversation I had with the Hon. Mordecai Oliver in May last, that gentleman stated to me that persons who had "taken claims in the Territory," and who "were in the Territory on the day of election, and intended to become settlers," had a right to vote.

Now, there is a variety of opinions relative to making claims. By all the laws of Congress that give pre-emptors any right to hold the soil, an actual residence on the tract claimed, is required. Missourians, however, take claims by sticking down a stake somewhere. If they have had time they may have stuck in four or more of these appropriating pegs; while many "have claims" who altogether omitted this rather equivocal ceremony. Under this head the oligarchy have a "basis of representation" sufficient to settle the question of Slavery in Kansas, independent of all other adjuncts.

Among the ingenious efforts to compound between God and Mammon, I recognize the position of those who justify their desertion from the cause of Freedom and the Free-State Constitution, by suggesting the restoration of the Anti-Slavery restriction to Kansas and Nebraska. There is little use in showing the fallacy of a position so impracticable. There is not a Pro-Slavery man in the Territory who would give five cents difference between the admission of Kansas under the Topeka Constitution, and imposing an Anti-Slavery restriction. In fact, I have conversed with many moderate Pro-Slavery men here on this subject, and all of them preferred the Topeka Constitution, as that document contains more favorable terms for the extinguishment of Slavery now here than could be got from the settlers of Kansas after what they have suffered. The chief danger of this policy lies in its tendency to cause fresh difficulty and discord, by requiring that fresh steps for the establishment of a Government be taken. After what the Territory has suffered such a policy would not only be indiscreet, but unnecessary and cruel.

It will be remembered that few of the Pro-Slavery residents have taken a very active part in the more marked outrages here. During the war last Fall there was a mere handful of actual residents in the Pro-Slavery camp, and but few of these were with the Marshal in his incendiary plundering posse. They have, indeed, aided and abetted, and taken advantage of all the rascality, but the chief movers and actors were the irresponsible tools of an overreaching oligarchy. Now, however, these latter feel some of the effects of this violence. The guerrillas are now under no systematic power. It is irresponsible, and hence decidedly irregular. I refer to the guerrilla as of both parties. Horse property has got to be like white man, "berry one's rife." Unscrupulous men of all politics, or rather of no politics, have taken advantage of the disturbance in order to prosecute their own emolument. The Pro-Slavery residents having to some extent suffered, begin to groan aloud, and are earnestly soliciting the Free-State men to unite with them to put a stop to this. Meetings have been held in a number of localities, the avowed object of which was to form a secret band of regulators to supersede all law and authority, and to bring all who may happen to fall under the ban of such association to condign punishment. The dangerous character of all such secret tribunals I need not expatiate upon. They threaten to open up another fearful chapter in Kansas history, and are the necessary fruits of the misgovernment which has been permitted here.

Some of the Free State men are willing to engage in this secret tribunal business, but only for the benefit of Free-State men. As there is no law, there might be some apology for this wretched policy; but there is none for an "entangling alliance" with men who have the special advantage of all that is intended to represent law in the Territory. So long as they league with their enemies, help to keep Free-State men in ignominious prisons, and pocket all the fruits of this Pro-Slavery villany, they are entitled to no protection from Free-State men, and should have none. A large number of the Free-State settlers are by far too conscientious for the present emergency. Imagine a "Britisher" moralizing over a Russian he has killed in the trenches at Sevastopol, and you comprehend the class I depict. I will add, however, that there is a slight sprinkling of selfishness and cowardice in it; those who are afraid or unwilling to do anything to defend themselves or their respective communities are apt to cover up the true reasons by an indiscriminate censure of the course of those who do.

The river is still closed to Free-State navigation, the North being emphatically taboo'd. Practically the Union might be dissolved and we of Kansas at war with the independent despotism of Missouri, without Kansas being any worse off. The Buford Brigades are out of money. Their Chief and his subs have gone to the South for more, and these gentry, who are still arriving in considerable numbers, are pouring into the Territory in all directions. The camp at Osawatimie has about 300 men in it. They are an army, armed and equipped, and avow that they intend to drive out the Free-State men. Other parties are camped in other places. Gen. Richardson has gone North with reinforcements to intercept the emigration in that quarter. I gave you the particulars of their

Movements and affairs at Leavenworth in my last

Journal. From what I have learned since my return, I do not believe that they will dare to molest the emigrants. A considerable number of overland emigrants have arrived and are forming settlements in the north part of the Territory. They are well supplied with everything necessary for agriculture or business.

Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune. NEAR KANSAS, K. T., July 29, 1856.

We hear from the States of indignation meetings and of resolutions being passed. It will be for the people of Kansas to hold the next indignation meeting, to consider the want of prompt action in their behalf on the part of the citizens of the Free States. Why don't the people combine their resolution and indignation, and form a company sufficiently strong to force (if need be) a passage up that river which has heretofore been looked upon with pride as one of the great highways of our nation, but which now is blockaded by a few hundred hard pirates, who have stationed, as it were, deep in custom-houses at every little town along its banks. Here emigrants are stopped, and every one who does not believe slavery to be a divine institution, which the Constitution of the United States was formed to protect, are turned back, and their goods forfeited, while armed bands from the South, with the avowed purpose of driving the Free-State settlers out of Kansas, are forwarded on their crusade. Already large companies are flocking in from Missouri, in anticipation of the passage of Senator Toombs' bill to be ready to enroll their names in the census list. They will then return to the State until the day of election. We likewise hear that the Kickapoo Indians have gone out to intercept and turn back those emigrants who are endeavoring to reach Free soil via Iowa and Nebraska. One of the Border Ruffians led the audacity to come into our midst, where forty-nine out of fifty are Free State men, and tells us that Free State and Pro Slavery men never could live together, and that Kansas was bound to be a Slave State. So you see that we are to be driven out at the point of the bayonet; but we will not be weighed down by our arms or property, for they will relieve us of these. Still, I think before they get the majority of the aims in this neighborhood, they will have got the contents of them. I am strongly in favor of peace, when it can be purchased at almost any price short of chains and slavery, but it seems our Border Ruffian neighbors will accept no other offers. There is a great victory to be won. If slavery gains a permanent foothold in Kansas, she will have cast an anchor that the surges of ages may not remove. If, on the other hand, Freedom prevails, Slavery will never again dare to hold up her deformed head with such boldness and try to force her course on forbidden soil. Are there men so base in the North who, after reading of the wrongs and oppressions that the people of this Territory have undergone, can go deliberately to the ballot-box and there deposit their votes for men who endorse these wrongs? I know there are, but I hope they are few. I believe they are not a majority. The people of Kansas will never submit to have slavery passed on them by any such process as Toombs, Douglas and Company are trying to hatch. Friends of the North, you must come to the help of Kansas, for we have nothing to expect of the Federal Government, except tyranny and oppression. The Executive has proved that he has no will to aid, save in suppressing legally elected Legislatures, and aiding notorious villains to arrest peaceable citizens without a warrant or the least shadow of legality. These are hard things to write, nevertheless they are true. Yours for Freedom, Peace, Kansas and Freedom.

TO KANSAS, THROUGH IOWA.

Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune. MOUNT PLEASANT, Iowa, Friday, Aug 1, 1856.

I drop you a line from this point. The result of our investigations as to the means of getting through the State of Iowa to the Missouri River is the most satisfactory character. There are two routes across the State, furnishing the necessary accommodations by means of stage. The first is by the way of Rock Island, Davenport, Iowa City, and Council Bluffs. The other is by the way of Burlington to this point by rail-road, and hence to the south-western corner of the State by stage, and cross the Missouri River at Ottumwa. This you will perceive, is a route that leads directly to Ottumwa, Nebraska Territory, and one that must be taken by the Kansas emigration that is driven to seek other means of getting into that Territory than that which is now blockaded by the Missouri Indians. We have seen and conversed with the agents of the Western Stage Company (one of the heaviest staging companies in the West), and they assure us that they are prepared to send through all the passengers that come that way. There appears to be a great misapprehension on the part of some of the Kansas Comrades in regard to this matter. They seem to have an idea that the best route is by the way of Iowa City, when the fact is that by that route they not only go a hundred miles out of the way, but have to travel over a much worse road. By taking the Burlington route, Kansas emigrants can get through from New York to the Missouri River in about eight days, making by far the shortest route in point of time as well as in distance. The expense of crossing Iowa by railroad and stage is about \$20, including all expenses. The fact that the terminus of this route is in the lower corner of the State of Iowa is also a very great inducement to persons going to Kansas, for the reason that it places them within a few miles of the Kansas line; whereas, if they were landed at Council Bluffs they would still have a long and dreary journey to perform through

the Territory or Nebraska. We are assured that this portion of Iowa, through which the stage line runs, from Mount Pleasant, is thickly populated, and affords all the accommodations necessary for travelers. Those who prefer to do so can travel cheaper by going through in their own wagons, though by taking that course they would be a meddling order on the way. There has been some little apprehension on the part of some of the Kansas emigrants that there was danger in crossing the Missouri near the State line. I have conversed with several persons well acquainted with the character of the people of Northern Missouri, and they assure me that there are really many Free State men in that corner of the State as those holding Pro-Slavery sentiments. Just at this time the roads are in excellent condition, and the settlers here assure us that they are generally good till about the 1st of November, unless there should be more than the usual quantity of rain. I would, however, advise emigrants to come as early as possible, if they want to have a pleasant journey. Should any of our friends, or of the Kansas movement, desire further information in regard to the stage accommodations from this point to the Missouri River, let them write to A. C. Parks, esq., agent of the Western Stage Company, Mount Pleasant, Henry County, Iowa. This company has the necessary means, facilities and disposition to put through any number of passengers if they are but notified a few days in advance of the demands to be made upon their resources. It will not be long before the iron horse will be running between the Mississippi and Missouri. Railroads are already in operation to this point, and through the center of the State to Iowa City. The Burlington road must, from its location, form one of the links in the great central chain which is to run to the Pacific Ocean in a very few years. It seems to me to be one of the most promising Western railroads for the investment of Eastern capital. It will offer the best means of connection with Kansas. The trade and travel of that Territory and Southern Nebraska alone would make it profitable, to say nothing of the great National highway to the Pacific Ocean. I think the friends of Kansas have an opportunity of benefiting themselves as the people of that Territory in the most effectual way by coming forward and subscribing the necessary capital to push this Burlington and Missouri road right through. If the means were furnished I have no doubt the whole work could be completed in less than a year. After the road is completed the public land granted to the company will realize very near the whole expense of building the road; hence you will perceive that capital invested here cannot fail to pay a handsome interest. I feel satisfied that if this matter were fully understood by Eastern capitalists, especially those who feel an interest in the Territory of Kansas, the necessary means would at once be subscribed to put this road in operation at the earliest possible moment. The lumber and materials in any quantity can be secured just as rapidly as the means of the company will warrant. I do not know who the gentlemen connected with this road are, but presume you can find out in New York. The road is known as the Burlington and Missouri Railroad, and has some thirty miles of its track now down.

I need hardly tell you that the whole West is in a high state of excitement in reference to the Presidential election. Fremont and Buchanan are the only names talked of. Fillmore has now and then an advocate, but they are so few and far between that I think I am justified in saying that he is out of the race so far as the Western States are concerned. I should judge from all that I can see and hear, that Fremont will get three votes to Buchanan's one. The enthusiasm in his favor is far ahead of anything I have ever heard or seen in politics. It is hardly safe our here for a Buchanan or Fillmore man to make his sentiment known. If he does he is sure to bring down a whole swarm of people on him who where he will. I will write you again in a short time.

New-York.

PRINCIPLES, NOT MEN.

SATURDAY MORNING, AUGUST 9, 1856.

POLITICS OF THE DAY

LETTER FROM GEN. J. WATSON WEBB.

[From the National Intelligencer, August 7.]

WASHINGTON, Monday, August 4.

To the Hon. James Alfred Pearce, U. S. Senator. My attention has been called to your letter of the 31st July, addressed to the Hon. J. R. FRANKLIN, and published in the National Intelligencer of Saturday, in which occurs the following:

"At the Convention in Philadelphia, held by those who nominated Mr. Fremont, a conspicuous and distinguished gentleman, heretofore considered moderate and conservative, made a speech, in which, amidst cheers and cries of 'good,' he spoke as follows:

"They (meaning those who appointed the members of the Convention) ask us to give them a nomination which, when put fairly before the people, will unite public sentiment, and through the ballot-box restrain and repel this pro-slavery extension, and this aggression of the slaveocracy. What else are they doing? They tell you that they are willing to abide by the ballot-box, and willing to make that the last appeal. If we fail there, what then? We will drive it back, sword in hand, and, so help me God, I am with them."

"It is true that the author of these remarks has since publicly avowed that he alone is responsible for this rhapsody. But it cannot be doubted that the feeling which prompted him was the same which animated the preacher who proposed to supply the brethren in Kansas with bread and butter too, and

which has stimulated other preachers and their congregations to subscribe Sharp's rifles as the most efficacious instrument in the adjustment of the controversies in that Territory, which all good men deplore, however they may differ as to the causes of the unhappy anarchy which prevails there."

You admit in the foregoing, that I assumed the entire responsibility of what I said at Philadelphia; and you withhold the fact, that the paragraph originally quoted by Mr. STEPHENS in the House of Representatives, was avowedly taken from a letter published in a New York paper, purporting to give a sketch only of what took place in Convention, without pretending to give a report of what is dignified with the name of a speech, but which is well known to have been a hasty but successful appeal to the Convention, in behalf of delay in making its re-nomination. I admitted having given expression to the sentiment referred to, in a certain connexion, but denied the accuracy of the language quoted; and you not only pass over this explanation and the history of what did occur, but you actually omit, unintentionally I hope, a very material part of the newspaper report of what I said. Mr. STEPHENS, on the floor of the House, in quoting the newspaper correspondent, made it say: "If we fail there, [at the ballot-box], what then? We will drive it [slavery] back sword in hand, and, so help me God, believing that to be right, I am with them."

You, sir, in quoting this extract against me, have omitted altogether, the words, "believing that to be right;" and thus, in a grave address from an honorable Senator of the United States to his constituents, we find a bad cause sustained and a good one sought to be injured, by attempting to fix upon me, and through me upon the Republican party, language which you were advised had been perverted, from its original meaning; but the knowledge of which perversion, you withhold from your constituents. You admit that you had read my explanation of that language, assuming its responsibility, but you conceal the important fact, that the language which I did use, and from which I do not shrink, had a totally different application from that given to it by Mr. STEPHENS, and which you endorse after notice of his error. I am very certain that he would not have reiterated his erroneous construction of my language, as carelessly reported by a letter written from Philadelphia, after my explanation on the 15th of July; and I only regret that you should have deemed it just to have overlooked the history of the paragraph, which has been so pertinaciously seized upon by the Democratic presses and leaders, to make capital for a sinking cause. I am familiar with the hot zeal of new converts to a political creed they have formerly condemned, to win for themselves a conspicuous place among the supporters of their new faith; but you, sir, are the last man living among whom I would bring the charge of thus acting; and yet your conduct in keeping back the real history of the paragraph you quoted, together with its application, and at the same time omitting even a material part of this floating waif on the ocean of political strife, would appear to indicate, that to accomplish your purpose you were willing to make use of whatever weapons were within your reach, without pausing to inquire, whether they could be legitimately used by a high-minded Whig, who, during a long political career, has ever conducted himself in a manner which imparted dignity to the cause he advocated.

I know how different is the political atmosphere of the party into which you have recently passed from that which you have left, and how exacting they are of all new converts. I know, too, that they will expect of you to become a convert to their practice, that the end justifies the means, and doubtless they look upon that portion of your letter which refers to me, as evidence of your willingness to be useful, after this fashion, in the coming campaign. But I have known you too long to believe that such was your purpose, or that it is possible for you to ignore by a single act, your past political history. You have evidently written under the excitement which appears to be inseparable from all who advocate the extension of slavery into free territory; and, in so doing, naturally justify and palliate conduct, which, under other circumstances, you would be the first to condemn. And to this excitement I attribute your un-called-for reflections upon Gov. SEWARD and other old Whigs with whom you have associated for years, and from whom you might have separated on this occasion, without the taunts which at some future day may rise up to rebuke your departure from a course dictated alike by courtesy and a recollection of your past associations. Then, too, your attempt to make the Republican party, composed, as

you know it to be, of your old Whig associates, and of Democrats every whit as conservative as yourself—to attempt to make them responsible for the sentiments of GARRISON, SMITH, BIRNEY, and WENDELL PHILLIPS, was not worthy of the past political history and social position of JAS. ALFRED PEARCE. Sir, the old Whig party of this United States, seven eighths of whom are now doing battle for their principles and for the Constitution of their country under the Republican banner, will deeply regret that one whom they have so long honored and respected, and who within two years has been named in the columns of the *Courier and Enquirer* as one worthy of being elected to the Presidency, should have deemed it his duty to become the advocate of slavery extension, and to abandon his old political associates for the communion of the Democratic party and the platform of principles which it has recently put forth; but they will grieve more over the mode in which your enlistment under the banner of a purely sectional party has been made public, than over their loss of your talents to a conservative and national cause, great as that loss confessedly is.

But I desire to avoid all unnecessary reflections in calling your attention to the injustice done to me by quoting as you did, language which you know I had never used, but the import of which I freely admitted when properly applied. You owed it to me, and, what is more, you owed it to yourself, as a gentleman of admitted fairness, to have abstained altogether from the use of the paragraph quoted, or to have appended to it the explanation given by me when it was first brought to the knowledge of the public by Mr. STEPHENS, who would scarcely be willing to be held responsible for every expression which a letter writer from Washington may have imagined him to have used in a hasty rough-and-tumble debate in the House of Representatives. The cause which requires a resort to such expedients for support, is not a cause which can address itself to the judgment and the hearts of the American people. Now, sir, let me copy from the *Courier and Enquirer* of the 15th July, what I said in relation to this very paragraph from a letter written in Philadelphia and quoted by Mr. STEPHENS in the House of Representatives, as the sentiment of the Republican party. That explanation was before you when you quoted the identical paragraph, with the omission of a part of it; and you had the means of testing its truth by hundreds of living witnesses. And yet you withheld the explanation, and used it precisely as did Mr. STEPHENS in his ignorance of the truth. Would you have done this while in the Whig ranks? And, if not, must there not be something demagogizing in the Democratic, sectional and slavery-extension atmosphere which you now breathe?

[From the *Courier and Enquirer* of the 15th July.]

"As we spoke without consideration, preparation, or premeditation, it should not be matter of surprise if our words were not as guarded as are the published speeches of members of Congress, which have degenerated into elaborate essays, written with great care before delivery, or the reports of them carefully revised and emancipated of all offensive expressions before publication; and we cheerfully admit that the sentence quoted by Mr. Stephens, standing by itself as an isolated paragraph, is liable to censure. But the facts are simply these. We denounced the attempt of the South to extend slavery into Kansas through a shameful violation of their solemnly pledged faith, and by the direct legislation of Congress in the repeal of the Missouri compromise and the passage of the Kansas Nebraska law. And we pointed to the fact that civil war was then raging in Kansas, because the proslavery men of Missouri had gone into Kansas, armed with rifles and bowie-knives, driven its citizens from the polls, and elected creatures of their own to be a Legislature for Kansas; and through that Legislature had passed laws which had no binding authority, and to resist which was a duty instead of a crime. At the time of speaking we well knew, as does the whole country at this day, that the testimony before the Congressional committee clearly proved that the acts of the so-called Legislature of Kansas had no more binding effect upon the people of that Territory than if they had been proclaimed by the viceroy of Egypt; and it was resistance to these laws which called forth our approbation, and, if needs be, a proffer of assistance. This is the spirit of what we said, and by this we are prepared to abide, be the consequences what they may. But let it be distinctly understood that as we spoke without preparation or premeditation, and only gave utterance to the feelings of indignation against oppression which constitute a part of our nature, so we spoke for ourselves only. We are responsible for what we said then, and for what we say now; and it is not our custom to take counsel from any quarter or to pretend to speak for others. The editor who indulges in such luxuries will soon find that it will be expected of him never to have opinions of his own, or, at all events, not to give vent to them.

"To the writer, then, and not to the Republican party of its 'leading spirits,' belongs the entire responsibility of what we said at Philadelphia. We did not at that time, nor do we now intend, directly or indirectly, to recommend resistance to law. Our

whole editorial career demonstrates that such could not have been our intention. But, it having been clearly proved before a committee of Congress that there never has been in session a Legislature elected by the people of Kansas, it follows that the edicts put forth as laws by the miserable tools of a Missouri mob—themselves the agents of a pro-slavery conspiracy to carry slavery into the territories, in defiance of the pledged faith and the honor of the nation—are no more entitled to the respect or obedience than if they emanated from the Pope of Rome or the Sultan of Turkey. Resistance to those acts of tyranny is a solemn duty; and we care not whether that resistance has to be directed against the Missouri mob, the tools of the Executive selected to do its bidding, or the armed soldiery of the Government itself. There are no laws in Kansas which the General Government has any shadow of right to enforce, save those enacted by Congress. All good citizens should and will bow submissively to them; but we counsel open and manful resistance to any and every attempt to enforce the edicts of the so-called Kansas Legislature, come from what quarter it may. Those edicts punish with imprisonment and even death freedom of speech, freedom of action, and freedom of thought; and, therefore, should be resisted at all hazards by honest men. But emanating as they do from a Legislature proved, officially proved, to have been elected by a robber band of lawless desperadoes from Missouri, the wretch who attempts to enforce them merits death; and he who fails in resisting them should be honored as a martyr in the cause of liberty."

Such is the history and such the explanation of my language used in the Philadelphia Convention. How far it corresponds with your reference to what I said, or how far you were justified in writing what you did, with these facts in your possession, I leave the readers of the *Intelligencer* to judge; and I include the above, that you may not appear to have done so with impunity. Whatever may be the language on the occasion referred to, honest men, who love their country, its Constitution, and the Union which that time-honored charter secures to us, will perceive in it nothing so reckless and treasonable—so absolutely disgraceful to the reputation of a public man—as the declaration, that the election of Mr. FREMONT to the Presidency, would and should, dissolve the Union! And yet you have left your conservative associates, to act in concert with, and sustain the candidate of a sectional party, which endorse and approve such a sentiment!

Your right to leave the conservative friends with whom you have so long acted, to become a member of the Democratic party, which you have always denounced, I am the last to question; but it does not become you, in leaving your conservative friends—among whom your whole political life has been spent—to consort with those whom you have ever denounced as radical, and who are now as purely sectional, as you admit them to be hostile to the peace of the country and wanting in respect to their international obligations; it does not become you, I say, in making this great sacrifice of principles to the demands of the slave power in behalf of slavery-extension, to countenance the absurd assumption, that the radically Democratic and sectional party, which you have joined, is more conservative in its nature than those old associates with whom you have spent your political life, and from whom you learned your conservatism. I wish to know you with being less conservative in feeling now, than heretofore; but you must not imagine, that all the conservatism of those who do not follow you into the sectional party you have joined, necessarily goes with you to leave the radical mass whose hideous features you have so frequently and so graphically delineated. The South, in a spirit of sectionalism, band together as one man, and refuse to give their support to any candidate for any office whatever, who will not pledge himself to stand by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and aid in the extension of slavery into territory now free through the direct legislation of Congress. The North resist this aggressive proceeding on the part of the slave States; and thus, unquestionably, the two sections of our country are arrayed against each other. But which section is to blame? Which necessarily, becomes the purely sectional party? Is it not the party which assumes the aggressive position and compels every slaveholder and every resident of a slave State, to unite in proclaiming their intention to proscriber all who will not labor with them for the extension of slavery in Kansas, Nebraska, Washington, and Oregon? Or does this sectional character attach itself to your old conservative associates, who frankly say—

"We think with Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe, in regard to the institution of Slavery, and do not desire its extension into territory now free; and, therefore, we invite all who think with us, to unite in resisting this sectional combination to extend the institution through the direct legislation of Congress. We give notice, however, that we war only against slavery extension, and not against Sla-

very where it constitutionally exists, and whenever we have succeeded in confining it to the limits, beyond which our fathers forever prohibited its extension, we shall, as heretofore, defend the Slave States in the quiet enjoyment of every right and privilege guaranteed to them by the Constitution; and hold as an enemy to the peace and prosperity of the whole country, whoever attempts to interfere with the right of every State to regulate its internal affairs, without hindrance or molestation of any kind from the general government of the people of other States."

I appeal to your candor as a gentleman and to your intelligence as a Senator, whether this be not a fair statement of the question; and, if so, then language must lose its meaning and words their import—forbearance, truth, intelligence, and devotion to the Constitution, must be made to succumb to aggressive violence, falsehood, ignorance, and self-aggrandizement, before the world can be made to believe that the slave States have not organized themselves into a purely sectional party, dangerous to our institutions, and which seeks to destroy freedom of speech and freedom of action; while the North constitute the only national party in the country, by acting together to resist aggression and to protect and defend the Constitution and the constituted rights of all the people of all the States and all the Territories of the Confederacy. We were national when you were with us and of us; and we are not the less national now, that, blinded by devotion to the sectional object for which the South has combined—slavery-extension—you have yielded to a pressure, which, to have resisted, would have driven you from your home forever; and for self-preservation, have arrayed yourself alongside of those whose political errors it has been the business of your life to expose to the American people. I appreciate the force of circumstances which forced you into your present position. Better be even there, perhaps, than, like UNDERWOOD, be forced to flee forever from your home. But it was not vice, nor was it just or necessary, to proclaim your adherence to new political imputations upon those who had versed with you during a whole lifetime at other, and, I think, more honest, more conservative, and more patriotic shores. You quote Mr. CLAY's opinion against sectionalism in 1839; and I, and nineteen-twentieths of those with whom I am acting, agree in sentiment with what he then said. His words were prophetic; and if he had been here to witness the sectional banding together of the South to seque the extension of slavery into free territory, by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise—an act which he resisted to the hour of his death—and if he had then witnessed the necessary union of the intelligent and liberty-loving people of the Free States, to resist this aggressive sectional action, he could not have described what had passed under his eye with greater accuracy than he predicted what would inevitably be the consequence of a sectional organization for a sectional purpose. He said—

"Union on one side will beget union on the other, and this process of sectional consolidation will be attended with all the passions, prejudices, embittered passions, and implacable animosities which ever degraded or deformed human nature."

Look at Kansas, and witness there what sectionalism on the part of the South, aided by the legislation of your now political friends, has brought upon the country; and if that be not sufficient, look into the future, and having faith in the intimation that I spoke at Philadelphia the sentiments of the Republican party, ask yourself whether the freemen of the North will ever consent to stand by and see the General Government, or the slave battalions of the South, enforce with the bayonet, laws made for the protection of slavery in Kansas, by a Legislature elected by a Missouri mob, who avowed their sole object was to make Kansas a slave State. I spoke for myself, as you well know; but you know, too, that the sentiment to which I gave utterance, found a response in every bosom which heard it, and is responded to by every freeman of the North who loves liberty and is ever ready to resist aggression. You admit in your letter, that Kansas is in a state of "unhappy anarchy;" that the Hon. Mr. LETCHER, of Virginia, said in the House, on Saturday, that we are in a state of revolution.

This is strictly true. Anarchy does exist in Kansas, because the Pro-Slavery Power, upheld and sustained—I should rather say compelled—the Democratic party, whose candidate you now support, to uphold and sustain it—first repealed the Missouri Compromise against your then conviction of right; and then sent thousands of Slaveholders from Missouri into Kansas, to trample upon their rights, drive them from the polls, and elect for them a Legislature favorable to the avowed sectional purpose of the South. Freemen ever resist oppression; and the

the people of Kansas, knowing that its so-called Legislature was a creation of violence, brought its existence by a Missouri mob, manfully resisted its enactments. This was revolution. Civil war followed; and a Committee of the House of Representatives proceeded to the scene of difficulty, investigated the cause of disturbance, and reported that the so-called Kansas Legislature, was a fraudulent body, elected by the creatures of the sectional and Pro-Slavery party which you have so recently joined. The House adopted their Report, turned out of doors the delegate so elected, and virtually suspended all the enactments of the Missouri-elected Legislature of Kansas.

The people of the North, with this evidence of the nefarious outrages perpetrated in Kansas, approve of the resistance by the people of that Territory to the pretended laws of your Missouri mob Legislature; and thus the anarchy, which you admit, and the revolution, which Mr. LEITCHER says exists, are approved and sustained by the unanimous public sentiment of the North. The anarchy is the work of your friends and associates, the same men whose radicalism and filibustering propensities you have so long denounced; but the revolution is our work. We plead guilty to that. We plead guilty to resisting the aggression of the slavery-extension power and the unconstitutional acts of the Administration, precisely as our fathers resisted the aggressions and unconstitutional acts of George III. In this the people and their representatives, are acting in concert. The former, will send supplies of all kinds, men included, to their oppressed brethren in Kansas; and the latter, will withhold supplies from our unscrupulous Executive Government. I have no fears for the result. Pro-Slavery, having become aggressive, will be rebuked; slavery-extension will be put down; and a wild and reckless sectionalism, which overrated its power and is about to render itself ridiculous, will be taught a lesson which will ultimately tend greatly to the perpetuity of our federal Union. You know we are conservative; and you and our adversaries in the South, would feel far more anxious in regard to the result of the pending struggle for political power, if they had not the most perfect confidence that our success will be the signal of peace and quiet for years to come. They know, or think they know, that having once driven slavery back to 36.30—as we most assuredly will—every constitutional right of the slaveholding States, will be as carefully guarded and as manfully protected, as are the rights and privileges of the North. Your party, not ours, is the aggressive party. You seek to extend slavery; we determine that it shall not be extended. We act solely on the defensive. We stand by the Constitution in so doing; and we intend to stand by the Constitution after we have driven it from your sectional aggression. They and you know, beyond all peradventure, that the success of the Republican party, will bring peace to the country and safety to the slave institution of the South. True, you say in your letter, that you think the South will find its "greatest interest" in the election of Mr. BUCHANAN, which will render Kansas a slave State; and you add, "therefore, I am ready to adopt that candidate which appears most likely to accomplish this purpose," [the defeat of FREMONT.] But this is only a matter of opinion. And under no circumstances would I put the interest which the South may have in selling slaves to till the virgin soil of Kansas and Nebraska, against the innumerable blessings which are certain to inure to the whole human race, if the curse of slavery with all its demoralizing influences, be forever excluded from that region.

I have occupied more of your time than I intended; but the abandonment of the conservative and liberty-loving party of the country, by a Senator who has so long, so zealously, and so ably labored to expose the sectionalism, the radicalism, and the filibustering of the party whose candidate you now support, is an act of no ordinary importance; and it is rendered one of still greater significance, when your departure from among us is accompanied by a letter in which you cover your secession by the cry of "mad dog" and an attack on the character of your late associates. You had a perfect right to go, but it was not worthy of JAS. ALFRED PEARCE to shoot his Partisan arrows into the camp of his late friends. You had apology enough for your course in the simple fact that you live south of Mason and Dixon's line, where sectional opinion is so exacting, its requirements so tyrannical, its practices so proscriptive, and its behests so despotic, that gentlemen dare not give expression to their honestly entertained opinions, without being politically ostracised. This is a notorious fact; and others similarly

guilted with yourself, have quietly yielded to that which could not be successfully, or even safely resisted. But they charged not the cause of their desertion to the sectionalism of their old friends; and they went in peace, carrying with them the sympathies of all with whom they had acted. And when compelled to leave our ranks, they went not into the camp of the enemy; they sought not the alliance of men whose principles they had always denounced as dangerous to the country and steeped in corruption; and therefore, there was no necessity for a letter of arraignment against their old friends and exculpation of their new ones.

There is however one great purpose in your letter which meets my hearty approval. I allude to your confining the pending contest to where it properly belongs—to BUCHANAN and FREMONT; to slavery extension and opposition to that iniquitous design of a sectional party. In my opinion, the duty of every patriot—and I do not deny patriotism and honesty to those who seek to extend slavery by constitutional means—is to vote directly for those who represent the two great principles at stake in the coming contest. By such a course, and by such a course only, can the question be fairly and finally settled. I therefore, earnestly desire to see the next Presidential election made to turn on the one great question of principle which is involved in the result—"shall the institution of slavery be extended into the free Territories of the United States by the direct legislation of Congress?" This is the real issue; and to settle this definite, every man who has at heart the welfare of the nation, should vote for either BUCHANAN or FREMONT. This is the teaching of your letter, and it is wise; but I have felt it a duty to myself and others, to protest against your plea for allying yourself with men whose principles you repel. To the alliance *per se*, I take no exceptions. That is your business, for which no man has a right to take you to task, but when, shrinking from an avowal that you join the Democracy because you respect them and their principles, you find a plea for your secession from us in adopting the charge of reckless and time-serving politicians, that we are sectional, or that we are committed to the ultraism and wickedness of extreme men, who you well know, denounce the Republican party as earnestly as they do the Democratic—you must not be surprised that, in defending myself, I have attempted to exhibit your injustice to those with whom you have so long acted in harmony, and who have entertained for you the highest respect.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

J. WATSON WEBB.

CHARLESTON

Saturday Morning, August 9, 1856.

THE MERCURY.

BY HEART & TALKER.

The Next Governor.

The approaching close of Gov. ADAMS's administration, and the political events crowding upon the South, admonish the people of South Carolina of the propriety of canvassing, with due deliberation, the succession to this high and responsible office. At no former time in the history of the State has the future seemed pregnant with events more momentous than those which now impend on every side. If we turn our eyes to Washington, we see the South in a hopeless minority, while her rights and interests are exposed to the mercies of the dominant section, arrayed in hostility against her. With the mad spirit which rules the House of Representatives,—a spirit which, after a desperate struggle of two months, triumphed over the South in the Speaker's election,—a spirit which has broken out on all occasions in lawlessness and fanaticism, and which, even now, presents to the South the alternative of abolishing the Government or overthrowing it. It is neither the language of alarm nor of fantasy to say, that a crisis of peril and responsibility may, at any moment, be precipitated upon us.

And looking to Kansas, the battle-field of the South, what do we see? In that distant Territory a struggle is going on which involves the greatest question which can be addressed to any people—the right to enjoy the acquisitions of their common blood and treasure, and peaceably to spread their institutions and civilization. This is the question with the South. On the part of the North it is a question of predominance, to be used for the express

and avowed purpose of destroying the wealth, the character, and the existence of the South, as a people. Already in possession of the Government, and swollen with the spoils of repeated aggressions, the North sweeps on to extinguish in Kansas the newborn hope of Southern equality.

If we pass from Washington and Kansas to the North itself, the spectacle presented is only intensified. From one end of this section to the other, there exists a party, daily growing in power and insolence, devoted to the one idea of plundering and crushing the South; and which, as if to taunt the South with her doom, and point her weakness to the treachery of her own sons, selecting as its banner bearer one who, but yesterday, was dragged in beggary from her streets, and raised to decency and hope by the charity of that mother whom he now requites with a matricidal hand. Sectionalism, against which the South and her leaders have so long struggled, dominates at last. Parties are national only in name, while platforms and principles are resolved into the simple issue of North and South. The repeal of the Missouri Compromise line, which, two years ago, and while a mere statute, swept the Democratic party from power in every Northern State, is now a thing of practical and present results, intensifying every feeling of fanaticism or of sectional ambition. The Presidential election swallows up, for the time, Congressional agitation, civil war in Kansas, and even fanaticism. Result as it will, the South is far from being secure. As a party, the Democracy of the North are not to be depended on for the maintenance of their own deliberate and repeated pledges, still less for the defence of the South against their own section. During the administration of President PIERCE, the Democratic party in Congress has exhibited a recklessness of principle which must shake the confidence of its blindest supporters. It has denounced and trampled upon its own President, when his highest and only crime was devotion to the principles of the party. The success of Mr. BUCHANAN, faithful and firm as he may be, will prove but a fruitless victory to the South and to the Constitution, if the Democratic party perseveres in its downward course.

If, on the other hand, Black Republicanism triumphs, what is left to the South? Will she—can she—be a patient, submissive dependant upon the Union, administered by her enemies? Will she participate in a Government which brands her with inferiority, and whose policy is her destruction? Will she consent to be a calm spectator of the rejection of Kansas, if she should apply as a slave State? Will her people, while yet free to choose between independence and submission, bow down, the willing, cringing slaves of "a vulgar despotism"? These are the questions which the people of the South, and of this State, may have to answer on "the Ides of March," 1857.

And if the election goes into the House—and it seems now not improbable—the spectacle which will there be presented we can readily anticipate. How nearly the same contingency before brought us to disunion, is well remembered. But never, in the history of this Government, has there been a struggle which, in bitterness and intensity, in the momentous issues at stake, in the desperate game for power on the one side, and for existence on the other, can be named in comparison with that which will be enacted in the present House of Representatives; should the election of President devolve upon it. Let the contest for the Speakership speak the prediction. It will test every fibre of the Government, the stubbornness of the North, the spirit and patriotism of the South. Such are the prospects which meet the eye of the Southern man.

What, lastly, is the spectacle at home? If we may trust the evidences which come to us from every quarter in the South, of an awakening to the perils which beset her—if we are not to bury for ever our faith in the Southern people, who, though long cheated by their own time-serving politicians, and forbearing under wrong, still cherish the determination to defend their rights—then, we say, that for every State, and for every true man in the South, the coming time is full of earnest duty. Whether with BUCHANAN or FREMONT, in the Union or out of it, in peace or revolution, the future of the South is still the same—vital and momentous. And South Carolina cannot, must not be backward. If, in deference to the policy of her sister States, she once paused in her actions, let it be remembered that it

was in the hope that a more favorable occasion would yet arise, when, with stern and unfaltering steps, she could take her place side by side with the foremost in the contest.

It is, therefore, a matter of prime importance, to determine who shall, in the coming two years, fill the Executive Chair in South Carolina. We want a man of wisdom and firmness—known throughout the State for high and commanding qualities, identified with her highest policy and spirit, whose name will inspire confidence among true men throughout her borders—a man whose skirts have been unpoluted with party or Federal associations, and who will bring to his "high office" a readiness, a determination, and an ability, to meet whatever responsibilities may arise, as becomes the Chief Magistrate of an independent, sovereign State.

End of
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