

Vol. 16

WEBB SCRAP BOOK
Aug. - Sept. 1856

THE EVENING NEWS.

Saint Louis:

MONDAY EVENING, AUGUST 11.

A Hint to the President.

President Pierce finds the "Border Rufians" the hardest fellows to manage he ever encountered. They are for the President when he consults their wishes, but they drop him whenever he begins to show remorse. The Leavenworth *Herald*, a Democratic journal, speaking of the report that the Free State prisoners were to be released by order of the President, says:—

We hope the President will not order their release. Why should men who have been plotting treason and rebellion against our government be liberated? Will President Pierce encourage treason against our government! Let him cause these treason-mongers to be released, and it will consign him to a political grave so deep that the hand of resurrection will never reach him, and produce a state of excitement and anarchy in our Territory that will shake the Union to its very foundation.

THE REPUBLICAN.

ST. LOUIS.

SUNDAY MORNING, AUGUST 10, 1856.

VOTE OF THE KANSAS DELEGATE QUESTION.

Resolved, That Andrew H. Reeder be admitted to a seat on this floor as a Delegate from the Territory of Kansas.

And it was not agreed to—yeas 88, nays 113—as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Albright, Allison, Barbour, Barclay, Bennett of New York, Benson, Billingham, Bliss, Bradshaw, Brenton, Buffington, Campbell of Pennsylvania, Chaffee, Clark of Connecticut, Clawson, Colfax, Comins, Covode, Cragin, Cumberback, Damrell, Day, Dean, Dick, Dickson, Dodd, Durfee, Edie, Eurie, Flagler, Galloway, Giddings, Gilbert, Grow, Hall of Massachusetts, Harlan, Holloway, Horton of New York, Hughston, Kelsey, Knapp, Knight, Knowlton, Knox, Kunkel, Leiter, Maee, Matteson, McCarty, Miller of New York, Morgan, Morrill, Mott, Nichols, Norton, Oliver of New York, Parker, Pelton, Perry, Pettit, Pike, Pringle, Purviance, Robbins, Roberts Sabin, Sage, Sapp, Sherman, Spinner, Stranahan, Tappan, Thorington, Thurston, Todd, Trafton, Wade, Wakeman, Walbridge, Waldron, Washburne of Wisconsin, Washburne of Illinois, Washburne of Maine, Watson, Welch, Wood, Woodruff and Woodworth—88.

NAYS—Messrs. Aiken, Ball, Barksdale, Bell, Bennett of Mississippi, Boock, Bowie, Boyce, Branch, Brown, Burnett, Caldwell, Campbell of Kentucky, Campbell of Ohio, Carlile, Caruthers, Caske, Cobb of Georgia, Cobb of Alabama, Cox, Craige, Crawford, Cullen, Davidson, Davis of Maryland, Denver, Dowdell, Dunn, Edmundson, Edwards, English, Eustis, Evans, Fullaker, Florence, Foster, Fuller of Pennsylvania, Fuller of Maine, Goode, Greenwood, Harris of Maryland, Harris of Alabama, Harris of Illinois, Harrison, Haven, Herbert, Hickman, Hoffman, Horton of Ohio, Houston, Jones of Tennessee, Kennett, Kidwell, King, Lake, Letcher, Lindley, Lumpkin, A. K. Marshall of Kentucky, H. Marshall of Kentucky, Marshall of Illinois, Maxwell, McMullen, Miller of Indiana, Millson, Moore, Oliver of Missouri, Orr, Peck, Pennington, Phelps, Porter, Powell, Puryear, Quitman, Reade, Ready, Ricard, Richardson, Ritchie, Rivers, Ruffin, Rust, Sandidge, Savage, Scott, Seward, Shorter, Simmons, Smith of Tennessee, Smith of Virginia, Smith of Alabama, Sneed, Stephens, Stewart, Swope, Talbot, Taylor, Trippe, Tyson, Underwood, Vail, Valk, Walker, Warner, Watkins, Wells, Whitney, Williams, Winslow, Wright of Mississippi, Wright of Tennessee, and Zollcoffer—113.

Mr. WASHBURN, of Maine, submitted a resolution directing the Clerk to pay out of the contingent fund of the H-use to Andrew H. Reeder, lately claiming a seat in the House as a Delegate from the Territory of Kansas, his mileage and per diem up to this date.

Mr. PHELPS, of Missouri, objected to the resolution.

The SPEAKER stated that the resolution could only be received by unanimous consent.

Mr. PHELPS insisted on his objection, and the resolution was not received.

GOVERNOR OF KANSAS.

The appointment of Col. JOHN W. GEARY, of Pennsylvania, to this position, brings him prominently before the people at this time. Born among the mountains of the Keystone State, he inherits all that love of country, and love of the free Republican institutions of the country, that has led her sons to be among the first on every battle field where the enemies of our country have been made to strike their colors. He possesses all the qualifications, both in civil and military affairs, to fit him in an eminent degree for this responsible situation. He filled many civil offices up to the time that the war with Mexico broke out. At that time he was in command of a volunteer company at Summit, Cambria county. He immediately offered his and their services to the President, and was accepted. He marched to Pittsburgh with over seventy-five men, and was there elected Lieutenant Colonel of the Second Regiment. After the death of Col. ROBERTS, (during the march on the city of Mexico,) he was in command of the regiment in all the bloody battles in which the regiment was engaged. After entering the City of Mexico, he was elected Colonel of the regiment by almost a unanimous vote. Of the gallant part taken by them in the battles of Chapultepec, Garreta de Belen, and entering the City of Mexico, in which actions they were second to no regiments, it is not necessary to speak in detail; they speak for themselves in the official reports of Generals SCOTT and QUITMAN, and in the list of killed and wounded, as reported to the War Department.

Through all the almost insurmountable difficulties under which volunteer officers had to labor during the campaign, in getting the men tents, clothing, provisions, providing good quarters and attention for the sick, Col. GEARY brought his regiment through with great credit, and placed them in the first rank for firmness in action and strictness of discipline.—Owing to the Colonel's strict orders and personal observation and acquaintance with the details of regimental duty, the regiment always made a fine appearance, and elicited on different occasions the warmest praise from Gen. SCOTT. A perfect gentleman in his manners, having high moral courage, temperate in all his habits and tastes, he was always able to control, and at the same time win the respect and friendship of the men he commanded.

Since the war, he has filled high civil offices in California; first, as Postmaster there, and after that, first Alcalde or Mayor of San Francisco; which latter position, at the time he filled the office, was about as difficult to manage as any position a person can well imagine. That he did fill the place to the satisfaction of the majority of the citizens of the city, at that time, speaks volumes in favor of his administrative and judicial ability.

From these facts, and his well known attachment to Democratic principles, with a sound knowledge of the constitution and laws of the country, it may be fairly supposed that the Territorial Government of Kansas will be ably conducted, and that the bungling which led to so much confusion, commenced by a half-bred lawyer, will now cease. Having a large fortune, he will be perfectly independent of the sharpers who generally follow in the wake of gentlemen in power. By the appointment of Col. GEARY, the Administration has secured the services of a man fully competent to manage the affairs of the Territory; a real practical business man, a firm believer in the doctrine of Popular Sovereignty, having no wish to carry slavery into the Territory, nor for preventing it from being carried there, he will, without interfering as a partisan, see that the people of the Territory have their constitutional rights, and be let alone, to form their institutions and laws in conformity with their own wishes.

AUGUST 11, 1856.

The Indianapolis Journal.

A Point!

The Old Liners claim that the privilege of the citizens of Utah and New Mexico to decide on the subject of slavery for themselves, is in keeping and in "perfect harmony" with "squatter sovereignty," as set forth in the Kansas-Nebraska act. No two things are more unlike.—Here is the difference in a nut-shell, and the most ordinary mind will see it at once:

Whilst this privilege, as it exists in the Territories of Utah and New Mexico, is the result of a compromise having for its object the quiet-

ing of slavery agitation, in Kansas it is based upon the destruction of a compromise, the object of which was to ally the same kind of agitation. "Squatter Sovereignty" in Utah and New Mexico is the offspring of plighted faith; in Kansas it springs from the violation of a sacred compact. In Utah and New Mexico it is merely a prominent pillar in the last of a succession of bulwarks, which were reared to defend the Union against sectionalism; in Kansas it is one of the bulwarks itself in ruins!—a superstructure which was larger in its dimensions, more important in its connexions, and more sacred in the affections of the people than any of the others.

All the difference that exists between right and wrong, between justice and injustice, honor and dishonor, magnanimity and selfishness, plighted faith sacredly kept and plighted faith recklessly abused, exist between Squatter Sovereignty in Utah and New Mexico, and Squatter Sovereignty in Kansas. In the former Territories it is the offspring of the patient and calm deliberations of our wisest statesmen, of all parties, and from every quarter of the Union.—There it is a national act, acceded to by all parties, to "gird up the loins" of our Union. In Kansas there is no nationality about it; it stands as a leap in the dark!—as the last throes of a clique of corrupt politicians, who appeared to act on the suggestion of Hudibras, when he tells us that

"When the case can be no worse,
The desperate is the wisest course."
TELL.

DAILY TRIBUNE.

DETROIT:

MONDAY EVENING, AUGUST 11, 1856.

HOW THE KANSAS BORDER BUFFIANS VIEW THE TOOMBS BILL.—The LEAVENWORTH [Kansas] *Herald*, referring to the affected opinion of some of its Pro-slavery friends, that the "Toombs-Douglas Senate Bill to Subdue Kansas" will make Kansas a Free State, says:

"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 Whitfield 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."

The *Free Press* and its Buchanan adjuncts in Michigan are as well satisfied as the Editor of the *Leavenworth Herald*, that the Toombs bill will, if passed, make Kansas a Slave State, and they desire its passage for that reason. They know that as a party measure it was designed for that purpose,—all of which is proved by their course.

Emancipation in Virginia.

The editor of the *Wellsburg (Va.) Herald* avows himself in favor of gradual emancipation, "solely out of regard for the prosperity of the white inhabitants of the State."

There is a weight of argument in the reason given for emancipation, by this Virginia editor, which should decide every Northern laboring man to exert all his influence against the extension of slavery to Kansas and every other Territory. This *Virginian* favors emancipation "solely out of regard for the white population!" Why? Because he has the evidence before him of the degrading influence of slavery upon the white mechanic and laborer. He sees more than three-fifths of the white mechanics and laborers of the South more abject and down-trodden than the black slaves, and more degraded than the mechanic and laborers of any other civilized government, and as powerless to redress their wrongs or rise in the social and intellectual scale as the serfs of Russia. He sees this large proportion of the "white population deprived of free schools,

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...dragged in all the...
 ...man, and mentally dragged down to the level of slavery. Seeing and feeling these damning truths, he may well favor emancipation "solely out of regard to the free white population."— And if a Southern man, for these reasons, makes this plea for the white laborers of the South, it behooves every mechanic and laborer of the North to see to it that he does not, by his voice or his vote, entail upon himself nor upon his children an institution which so degrades the laborer, and makes MAN the mere creature of his fellow-man.

General Whitfield publishes an address to the people of Kansas, appealing to them against the decision of the House which deprives him of his seat as a Delegate. He contends that the action of the House was illegal, and declares that he shall immediately return home to present himself as a candidate for re-election. A very proper course, we should say, for the outside Delegate to pursue.

FROM KANSAS.

Condition of Affairs in Lawrence—Citizens assaulted on the Highway—Outrages upon Free-State Men—Development of Squatter Sovereignty.

LAWRENCE July 29, 1856.

Movements of great importance to the peace of our Territory are on foot, and your readers must not be at all surprised to be soon informed of another development of Squatter Sovereignty. The great Pro-Slavery machine for grinding out our liberties, under color of law, is just at the present time inactive. Yet life and property are cheap indeed all about us. A few incidents, for the truth of which I can vouch, will convey you an idea of our every-day life.

CITIZENS ASSAILED.—One of our own citizens—a daguerrean artist—while riding into town, last week just at dusk, having been out on business, was met by three ruffians, knocked off his horse, robbed of every cent about him—also of his pistol—and then stretched on the ground, two holding his hands and feet, while the third one jumped upon him, stamping his body in the earth and leaving him almost senseless.

ANOTHER.—A day or two before, another of our townsmen was out some six miles, and noticed a band of several men on horseback making for him. They overtook him, and with little or no ceremony, took his horse and pistols away and what change he had, and then let him go.

Last Tuesday week, a neighbor of mine, whose house is some two miles distant from my own, was awakened from his sleep by noise outside. Upon getting up and striking a light, he discovered a ruffian's face at a pane of glass in one of the front windows, and at the back window, another. He then got his boys up and began to get his arms ready, when they eloped, not till they had attempted to steal his horse, but were prevented. This matter of horse-stealing has become an alarming evil. Our Free-State friends are actually obliged to watch, by night and by day, their horses. No one of them hardly has escaped losing one or more horses, taken by our enemies prowling about all the time. Last Sunday, the 27th inst., three families passed through town from the southern part of the Territory. They were formerly from Illinois. They said they had been driven from their claims which they had been on about a year and upon which they had made considerable improvements. They had left corn growing in the field, and had gathered up their stock and household goods, and were then on their route for Iowa. They had some thirty head of cattle along with them. They said the Pro-Slavery ruffians had given them notice to leave, and threatened them with death if they returned; that a large force of the ruffians had collected in camp, in the southern part of the territory, and were out nightly committing depredations.

STILL ANOTHER OUTRAGE.—An old man by the name of Gleason, some eight miles south of us, had both his horses taken last week, and received word next day from Coleman, the murderer of Dow, then in the camp above referred to, that he had got his horses and that he, Gleason might get them if he could. This rascal Coleman has been a lion with the Ruffian Party and the Territorial officers ever since he killed Dow. He now heads one of the guerrilla bands which is harassing the settlers.

Goaded on by these and similar outrages, a party of men a few nights since waited upon one Lahay, whose house has been the head-quarters of the Ruffians on the Wakausa, and where it was understood a lot of the stolen property of the sack of Lawrence was housed, and demanded a full delivery of all arms and other property belonging to Free-State men then about the premises. Seeing that resistance would avail him nothing, he permitted them to search. They did so, and captured some thirty stand of arms, including ten or twelve of the rifles taken in the spring, at Franklin, from the teamster taking them to Lawrence.

Lahay was so terrified that the next day he had a company of troops stationed around him, so we see how the army is used. When a Pro-Slavery depot of stolen property is broken up, then the troops are on hand, but let a Free-State man be knocked down and robbed—even killed

THE TOWN OF FRANKLIN AGAIN.—It will be recollected that the Free-State men cleaned this place out several weeks ago, when they retook their stolen property. Since then a company of 31 Georgians has been quartered upon them, and last Sunday weeks these Ruffians cruelly beat one of the citizens and kicked up a fight generally. The next night or the next night but one these Ruffians were waited upon by some gentlemen *sub rosa* and had their head-quarters burned down literally to the ground—they ransacking the ranche suddenly. This created a great stir among the Opposition. They allege that Free-State men are burning houses and turning families out of doors, &c.—the old story.

I said you might soon look for a new development of Squatter sovereignty. The Missourians are collecting in large forces along the line of Nebraska, and say that the Northern emigrants shall not come over, and General Smith winks at their thus collecting. Already they have cannon up there, and they know they will not be dispersed by the troops. If they do attempt to stop our friends in that line, there will be shooting sure. Gen. Smith has publicly said, that if Lane came over or any large body of emigrants he would proclaim martial law and say to the Missourians that it was a free fight.

DAILY HERALD.

A. HARRIS, A. W. FAIRBANKS, GEO. A. BENEDETT.

OFFICIAL CITY PAPER.

CLEVELAND:

Monday Evening, August 11, 1856.

KANSAS EMIGRANTS.

The *Nebraska City News*, a Buchanan paper, of July 26, gives an account of the arrival of the Free State emigrants at that place, en route for Kansas. The *News* says that about five hundred emigrants for Kansas have been encamped in that vicinity during the 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 and 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 Oskaloosa, Chariton, Ocoila, Afion, Quincy, Frankfort and Sidney, and thence to this place, Sidney being last to 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 300 miles. We learn 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 number of Milwaukians, 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.

These are the emigrants to Kansas the telegraph announces two hundred Missourians have left Westport to intercept. It is a great state of things in this free country when Border Ruffians from a Slave State are not only permitted to stop Free State emigrants on the public rivers but to march in armed bodies to intercept them on the public roads. Such, however, is Buchanan Democracy in 1856.

The Daily Democrat.

ROCHESTER, N. Y.

MONDAY MORNING, AUG. 11, 1856.

Fremont and Dayton, you are the Men for Me.

AIR—"Oh! Susanna."

Written for the Rochester Young Men's Club
 Election time is coming on
 November next they say:
 Get out your guns and load them well,
 For Freedom lead the way.
 There's Buck and Breck, two curious men,
 Who think to win the day,
 But they can never do this thing,
 So all the Freemen say.

CHORUS—Fremont and Dayton,
 Oh, you're the men for me,
 You're certainly bound for Washington,
 The White House for to see.

The Southern vote perhaps they'll get,
 But what will that avail,
 When our Fremont, so firm and set,
 Is bound for victory?
 The People want an honest man,
 Who'll not down his name,
 And say like Buck at Cincinnati,
 "The Platform, that's the game."

CHORUS—Fremont and Dayton, &c.

Vile Slavery's chains cannot exist
 In such a land as this;
 Where people all, both great and small,
 For Freedom do enlist.
 There's Fillmore, too, who by the way
 Has just retired from Rome;
 Is up they say to win the day,
 But he must stay at home.

CHORUS—Fremont and Dayton, &c.

November fourth, when the sun goes down,
 There'll be a glorious sound,
 Fremont and Dayton have won the day,
 For Washington they're bound.
 The Rocky Mountains he explored,
 And hardships Fremont endured,
 The path he's found to Washington,
 Nine cheers for Victory.

CHORUS—Fremont and Dayton, &c.
 Rochester, August, 1856.

Men of Labor.

Men of labor, ho! the battle
 Calls to action, calls to arms;
 Shall your toil be free or fetter'd,
 In your workshops, on your farms?
 Plough and loom, and ringing anvil,
 Trowel, hammer, spade and hod—
 Shall they bear the curse of bondage,
 Or the freedom-born of God?

Lo! 'tis yours to give the answer,
 Yours to say if Slavery's night
 Wider o'er this fair Republic
 Shall extend its awful blight—
 Blight to speech, and soil, and labor,
 Blight to all that lifts and saves
 Freemen sovereigns in their freedom—
 From the grade and fate of slaves.

Shall the taskman's human chattel
 Here, or over Kansas plains—
 Marching, "like dumb-driven cattle,"
 To the music of his chains—
 Further curse the land your fathers
 Won for freedom with their blood?
 Further, thrice-accursed Slavery!
 Sweep and whelm you with its flood!

Men of labor, shall your labor
 Be degraded everywhere?
 Further shall the taskman's chattel
 Three-fifths of your franchise share?
 Further shall this cloud of bondage
 Yonder go, or hither come?
 On Free Soil, or in Free Senates
 Further strike your Frege Speech dumb!

Men of labor, if for Freedom,
 Lo! the hour has come at length,
 When her hearths, and sod, and altars,
 To the battle call your strength:
 Yours the deepest stake and peril,
 Yours to say if give or chain
 Further shall degrade your manhood,
 Further Freedom's altars stain!

[New York Evening Post.

The Daily Republic.

BUFFALO, N. Y.

MONDAY EVENING, AUGUST 11.

THE WRIT OF HABEAS CORPUS ON BEHALF OF THE KANSAS PRISONERS.—The *Cincinnati Gazette* of the 7th inst. says, we announced some days since that an application for a writ of habeas corpus had been made to Judge McLEAN, on behalf of Governor ROBINSON, Mr. BROWN and others, now prisoners in the hands of the territorial authorities, charged with high treason. That application is supported by the affidavits of the Rev. Mr. St. CLAIR and Mrs. BROWN, in which it is alleged that if the Court allows the writ, a large force will be required to bring the parties before it, because United States Marshal DONALDSON would probably give the hordes of ruffians and pirates which infest the Missour river an opportunity of murdering them. Should the writ be allowed, the expenses attending it will be enormous, and cast very far into the shade the expenses of the late fugitive trials in this city. We have heard that Judge McLEAN has intimated that it may be necessary to have the case argued before him by the Attorney General.

Slavery or Freedom.

From the *Utica Herald*, August 11.

The south openly declares her determination to make Kansas a slave state. No one doubts that she will do her utmost to make her promise good. There can be no manner of question, that if her policy with reference to that territory is carried out, the hideous wrong will be unalterably fixed therein. No one who looks at the

and intelligently can for a moment doubt that she can be secured to freedom only by an active and organized effort. Only see how determined is the purpose of the south as expressed in the recent circular issued by Atchison, Stringfellow and Buford:

"The pro-slavery element of the 'law and order party' in Kansas, looking to the Bible, find slavery ordained by God; they find there as by our law, slavery made 'an inheritance to them and their children forever.' Looking to our national census, and to all statistics connected with the African race, and considering, too, their physical intellectual and moral natures, we see that slavery is the African's normal and proper state, since in that state that race multiplies faster, has more physical comfort, less vice, and more moral and intellectual progress than in any other."

And again:

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

What this beneficent institution of slavery is which the south thus seeks to plant on the soil of Kansas, and asks the people of the free states to aid her in doing, is illustrated in the following gems taken from southern journals:

Ran away, the negress Fanny, had on an iron band about the neck. J. Macoin, 177 Ann street, New Orleans.—*Rec.*

THE CONDITION OF KANSAS.

Report of the Buffalo Convention Committee.

NIAGARA, Monday, Aug. 11, 1856.

To the National Committee for Aid of Kansas:

GENTLEMEN: The undersigned respectfully report as follows:

Their mission had the double purpose of ascertaining by personal observation the actual condition and wants of the settlers in Kansas, and also of the several bodies of Free State emigrants supposed to be on the road thither.

They learned at St. Louis and elsewhere that no Anti-Slavery man who scorned to deny or conceal his name and his sentiments could attempt to enter Kansas by the Missouri River without great risk of being insulted, abused and turned back.

It has been said that men going quietly about their business, and not proclaiming Anti-Slavery sentiments, would not be molested. This, however, is not true in any just sense; at least, of men having strong convictions and indisposed to deny them when called for. Any traveler toward Kansas is liable to be reported, by spies, to vigilance committees, or bands of bullies, who take law into their own hands, (cowing the honest inhabitants of Missouri,) who accost strangers, force them to declare their business and their sentiments, and maltreat them and turn them back, if such sentiments are displeasing to the inquisitors.

Some travelers, indeed, may escape, but this is because the system of spying is not complete, and the vigilance of the Ruffians is sometimes dulled by whisky or by sleep; but the fact is patent, that Anti-Slavery men are proscribed, hunted for, and their free passage barred by bullies—so patent, indeed, that it has been common for Eastern men (even of Pro-Slavery tendencies) to erase marks from their luggage, and destroy papers, before entering Missouri, lest their place of residence should be known. To a system of espionage which apes the Austrian, is added a system of brigandage which excels the Neapolitan.

When it is considered that this inquisition and terrorism prevail upon the great thoroughfare of our country, and that men are subjected to it solely because they will not deny their love of Freedom and hatred of Slavery—solely because they can not pronounce a shibboleth, and be declared "all right on the goose"—then must Americans hang their heads, and confess the existence of a tyranny which puts down free speech in a large part of their boasted Republic.

It is an untruth and a bitter mockery, to say that travelers can have redress by appealing to the courts of justice. The peaceful and just citizens of Missouri in the infected district dare not protect strangers who are denounced by the Border Ruffians as "blue-bellied Abolitionists," and victims who have tried to appeal to court have been subjected to renewed insult, to violence, and some even put to death. These are painful truths. The undersigned therefore, preferred to make a tedious journey around Missouri, by Iowa, though it led through 300 miles of sparsely settled country, unprovided with coach-

es, hotels, or the ordinary facilities for travel, but where the scattered settlers in their log cabins enjoy and permit free speech.

During this journey the undersigned passed several parties of emigrants from the Free States, toiling slowly along on foot towards Kansas and Nebraska—their families and furniture drawn by oxen. Some were forced to take this circuit because they dared not follow the route through Missouri. Other parties were met returning Eastward, disheartened by the difficulties of the way and by the dangers ahead.

The tendency of Americans to emigrate westward and fill up new countries, is too strong to need any assistance from Emigrant Aid Societies under ordinary circumstances, or to be entirely checked by any common difficulties; but what a comment upon the practical workings of our system is found in the fact that men must dodge and skulk through Missouri, or make this long, roundabout, tedious and costly journey through Iowa to get into Territories which the law declares open to all!

One test of the power and justice of a Government is its ability and disposition to shield its humblest subject. To say "I am a Roman citizen" was once a safe passport the world over; but the American Government cannot, or will not give its citizens the protection at home which the Roman Government, even when administered by tyrants, gave to Romans abroad.

Having passed through Iowa, the undersigned crossed the Upper Missouri at Nebraska City, and entering the Territory found that several parties of emigrants from various parts of the Free States, had congregated together, and were encamped in tents and wagons upon the open prairie, about forty miles north of the frontier of Kansas.

New difficulties and delays here occurred. The report of the approach of this "emigration" has stirred up commotion in Missouri, and the Ruffians were again upon the border. A large band was posted as far east as Frysville; and smaller parties were scouring the prairies to ascertain at what point the emigrants meant to cross. The undersigned could not enter Kansas even though this remote pass, except by running a muck over the frontier, and risking encounter with bands of mounted ruffians, who are ever ready to pounce upon parties smaller than their own; or else, by waiting until the whole body of emigrants could move. For the first they had no great inclination, not having come out prepared to fight; and for the second, they had no time. They have gathered, however, much evidence from various sources respecting the state of things in Kansas. There are in the encampment many noble men who were driven out during the late troubles, or obliged to go to the States on business, and who are now seeking to return. There are individuals, and even whole families, in Nebraska and in Iowa, near the frontier, who were driven out. There are men who have left Kansas within a few weeks. From all these sources the undersigned gathered evidence which will be laid before the Committee; suffice it to say now, that thousands in Kansas are suffering actual privation and want, in consequence of the late outrages, and their prospects for the coming Winter are dreary indeed, because the general anxiety and uncertainty about the future paralyzes all business. Many would get away if they had the means. Several thousand dollars, forwarded by the Boston Committee, reached in good time, and their distribution gave great relief and inspired fresh hope. A responsible man, writing to one of the undersigned, says, "The distribution has saved Kansas for a time."

The undersigned proceed to state what they learned from observation concerning the emigrants upon the road toward Kansas. There are between Iowa City and the encampment in Nebraska about 500. Four-fifths are in and about the encampment, and of these a minute account is subjoined. About 100 more are en route to join them. The advanced party of about 400, including about 40 women and children, is made up of smaller parties from various parts of the country. Some left their homes months ago, upon their own voluntary motion, without any knowledge of the movements of other parties. Most of them started at their own expense; though some received aid and encouragement from Committees formed for counteracting the attempt made to stop Free State emigration.

The various parties naturally tended to a junction at the southwest corner of Iowa, and the foremost there, learning that their entrance into Kansas would meet armed opposition, and not being well armed, halted, until gradually the encampment grew to its present size.

As only part of them had originally contemplated forcible entrance into Kansas, and were therefore imperfectly armed, and as they wished to exhaust all peaceful means, the leaders of the various parties united in an address to the Commandant at Fort Leavenworth, setting forth that they were peaceful emigrants, that their passage was barred by armed men, and asking for an escort of United States troops. The trusty messenger should have been sent back in a week, but nearly two weeks elapsed and they were not heard of. They then dispatched a copy of the address by a second messenger, Rev. Mr.

Stann, whose return they now await.

The undersigned have visited and sojourned with this party of emigrants, and they can confidently testify to its character.

Many are pious people, and observe the rites of religion, and keep the Sabbath reverently. Beside preaching, they have Bible classes, and Sunday schools for the young. This is especially the case with the Wisconsin emigrants, who have their wives and children with them. They are temperance men; intelligent, moral, industrious, and earnest men, who would make good citizens anywhere. They form the most numerous party; and from their numbers, and their earnest character, naturally give a tone to the whole emigration. In their sojourn in the camp, the undersigned did not witness, by night or by day, any dram drinking, or carousing, or disorder of any kind; and they fully believe that the great majority of the emigrants are earnest and honest men, fully impressed with the importance of their position, and determined to do nothing which will dishonor it. Some wild young men have left, and some may still remain, but the natural exuberance of their age is repressed or healthfully modified by the sobriety of those in mature life who feel the great importance of their position, and the critical posture of the expedition.

In a meeting of the leaders, which was attended by the undersigned, the affairs of the emigration were discussed, and resolutions for action adopted, with the most perfect order and decorum. It was held in a grove, with no canopy but leaves, and no carpet but the grass. There was no speaker's desk, and none of the usual insignia of authority; but the lofty bearing and resolute looks of the leaders, as they stood with folded arms around the towering form of their chief, gave imposing interest to the scene, and called to mind pictures which we form of the Pilgrim Fathers in the olden time.

It will be seen that this large body is composed mainly of men of intelligence and respectability; that their congregating in such numbers is not the result of any previous concerted action; that it naturally grew out of the obstacles placed in the way of emigration; that but for such obstacles, several of the parties would have gone long ago quietly into Kansas; that even now the party is very imperfectly armed; that it had no previous military organization, and that if now obliged to take measures to arm and organize for their future progress, it will only be because there is armed and organized opposition to their maintaining their clear right of entering and settling in the Territory.

It may be regarded as unfortunate that the party were joined in Iowa by the men raised by Col. Lane, for though his immediate followers were only a fourth of the whole number, yet as he was a man of some notoriety—as he had made his preparations with considerable flourish—as he was, moreover, very active and zealous, and is considered a brave and skillful military leader—he naturally obtained considerable influence over the whole, and the congregated party came to be known to the country as "Lane's Expedition." This placed it in a false position before the North, where men were not prepared for armed and organized emigrations, and gave to its enemies a pretext for calling it a military or filibustering expedition.

There was the further disadvantage that bands of armed Missourians might come up as a Marshal's posse, and arrest Lane on the charge of treason, and disperse the company under pretext of law; for though the most of the men are fearless of open enemies, they are almost superstitious in their dread of anything in the shape of law.

These things were seen by the principal men some time ago, and were admitted by Col. Lane, who, though naturally very desirous of thrashing the Border Ruffians, and believing he could thrash them if they were not more than five to one, yet has the cause of Kansas at heart. He was earnestly solicited to remain behind in the States, and finally consented, most reluctantly, to do so; and the emigrants crossed into Nebraska under the guidance of Mr. Dickie of Topeka, who had been chosen leader by general consent.

Col. Lane, however, extorted a pledge that if the Missourians should attack the expedition while yet near the frontier of Iowa, a message should be sent instantly to him, that he might join the fray, if it were only as a common soldier.

The undersigned used what influence they could to make sure of the continuance of this arrangement by inducing Col. Lane to go so far into the States that it would be manifestly impossible for him to have any thing to do with the expedition under any circumstances; and they can testify to his reluctance to go where he could not have a hand in the fight, if one should be forced upon the emigrants. He took rather a soldier's view, and feared some imputation upon his bravery, forgetful that true courage should make a man brave any opinions for the sake of a righteous cause.

Such was the actual condition of this emigration on the last day of July. They would wait the week out, and if no answer came to their application for an escort, or if the answer should be unfavorable, then they would march forward and protect themselves as well as they could.

The resolutions adopted in solemn conclave of the leaders were that, if opposed by Missourians, they would fight their way forward; that, if met by United States troops, they would persist in their clear right of advancing, arms in hand; if opposed by force, they would not use their arms, yet would not yield them, but retire upon free soil and wait the action of the several States whose citizens they are, and whose protection they will claim.

If they can cross the frontier, they will immediately enter upon "claims," erect their log houses, and form a line of Free State settlers along the line to Topeka, but near enough for mutual protection.—The way will then be opened, and the tide of emigration can pour in; but they must have encouragement and aid sufficient to overcome the obstacles, material and moral, which have been placed in the way, and the effect of which will be felt for a long time.

In either case continued and simple aid will be needed from the Free States; for the emigrants can do little for their own maintenance this year, and will soon lack means of support. Though many of them went out of their own accord, and had no pledge of assistance from home, yet circumstances have arisen which place them in the situation of champions of Free State lights, and they should be maintained in their position.

Under ordinary circumstances more aid would not be required, and, if given ostentatiously, might be considered as encouraging sectional feeling and strife; but now the Free States cannot refuse it without abandoning a high principle, and breaking those who assert it at the peril of their lives and fortunes.

It is no longer a question between Pro-Slavery and Anti-Slavery men in Kansas, but there is no open issue between the Free States and Slave States. Missourians, countenanced by their State Government and by the Federal Administration, and openly supported by men and munitions from the Southern States, oppose, by a spirit of terrorism, and by force of arms, the settlement of national territory by emigrants from the Free States. Appeals to Courts and to Congress are useless; for, while making them, Pro-Slavery men will continue to rush in, and Kansas will be lost to Freedom.

Those emigrants are testing the question of Free States rights practically, at their own dear cost and at the peril of their lives. Let them be instantly and ably seconded. Let the Committee pour in funds, and let the National Committee at once furnish supplies and fresh settlers; and let everything that is lawful and proper be done at once, and openly and boldly done, to save Kansas and Nebraska, and the vast regions around them, from the blighting curse of Human Slavery.

With due respect,
S. G. HOWE,
THADDEUS HYATT.

The Committee append to their report a detailed statement of the condition of the different Emigrant Societies, which assembled in the encampment near Nebraska City on the 20th July. They say of these Societies:

The fare of almost the entire company has been the plainest description—such only as soldiers are accustomed to. Yet, throughout the whole encampment, no discontent at their privations manifested itself. All was cheerful and hopeful. But one complaint seemed universal, and that was the want of arms. The reports of hostile parties on the border, brought in by the scouts, caused the men to feel keenly the absence of proper means of self-defence. "We are willing," said they, "to endure privations. We are not afraid to meet enemies; we are not afraid to meet death; but we would like, for our lives an even chance at least. We ought to be provided with arms. We ought not to go in with our naked hands to meet foes armed to the teeth, and then, if overpowered and driven back, be charged with cowardice by men at the North, who do all their fighting while sitting in cushioned chairs within the happy shadows of their own comfortable homes."

Congress it is even alleged that Leconte is already removed. SPECTATOR.

Correspondence of the New York Tribune. WASHINGTON, August 10, 1856.

The renomination of Mr. Campbell, of Ohio, by acclamation, was welcomed here last night by numbers of admiring friends.

When the Army bill comes up to-morrow the discussion will be limited and a prompt vote urged on retaining Mr. Sherman's amendment. Some signs of recession are manifested, as the original majority was small.

Mr. Foot's speech in the Senate yesterday is the topic of general commendation, without distinction of party. It made a great impression, and is conceded to be one of the most finished and effective efforts of the session in either House against the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the Democratic policy in Kansas. INDEX.



NEW HAVEN:

MONDAY, AUGUST 11, 1856.

MORE OF THEIR TREASON.

The bond of sympathy between the Border Ruffians, the South Carolina Traitors, and the Democratic Buchaninites, is well known.—They are all warmly advocating the election of "Buck and Breck," and the endorsement of the Cincinnati platform. The designs of the Kansas invaders, in the event of Buchanan's election, may be seen by the following toast, offered by one Col. Kelly, at Atchison City, and received with the warmest applause.

The City of Atchison—May she, before the close of the year '57, be the Capitol of a Southern Republic. (Cheers.)

This prediction, that the Southern Republic, long a favorite project of Southern politicians, will be established before the year 1857, is based upon the idea of the election of their favorite candidate, James Buchanan, under whose reign they expect to enjoy their Border Ruffian privileges as heretofore; and if so, it will not be very difficult to take all the preliminary steps for the establishment of their coveted Southern Republic. The people of the country will decide by their votes this Fall, whether they will have FREMONT and the UNION, with the blessings of liberty which the Constitution promises—or BUCHANAN and the SOUTHERN REPUBLIC.

With FREMONT in the Presidential chair, we should rather like to see the Southern traitors and Border Ruffians attempt to put their disunion threats in force—because the question would then be settled for some time. Fremont has said that "the traitors may secede, but they shall leave the soil behind them!"—that is, that they may flee the country for the country's good; but not one foot of that country shall they divide from the rest—and Fremont, like Gen. Jackson, or Gen. Taylor, has the nerve to put down the insurrection, and hang up traitors.

Kansas Affairs.

From the most authentic sources, says the Springfield Republican, including letters from the territory, up to the 29th ult. we collate such facts as show the present state of things there. Mr. Higginson of Worcester, has a letter from Dr. Cutter of Warren, dated at Afton, Iowa, July 24th when he was then with his party of emigrants four days journey from the Missouri river. The company were in health and spirits, and although they were daily visited by spies from the Missouri companies who intend to intercept them, were pro-

ceeding on courageously, prepared to resist any attack. Martin Stowell with a Worcester party was at Nebraska City, the 20th ult. There was likelihood to be suffering among the emigrants who had been gradually collecting at that point and were deterred from entering the territory from lack of sufficient numbers and arms to encounter the Missouri banditti. As soon as Dr. Cutter's party should arrive they intended to enter the territory together. In respect to the application to Gen. Smith for protection, Mr. Higginson has no doubt about his 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. Missouri has blockaded the river; she is blockading the land route; she asserts her ownership of Kansas, and defies all the Free states."

In the territory, after the 4th of July, the U. S. troops had been chiefly recalled to the fort, except a detachment guarding the Leecompton prisoners and another company protecting the house of a ruffian named Leahy, near Lawrence, where some of the arms stolen from that place at the time of the pillage, had been stored. The ruffians in the territory were collecting in two corps, one near the Nebraska line, to intercept the emigrants through Iowa, and another in the southern portion of the territory, with some secret expedition evidently on foot. There are several prosperous settlements there that have not been pillaged. Three families from that section passed through Lawrence, the 27th, on their way to Iowa, compelled by the depredations of these robbers to abandon their claims and fly for their lives. Several robberies on the highway had taken place within a week of that date, near Lawrence, in one or two cases attended with brutal and murderous violence. A detachment of troops visited Lawrence on the 26th with writs for five persons, on trumped-up charges of contempt of Leecompte's court, but the persons named were not found.—The pro-slavery party at Leecompton proposed to the Lawrence people to unite with them in a vigilance committee, as a protection against bandits. It was evidently a new trap to get the free state men into difficulty, and they declined the proposition.—Coleman, the murderer of Dow, and now holding some office under the ruffian government, heads one of the most desperate bands of robbers in the territory. He took two horses from Mr. Gleason, an old Pennsylvanian near Lawrence, and the next day sent him word that he might come and take them if he dared. Another Pennsylvanian, A. J. Pease, of the Fayette hotel near Pittsburg, has just returned from Kansas, where he went for a visit merely. He was taken in hand by the ruffians at Leavenworth, robbed and sent back, and threatened with death if he ever made another attempt to go into the territory. He went out a Buchanan man and came back a Fremont.

Judge Leecompte has followed the example of his superiors at Washington in attempting to dodge responsibility. At this late day, he has come out with a declaration that he did not order the destruction of the hotel and newspaper offices at Lawrence. His picked and trained jury merely presented those free state institutions as nuisances and Sheriff Jones and his gang inferred that they might abate them, without waiting for the judicial process. Shall we have now the disclaimer of Jones, to follow those of Leecompte and Pierce? Leecompte however apologizes for the outrages and thinks that the southern boys manifested great forbearance, considering the aggravations they had suffered.

The South is pressing its emigration to Kansas with considerable vigor. A party is announced to leave Petersburg, Va., on the 3d of September, in charge of the noted Capt. Pate, whose monstrous fabrications in his correspondence from Kansas to the St. Louis Republican, have been so eagerly published by the eastern allies of the border ruffians.



MONDAY EVENING, AUG. 11, 1856.

Correspondence of the Courier and Enquirer. WASHINGTON, Sunday Night.

Gov. Geary has received his instructions, and departs for Kansas early this week. It is understood that Governor Geary refused to accept the office unless Leecompte and Donelson were removed, as he could not administer such laws with such men. Accordingly the whole present set of Kansas Judges and other officers, will be removed immediately after the adjournment of

Col. Buford is also in the field again, notwithstanding the discouraging failure of his first expedition. He is enlisting a new company in South Carolina, but advertises that he wants "only men who will abstain from liquor and implicitly obey orders as long as required." Rev. Joseph Walker also, who has recently been sent to Kansas, to look after the schools among the Indians, supported by the United States and managed by the Southern Board of Missions, has published an appeal to Southern Christians, in which he laments the prevalence of free sentiments in the territory, and declares that if the South is not more in earnest to take possession of Kansas, even the mission schools among the Indians will soon fall a prey to abolitionism! He says that mere adventurers from the South cannot make Kansas a slave state, but the slaveholders must go there with their slaves, and they will find that the Indian Christians have been so well instructed that they will be the firmest allies of the slaveholders.—If the North is now moving with the requisite energy to sustain the free state cause in Kansas, it must be in a very quiet way, for very little activity is apparent. We see that Russell Hubbard of Onondaga county, N. Y. has given \$100 to the Kansas aid fund. The New York Tribune's collections amount to \$2,617, of which an old lady from Georgia, aged 80, gave \$2.

Rev. Augustus St. Clair and Mrs. Brown, wife of the imprisoned editor of the Lawrence Herald of Freedom, have made formal application to Judge McLean of the U. S. supreme court, for a writ of *habeas corpus* in behalf of Gov. Robinson, Mr. Brown and the other free state prisoners in Kansas. The applicants allege in their affidavits that if the court allows the writ, a large force will be required to bring the parties before it, because U. S. marshal Donaldson would probably give the hordes of ruffians and pirates, which infest the Missouri river, an opportunity of murdering them. Judge McLean intimated that it may be necessary to have the case argued before him by the attorney general.

The Republican.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.
 MONDAY MORNING, AUGUST 11, 1856.

Kansas.
 From Our Own Correspondent.

LAWRENCE, Kansas, July 29.

I have just returned from a journey to Manhattan, a distance of eighty miles. I passed through Topeka, Tecumseh and Waboussa. I would attempt to describe these settlements, if weightier matters did not demand my attention. Suffice it to say, they are prospering to a certain extent, in spite of border ruffianism. There is nothing discouraging in the future except the fear of the repetition of the outrages which have disgraced the country. The health of the people is generally good. There is one fact in this connection which I cannot forbear to state,—the almost universal absence of pulmonary complaints. There are a few cases of consumption, it is true, but I think that some of these cases may be or might have been cured, were it not for the imprudence of the sufferers. It is an indisputable fact, that persons from the East, pre-disposed to consumption or even having many of its symptoms, who come to this country early enough, generally undergo a radical change in their systems, and are relieved from all consumptive tendencies. I have many remarkable facts in my possession. I will mention one. A Mr Simpson from Massachusetts in the fall of 1855 was approaching apparently the last stage of the disease. He had raised much blood, was afflicted with a severe cough, and was unable to do the slightest labor. He was told by his physician that he could not live through the winter in Massachusetts. He came to Kansas, and passed the extremely severe winter of '55 and '56 without difficulty, though subjected to many inconveniences. His cough has left him, he raises

no more blood, and he is able to work from day to day on his farm.

On my return from Manhattan, I visited the prisoners' camp near Lecompton, and enjoyed a long conversation with Gov Robinson, who manages to keep himself and all around him in excellent spirits. He chafes somewhat in his confinement, thinks the North fails in its duty to Kansas, and wishes to know why in the name of justice the North does not open the Missouri river? The name of one of the prisoners is George Washington Deitzler. I will give you the facts in his case, so that you may judge of the manner in which law is outraged in this territory. Deitzler is indicted for treason. When brought up before Judge Lecompte on examination for bail, sheriff Jones was asked what he knew about Deitzler. The answer was, that he had always showed a disposition to resist the execution of the territorial laws. This testimony, which, everybody knows, is entirely incompetent, was admitted by Lecompte,—a Daniel come to judgment! Most learned judge! The showing a disposition to do an act is proof of the doing it! Suppose, moreover, the fact proved, by what torture of construction is resistance to the execution of the laws made treason? Sheriff Jones' testimony was to end at this point, when Deitzler put this very pertinent question, "Mr Jones, have you ever known me to resist the execution of any laws?" Jones replied, "No," but that on a certain occasion he (Jones) was in Lawrence to make arrests; he was in the midst of a crowd of citizens; he called upon them in the name of the LAW to assist him; Deitzler, who stood near (being roused to indignation by the force that was being enacted,) exclaimed, "Call upon the people in the name of HELL, and perhaps they will assist you." Here the testimony of the said Jones ended. Dr John P. Wood was next called upon. He is Deitzler's personal enemy, and had frequently threatened to shoot him, and "to cut out his d—abolition heart." Wood swore that he had heard Deitzler say, that he was in favor of resisting the execution of the territorial laws by force. The testimony is false, but suppose it true, can any judge, who loves not to dwell upon the infamous memory of Jeffreys, and who does not propose him as his example, hold that such evidence proves a man guilty of treason? Thus you see the whole testimony elicited in the case. Yet upon this testimony, George Washington Deitzler is held in durance vile. The administration is responsible for this outrage. They have committed it in order to illustrate their "trust in the discriminating justice of the American people," (see Cincinnati platform).

I saw Dr Day at the camp. He had just come from Lecompton. He had been there to obtain the release of his son who is imprisoned at that place. It is said that young Day has been engaged in making reprisals of horses from the enemy. I think it would be putting "too fine a point upon it," to call it horse-stealing. He was arrested a week ago at the house of his father by a band of men, who had no warrant with them. Day could have made his escape, or could have effectually resisted the arrest, if he chose. But upon the men promising him that he should be accompanied by some of his friends and should have a fair trial, he consented to go. He was carried to Lecompton, and has been there ever since, though not a particle of evidence has been found against him. Jones, the sheriff, the ubiquitous Jones, told Dr Day that if he did not find anything against his son before a certain day, he should be discharged. Another illustration of the trust which the 'democracy' have in the discriminating justice of the American people.

Here is still another. E. G. Perkins of this town, an inoffensive man, and fellow boarder, was walking home from Franklin, on Tuesday night last. Within two miles of Lawrence he saw three men at a short distance from the road in the prairie; they approached him, one of them very near, with a pistol in his hand. This fellow asked Perkins where he lived. The reply was 'Lawrence.' The ruffian then fired his pistol, the ball grazing Perkins' arm. Perkins fired his pistol once or twice without effect. He was so much excited by the suddenness of the attack, that he hardly knew what he was doing. The three ruffians then began beating Perkins; they knocked him down, stamped upon him, and treated him

in many ways most brutally. He sank under the repeated blows, and became partially unconscious. Having robbed him of his money, they left him. Perkins has been dangerously sick, but will doubtless recover. What a striking resemblance there is between the ruffianism of Washington, and that of this territory! We have bloody Brookes here in abundance, and they are ever on the alert in doing mean and cowardly acts.

President Pierce, with the Boston Post echoing the voice of its kind benefactor, would probably at first deny the truth of the above statement. When that cannot be done, they will attribute the facts to that "love of adventure" always found in border life.

I observe in the eastern papers a horrid story in regard to Major Topliffe, (formerly of Rhode Island),—that he was surprised by a party of ruffians, and murdered in a most shocking and brutal manner. I saw Major Topliffe yesterday, and talked with him, and he authorizes me to say to the public generally that the report is false, and that he "still lives." I am confident that this false report is a trick of the enemy. They hope the reaction will favor border ruffianism, and that when it is known that such stories are false, the people of the East will not believe the actual facts, which are transpiring here. I trust they will be baffled in their schemes.

We had last night a glorious thunder storm, and rain showers came down in plentiful showers, rejoicing the heart of the squatter in the prospect of abundant harvests. You can appreciate the depth of this joy when you know that this rain has assured us that we shall not be obliged to depend upon Missouri for our supplies.

PIONEER.

THE KANSAS RELIEF FUND.—The Buchanan presses continue to reiterate the libel that the money collected for the relief of the suffering in Kansas is used for political purposes—that is, that the substantial and respectable men to whom its management is entrusted are unmitigated scoundrels engaged in practicing an unpardonable fraud upon the benevolent. The accusation is so absurd and preposterous as hardly to call for serious denial. We see however that the relief committee of this state have thought it worth while to authorize a denial of these repeated libels in the Boston Daily Advertiser. They state that all the money that has passed through the hands of the committee has been applied strictly in legitimate modes, for the relief of suffering in Kansas, and for sending out men, women and children to the territory, and providing for their support there to a limited extent. No part of the funds has been appropriated to electioneering purposes or anything of the sort. A member of the Faneuil Hall committee, sent to Kansas to see to the distribution of funds personally, was at Mount Tabor, Nebraska, on the 26th ult. and wrote home that he had applied a portion of the funds to aid those who had been robbed and driven out of the territory, in getting back again. We do not doubt that the money contributed will all be judiciously and sacredly used for the objects that the contributors had in view. Nor have we any more doubt than in spite of any amount of evidence to the contrary, or any weight of character on the part of the Kansas committee, those whose sympathies are with the robbers of Kansas and against the robbed, will continue the senseless outcry that the funds are dishonestly used.

Latest from Kansas.

We have been favored with a call from a young gentleman direct from Kansas, on a brief visit to his friends here. He left Lawrence, August 1st. Compared with the state of things two months ago, the territory was quiet. Gangs of ruffians were still prowling about, stealing horses and money, and committing personal violence where they found settlers alone and defenceless. Three houses of free state settlers were burned in the vicinity of Lawrence, just before he left. Mr John Brown, who, with his family, has suffered so much at the hands of the ruffians and the ruffian government, had started towards Iowa, with his insane son and another son much out of health, whom he intended to send East. They went disguised, because the Missourians have offered a large reward for the head of the elder

Mr Brown. He intended only to see his invalid sons safe into Iowa and then return to the territory. Our informant brought with him one of the cannon balls thrown into the free state hotel by order of sheriff Jones. The free state men now in the territory are inclined to remain at all hazards, although many of them are in very straitened circumstances from losses by robbery and the impossibility of putting in seed during the spring invasion. All along the river Missourians in great numbers have recently entered the territory and encamped temporarily, to gain a residence and the constructive right to vote under the Toombs bill, which they had been assured by their friends in Congress should be passed. The interest in the presidential election in Kansas is most intense. Every indication from the states is watched with excited interest, and even the women and children talk and pray for the election of Fremont. They feel that to them, not only peace and protection and the common rights of citizens are involved in the result, but even life itself.—Col Sumner had left the territory for Washin gton, probably to settle the question of responsibility for the dispersion of the Topeka legislature, and Col Harney, the terrible fellow of the army, had assumed Sumner's command at Fort Leavenworth.

Gazette & Courier

AND
AMERICAN REPUBLIC.

MONDAY, AUGUST 14, 1856.

THE DISPERSION OF THE KANSAS LEGISLATURE.—The President sent a message to the Senate on Tuesday, 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 upon that point, it not fully appearing that the case was one upon which by his instructions he was authorized to act.

We have no words with which to express our contempt of an act like this by President Pierce. 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."

The Atlas.

MONDAY MORNING, AUGUST 11, 1856.

HABEAS CORPUS GRANTED IN ONE OF THE KANSAS CASES.—The Cleveland (Ohio) Leader of the 6th learns that on Saturday Judge McLean granted a writ of habeas corpus for Mr. George W. Brown, editor of the Herald of Freedom, in Kansas, now in prison there for high treason. The offence being against the United States, comes within the province of a United States Judge to inquire into. Where Judge McLean will order the prisoner to be brought for hearing the argument, is a question of no small interest.

☞ Hon. Howell Cobb, who was invited to speak to the Democracy of Maine, is the author of a resolution adopted by a convention in Georgia, declaring that "should Kansas be refused admission into the Union because of slavery being in her Constitution, or as a Slave State, Georgia would RESIST such action of Congress even to the DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION."

Washington Correspondence of the Atlas.

WASHINGTON, August 8, 1856.

The speech delivered yesterday in the Senate by Gov. Seward, in favor of the House proviso to the Army bill, was one of the most vigorous and effective speeches delivered by that distinguished Senator during the present session of Congress.

The House proposed to prohibit the use of the army in the enforcement of the Territorial laws of Kansas. The Senate wished the army to be used for that purpose. This was the precise question between the House and the Senate, and the bare statement of it was enough. On this question, he (Mr. S.) was with the House, and against the Senate.

In Republican governments, a standing army to execute laws was unnecessary. Laws which could not be executed without the aid of military force, were *prima facie* wrong. In despotic countries armies were employed as a police; in free countries they should only be used against foreign enemies.

He examined the (so called) laws of Kansas, and proved them to be unconstitutional, anti-republican and despotic. The Legislature of Kansas, elected by the invasion of March 30, 1855, he showed to have been a revolutionary body, and without one particle of legitimate authority. He exposed the object of this Legislature to have been the establishment of slavery in Kansas. Rather than give the President the use of the army to make effectual such legislation as this, he would invoke the rocks and mountains to crush him and cover him with eternal oblivion.

After clearly demonstrating that the proviso proposed by the House was pertinent and german to the Army bill, and that it was constitutional, he eloquently warned the Senate against the danger of subverting liberty in the State, by permitting and aiding revolution in the Territories.

Gov. Seward's speech produced a marked impression upon both sides of the Senate Chamber.

I can yet hardly believe that the Democratic party will take the responsibility of defeating all the army appropriations, rather than yield the point of employing the army against the free settlers of Kansas.

KANSAS BLOCKADED.

The following letter from a distinguished citizen of Boston, written from the borders of Kansas, tells its own story of wrong and outrage. No comments are needed from us. He who cannot read in its narrative that the last hope of freedom, order and good government, not for Kansas only, but for the entire Union, is in the election of Fremont, must be both blind and deaf to what is going on around him, and hopelessly closed to the voice of reason and of truth:

Correspondence of the Atlas.

CAMP OF THE EMIGRATION, WEEPING WATER, }
NEBRASKA TERRITORY, July 29, 1856. }

Dear Sir:—Tell it to the country that Missourians, having blocked up the great avenue to Kansas by the river, are now stretching a *cordon infernale* across the Northern frontier, to shut out all emigrants from the free States.

This may be denied, but it is true. Two scouts from this camp have just come in from a ride to the border, where they met and exchanged shots with a party of border ruffians.

The highways and the byeways to Kansas, are in the hands of men who are utterly lawless, who are no better than brigands. It is a bitter mockery to say that a man may go on peaceably, and if insulted, or robbed, or beaten, he may go and seek justice at law. Let any man who is maltreated, as he is liable to be at St. Joe, or Weston, or Kansas City, or Liberty, or Westport, or any of twenty resorts of ruffians,—let him go and seek justice at the hands of a magistrate, and he will not only not get it, but probably be shot or stabbed on the way.

The decent, just men, and they are not a few in those places, are utterly cowed and over-ridden by drunken bullies. There is a reign of terror there; and a Northern man, especially a Massachusetts man, must either go skulking through, concealing his birth-place, and his anti-slavery sentiments, or risk being arrested, bullied, maltreated, perhaps even murdered.

But to return to this Camp. Here are about 300 men, with some forty women and children, encamped and waiting for the return of a messenger sent to Fort Leavenworth, asking an escort of U. S. troops over the border into Kansas. This escort is thought necessary, because there are clear proofs of an organized opposition by border ruffians, and because a small part only of the emigrants are armed. If the escort is granted, all will go on well; if not, arms and reinforcements will be sought and the emigration will protect itself.

I have been all over the camp, and seen all the emigrants. They are intelligent, sober, resolute people. There is no whiskey in the camp. There is no noise or confusion, no swearing, no bragging. More than one third are people from Wisconsin; all temperance men; many of them pious. They have their prayer meetings, bible classes for children, sabbath services and the like. They give a tone to the whole encampment. These things I know.

They have endeavored to divest themselves of the name of a military expedition so unjustly affixed to them in consequence of Col. Lane's party having joined them, by requesting him to withdraw into the States, which he has done. I hope he will not return, for he can help Kansas more there than here.

I have no belief that Gen. Smith, who has been sent to Kansas to do "with a will," what Col. Sumner evidently did *contre coeur*,—I have no belief that he will give the emigrants any aid,—they must trust to God and their own strength, and hew their own path into the promised land. Will not the North be ready to back them up with sympathy and substantial aid?

I have given you these hasty lines, thinking you would be glad to hear from an expedition on the fate of which so much depends. Truly yours,

S. G. H.

Chicago, August 9.—KANSAS EMIGRANTS.—Between three and four hundred emigrants left Nebraska City on the 4th inst., for Topeka, where it was expected they would arrive on the Wednesday following, unless interrupted on their march by Missourians. Two hundred of the latter had left Westport and Kickapoo, with the intention of interrupting them. Gen. Lane did not accompany the emigrants. One hundred men from Topeka have gone up the Iowa road to meet, and assist them.

DAILY ADVERTISER.

BOSTON:

MONDAY MORNING, AUGUST 11, 1856.

CONGRESS.—But one week remains of the present session of Congress, if the two houses adhere (as we presume they will) to the concurrent resolution for an adjournment on the 18th inst. As usually happens, no matter how protracted the session, the most important business remains to be disposed of in the hurry and confusion of the closing days. The principal appropriation bills have not yet passed, and there is likely to be serious disagreement between the two houses with regard to important provisions of them. Nothing has been accomplished for Kansas, although the affairs of that Territory have afforded a fruitful topic for discussion during the whole length of the session. It is of great importance that some legislation should be had on the subject. The pseudo-legislature is appointed to meet again in October, and there should be a new election for delegate in Congress. There ought to be some substantial provisions enacted by Congress at the present session to set aside the fraudulent legislature, and secure, at least, an honest election of a new legislature and of a delegate in Congress. Something likewise should be done in behalf of the persons unjustly suffering imprisonment in Kansas.

Boston Journal.

MONDAY EVENING, AUG. 11, 1856.

THE RELIEF OF KANSAS. The assertion that the funds subscribed for the relief of the suffering in Kansas are perverted to other uses, is authoritatively refuted by the *Advertiser*, which says:

"We have made particular inquiry, both with regard to the State Committee and the Executive Board Committee, and are able to assure the public in the most distinct manner, that such apprehensions are unfounded. All of the money which has been spent by these committees has been applied strictly in legitimate modes, for the relief of suffering in Kansas, and for sending out men, women and children, to the Territory, and providing for their support there to a limited extent. No part of the funds have been applied to electioneering purposes, or to anything of the sort. A considerable part of the funds already subscribed are still in the control of the committees.

There has been no evidence whatever, so far as we know, to support the allegation of misapplication of funds, except a remark in a letter from our former Mayor, Dr. Smith. The gentleman, we believe, has been satisfied that the apprehensions he suggested do not warrant a discontinuance of the efforts for the relief of suffering in Kansas. At all events, we can assure the public that all subscriptions rendered either to the State committee or to the Faneuil Hall committee, are applied according to the wishes and designs of the donors for the relief of suffering without perversion."

There is pressing need of relief for the suffering in Kansas. The robberies and persecutions of the marauders who swarm through the territory, have deprived many families of their means of support.

LATEST FROM KANSAS. The *Springfield Republican* has the following from Kansas:

"We have been favored with a call from a young gentleman direct from Kansas, on a brief visit to his friends here. He left Lawrence August 1. Coupled with the state of things two months ago, the territory was quiet. Gangs of ruffians were still prowling about, stealing horses and money and committing personal violence where they found settlers alone and defenseless. Three houses of free State settlers in the vicinity of Lawrence, were burned just before he left. Mr. John Brown, who, with his family, has suffered so much at the hands of the ruffians and the ruffian government, had started towards Iowa with his insane son and another son much out of health, whom he intended to send East. They went disguised, because the Missourians have offered a large reward for the head of the 'Old Brown.' He intended only to see his invalid son safe into Iowa and then return to the territory. Our informant brought with him one of the cannon balls thrown into the free State hotel by order of Sheriff Jones.

The free State men now in the territory are inclined to remain at all hazards, although many of them are in very straitened circumstances from losses by robbery and the impossibility of getting to sea during the spring invasion. All along the river, Missourians in great numbers have recently entered the river and encamped temporarily, to gain a residence and the constructive right to vote under the Toombs bill, which they had been assured by their friends in Congress should be passed. The interest in the presidential election in Kansas is most intense. Every indication from the States is watched with excited interest, and even the women and children talk and pray for the election of Fremont. They feel that to them, not only peace and protection and the common rights of citizens are involved in the result, but even life itself. Col. Sumner had left the territory for Washington, probably to settle the question of responsibility for the dispersion of the Topeka Legislature, and Col. Barney, the terrible fellow of the army, had assumed Sumner's command at Fort Leavenworth.

The Kansas correspondent of the same paper says in relation to the false report of the assassination of Major Topliffe, formerly of Rhode Island, that he is confident that this is a trick of the enemy. They hope the reaction will favor border ruffianism, and that when it is known that such stories are false, the people of the East will not believe the actual facts which are transpiring here.

Portland Advertiser,

Skies Bright in Wisconsin.

A letter received by a gentleman in this city from a friend in Wisconsin, thus speaks of the popular excitement that State:—

Oshkosh, Wis., August 2, 1856.

The political excitement here as elsewhere, is great. All lovers of freedom, right and justice, are looking forward with anxiety to the approaching Presidential election. There was a meeting held in this city on the 24th inst., to ratify the nomination of Fremont and Dayton, and notwithstanding the short notice and the busy time among the farmers, (it being in the midst of the grain harvest) the people poured in from all parts with bands of music and banners flying, with various devices and mottoes inscribed upon them—

among which I noticed one with the following very appropriate lines. "Turn out, turn out, Western Hunters, Fremont runs down a Buck in November." There were upwards of three thousand persons assembled, and after listening to several distinguished speakers, they repaired to their homes, determined to do their part for Freedom and Fremont. We have a Fremont Club in this city, which is destined to do good service in carrying on the campaign. From the cheering news that is repeatedly wafted from the his of New England, one may naturally suppose that she is all right, and that November will find her a unit with shoulder to the wheel rolling on the car of Freedom.

Never were the 'people in this State' so thoroughly aroused as at the present time. Their indignation with regard to the wrongs and outrages in Kansas, upheld by the administration, knows no bounds. They are determined that the White House shall not be disgraced by another Pierce in the person of a Buchanan, who is "no longer simply James Buchanan," but is metamorphosed into a platform which endorses all the iniquities of the present administration.

Whenever and wherever a Fremont meeting is announced, the people come together in one spontaneous whole,—not for mere curiosity, but with a will that will speak in thunder tones for their gallant standard bearer in November next.

The Republican banner is unfurled to the breeze throughout the free North, as well as in general of the Southern States, and let every one who is in favor of Free Kansas, Free Speech and Fremont, do his duty and it will wave victorious in November next. God grant that it may!

"Our flag unfurled around the world,
Shall wave o'er land and sea."

DAILY CHRONICLE.

MONDAY, AUGUST 11, 1856.

[For the Daily Chronicle.]

RALLYING SONG—IMITATION FROM HERBER.

Dedicated to the "Bunker Hill Fremont Club," Chautau, Mass.

BY SOPHIA M. SMITH.

"Genius of America! Spirit of our five institutions—
where art thou?"

From Georgia's Southern mountains,
Missouri's either strand,
Where slaves in chains are tolling,
In this the promised land;
From fertile hill and valley,
From inland unto sea,
Rise groans of men imploring
The North to make them free.

Will you whose homes are shaded
By yonder prophet stone,
Let pass this cry unheeded—
Leave them to die alone?
Oh, rouse ye in your manhood!
Up—up—men in your prime!
Your battle cry is FREEDOM,
Now, now's your only time!

Heard you that voice from Euter?
Hark! now from Jasper's well—
And now from yonder hill side
Where noble Warren fell?
'Gird on fair Freedom's armor,
'Twas brave old Sumpter's wreath,
Fight worthy of your fathers,
For Liberty or Death!"

Rouse ye,—rouse ye for Freedom,
Quick, ere the storm-cloud burst!
Let not this fair land wither
'Neath Slavery's blighting curse.
Your leader is God-chosen,
Truth, Rights, to him allied,
There's no such word as failure
With FREEDOM for your guide.

Reading, Mass., 1856.

The ruffians who have blockaded the Missouri thoroughfare to Kansas are beginning to find that they have declared war not only against the Free State emigrants, but also against their own bread and butter. The St. Louis Republican, their own organ, thus confesses the effect of the blockade:—

"The river continues full of boats, but they are compelled to lie in port a long time before getting freight enough to go out with. The Martha Jewett, Herald, Genoa, and Emma lay at the wharf all of last week, and went out on Saturday not half loaded, and not more than twenty to thirty passengers left on all put together. Some half dozen Missouri river boats have laid up, but there are now running double the number required to do the business."

Daily Tribune.

MONDAY, MORN., AUG. 11, 1856.

Can it be True!

For some weeks it has been charged that Mr. Sumner would not take his seat in the Senate, neither would the Kansas question be settled until after the November election. On this latter point we have not entertained a doubt for a long time; the tactics of the republican majority in Congress prove that they are determined there shall be no settlement of the Kansas troubles until after the Presidential election. We have been unwilling to believe, and are still unwilling to believe that any game is played, in the case of Mr. Sumner; but there are those who believe otherwise; what may the basis of their belief we do not know. We have an incident to relate bearing upon this question, and shall make no comments on it, only vouching for its accuracy, having names, places and dates, at our command. A short time since, a few days more or less, a gentleman, an acquaintance of ours fell into the company of another party; the latter party enquired of our acquaintance as to the political prospects of Maine,—his own opinion in regard to the same. Our friend gave a view of the state of things, rather favorable to Fremont, spoke of him as a new man and of his reputation, gallant and chivalric,—as likely to take with the farmers, mechanics &c., of the State. Says the gentleman, "I am glad to hear you speak thus,—I am satisfied Fremont is the man, and that with proper management he may be elected. You may rest assured that Mr. Sumner will not appear in his seat, and the Kansas question will not be settled until after the November election; such is our true policy." The gentleman who made this remark bore the address of a gentleman, and manifested a pretty thorough knowledge of politics in general, and an intimate acquaintance with those of his own party. Our friend's only reply to the remark was, "very probably that would be policy for you." As we remarked, we shall not comment on the above, but leave it to our readers to ponder upon. We may remark however, that at the time Mr. Sumner was assaulted, we believed he was seriously injured, and we are unwilling now to believe that even politicians would practise with his case.

ACCOUNTED FOR.—If any innocent and confiding soul, while reading the accounts of multiplied atrocities in Kansas, has asked himself what it was all for, and why such a desperate struggle should be going on, he will find that answer in the following, published in the Charleston Mercury by Lieut. Warren D. Wilkes, of the South Carolina Banditti, one of the self constituted regulators of the affairs of Northern men in that Territory, one of the patriotic destroyers of Lawrence, and a highway robber in general. We give his own words :

"If the South secures Kansas, she will extend Slavery into all territory south of the 49th parallel of north latitude to the Rio Grande, and this of course will secure for her pent up institution 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 State of Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas and Texas, together with the adjacent territories, will gradually become abolitionized, and the Slave population, confined to States east of the Mississippi, will become valueless. All depends upon the action of the present moment."

New York Day Book.

OFFICE, No. 17 ANN STREET.

N. R. STIMSON, EDITOR.

MONDAY EVENING, AUGUST 11.

What Does the North Want in Kansas ?

In a former article, we undertook to show what the South wanted in Kansas; that it did not want Congress, or the President, or the Democratic party, to extend "slavery," nor even that so-called slaves should be carried into Kansas; but while it claimed "equal rights" under the federal government, to migrate to, and to be protected, too, in the common territories of the Union, that it really and practically needed a public sentiment in Kansas that would be a protection or breakwater against the abolition thieves that infest the border States of the West. In the present article, we are compelled, to a certain extent, to go over the same ground in order to get at the real wants of the North in the premises, for after all the seeming contradiction or the factitious conflict gotten up in that territory, there is no real antagonism of interests, and the few simple facts involved only need to be comprehended, to explode forever the mighty "civil war" now so portentously impending over "suffering Kansas." When the North-west ordinance for the government of the territory North of the Ohio, provided that there should be no slavery so-called, the European emigration had not yet set in, and the "slave trade," or the importation of African negroes, was then in full activity. Thus, there was actually a demand for labor, and if it had not been kept out by a positive law, it was more than probable that "slaves" would have been carried into the new territories, and, perhaps, in considerable numbers.

For two hundred years negroes imported from Africa were forced inward and northward, indeed, most of them being imported by northern merchants, were first sold at northern "depots" or what the descendants of these merchants now style "Human Shambles," and from which they were carried into the interior, often as far North even as the Canadas.

But with the establishment of independence of a new government—of a grander and more useful civilization, the eyes of millions of the

oppressed and down-trodden of the old world were turned to the new, and a movement began which surpasses in magnitude anything ever known before in human experience, which transcends in numbers even the mighty migrations that poured into Europe from Asia about the beginning of the Christian era, which is still going on with undiminished force, and which, in all reasonable probability, is destined to continue yet for many years, perhaps for centuries, certainly until something like an equilibrium of population between Europe and America is secured.

Almost at the moment this stupendous migration of Europeans, or white men, began, the importation of negroes from Africa ceased—that is, it was declared immoral and piratical as well as inexpedient, and though the "trade" kept on where negroes were really needed, it was entirely interrupted, as far as we were concerned. From this period, population and labor, whatever the character, white or black, were left to those natural laws of industrial and climatic adaptation which always should, and, indeed, sooner or later, always must govern. Negroes were rapidly pressed back from the interior to the sea-board, and still more rapidly from North to South. We acquired Louisiana in 1800, and negroes disappeared from New England—a few years later Florida, together with the Cherokee and Chickesaw countries—and "slavery" was abolished in New York, New Jersey, &c.; in short, we only need to look at the census tables to take in at a glance the results worked out. The negro is a creature of the tropics, and his own happiness, as well as the interest of the master, or, we may say, the well-being of negroes equally with that of the whites, is always advanced in proportion as he approximates to a tropical latitude—to that original or primal centre of existence to which the Almighty Creator has assigned him.

Thus, for fifty years past the same movement has gone on uninterruptedly. The negro or the master was constantly attracted southward, by the increased value of the negro labor, and there was also the pressure in the rear, those mighty multitudes from Europe, steadily, perpetually propelling the black column onward and tropicward. Now is it reasonable or probable to suppose, if there had been no prohibition, that at this moment there would be "slavery" in Ohio, Indiana, or any portion of the northwest territory? If, before the European immigration set in, a few thousand negroes had been carried into the northwest territory, would not the cessation of the slave trade, and the European immigration a few years later, both acting concurrently to that end, have forced these negroes out of the territory, or what amounts to the same practical result, have made it "free," just as New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, &c., are at this moment? It is certainly improbable, had the restriction never existed, that more than ten or at the utmost twenty thousand "slaves" would have been carried into the territory North of the Ohio, and as this is a smaller number than New York had when she "abolished slavery," why should not the same causes have operated here, and left these States of the West at this moment as entirely "free" from the "evil" of slavery as the former?

But in any event, or if, in consequence of no restriction against it, ten or twenty thousand "slaves" had been carried into the Territory, and had been kept thus ever since; and that Ohio, and Indiana, and Illinois, had at this time twenty thousand "slave" negroes, instead of twenty thousand "free" negroes, what then? Why, if the former, there would be the labor of twenty thousand negroes added to the productive wealth of these States, instead of twenty thousand idle, non-producing, tax-imposing, good-for-nothing negroes, as at present. Of course, liberty or slavery, as regards the white

citizenship of these States, is not in issue; and the whole question resolves itself into the sole and precise consideration, which is most desirable in a State—twenty thousand "slave" negroes or twenty thousand "free" negroes? or twenty thousand negroes who labor, or twenty thousand idle negroes, who live on the labor of the whites? But, to ask the question, or to state the case, is all that is needed to convince any man with a thimble full of brains, that the celebrated "ordinance" of 1787, so far as negroes were concerned, was a miserable folly, which, if not disgraceful to the men of that day, is a stupid imposture, attempted to be played off by some at the present day. And in respect to Kansas, to Nebraska, to all the Territories once covered by the odious and absurd "Missouri Compromise," there is, of necessity, less chance for "slavery," or rather for getting negroes in these regions, than there was in the Northwest Territory. The negro labor, in view of all the facts in the case, the industrial adaptation, the climate, influences, &c., is probably worth one hundred per cent. more on the Gulf coast, than it is in Kansas, and besides this attraction, half a million of white men are annually seeking new homes in the West. Thus, supposing under the high pressure of New England Aid Societies, and the traitorous and infamous effort to settle negro thieves along the Missouri border, southern men are stimulated to carry a few hundred, or even a few thousand "slaves" into Kansas, what a miserable delusion, or discreditable imposture to imagine that the white settlers of the mighty West can ever be disturbed or troubled by the presence of negroes! This, then, in conclusion, is what the North wants, and what a thousand Congresses, in the present condition of things, cannot prevent, if they were to try; and surely there should be patriotism enough, and decency enough in the northern people to restrain them from the foolish insult which the Saunners and Smiths, and other crazy fools would inflict on the South, or seek to inflict on the South by Wilmot Provisos and Missouri restrictions against the extension of so-called slavery.

[For the Delta Press.]

SARATOGA SPRINGS, July 9, 1856.

Editor Delta Press: On the eve of my leaving home, I was informed that by the partiality of some of my Democratic friends of Fulton county, and other portions of our Congressional District, my name had been announced in your paper and others, subject to the approval of the Democratic Convention.

While I feel grateful to the Democracy of Fulton county, (a more intelligent or patriotic Democracy no county in the state can boast,) and other portions of the district, for their confidence, the present attitude of political parties in the United States, forces upon me the conviction of the impropriety of my being a candidate for Congress, as proposed.

Although I am satisfied that a majority of the Democracy of the Fifth Congressional District, agree with me in sentiment on the all-absorbing subject of slavery extension, yet I am equally satisfied, that there is a minority who would expect a candidate so nominated to approve and defend all the measures of the present administration, and the Cincinnati Platform on the subject of slavery, and also the inconsistent and unprincipled course of Mr. Douglas, backed up by the United States Senate; and to vote for the admission of Kansas as a slave state, should she present a constitution recognizing it, even though such a result was brought about by fraud and violence, as it now appears will be the case. These things I could not conscientiously do.

I have become satisfied beyond all doubt that the Democratic organization is now used by ambitious and unprincipled men for their own aggrandizement, and to effect their object, they have (as far as in their power) thrown the Democratic party into the hands of the slave power, to be used as they may direct.

Believing, as I do, that their measures are calculated and intended to make Kansas a Slave State, I cannot sustain them without doing violence to my own principles.

The late acts of Mr. Douglas, sanctioned by the United States Senate, have removed every remaining doubt and hope, upon which I rested my justification in adhering to an organization from which I could never be separated, while it represented Jeffersonian Democratic principles.

What has been and what is now the aspect of the Kansas question?

Mr. Douglas and his followers, after claiming popular sovereignty as the great virtue of the Nebraska-Kansas act, and the justification for the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, pretended to adhere to that principle, while all the fraud and violence was being committed by the Border Ruffians.

By such means they forced upon the actual settlers an illegal Legislature, which passed laws not only unconstitutional, but of the most unjust, oppressive and cruel disposition, tenfold worse than all the enactments of the British Parliament, from which the fathers of the Revolution revolted; and so odious that even a Southern Senator declared they would justify a revolution, and General Cass characterized them as a disgrace to the present age.

Yet the Senate, of which those gentlemen are members, has been in session seven or eight months, without doing anything to relieve the actual settlers from those cruel grievances, but on the contrary sat silent and saw the President proclaiming that those laws should be obeyed, and to that end he would use all the means at his disposal, while Mr. Douglas was asserting that the Free State men "must be subdued."

All this was one under the plea of carrying out popular sovereignty.

But now a different card is to be played for the benefit of slavery. Popular sovereignty is to be abandoned. It appears to have served the purpose of those who used

it as a justification for the repeal of the Missouri Compromise.

Under the pretence of carrying out its principles, the U. S. troops were allowed to disarm the Free State men, and the Border Ruffians permitted to drive them out of the Territory, destroy their presses, burn their houses, steal their property, murder their men, indict and imprison their leaders; and now when all the practicable avenues into Kansas are guarded by Missouri arms to prevent the entrance of Free State men into the Territory, and after Atchison, Stringfellow & Co., have got everything prepared to have a majority of Pro-Slavery men in Kansas, on the 4th day of July, Mr. Toombs, an ultra Pro-Slavery Senator, (who boasted on the floor of the Senate that he would yet call the roll of his slaves at the foot of the Bunker Hill Monument) introduces a bill into the Senate; Mr. Douglas adopts it, and the Senate passes it with Geyer's and Adams' amendments, which abandon and override the principle of popular sovereignty, and contrary to all former precedent in the government of all Territories, deprive all foreigners who have declared their intentions to become citizens from voting, although the organic act organizing the Territory secures to foreigners the right.

This bill however is made to appear plausible upon its face, but when closely examined in connection with the circumstances, its design is apparent, though it even at this late day nullifies a portion of the Border Ruffian Legislation, the attempted enforcement of which has caused all the anarchy and bloodshed in the Territory. The passage of this bill would make Kansas a Slave State beyond all question. This the pro-slavery men well know. It provides that at an election to be held in November next, for the election of members to a Convention to form a State Constitution, no one shall vote "unless he shall have been an inhabitant of the Territory on the 4th of July, 1856," except those who shall have absented themselves in consequence of the disturbances therein, and who shall return before the 1st day of October next, and proved to the satisfaction of the Government Commissioners that they left in consequence of the disturbances. For some time previous to the passage of this bill by the Senate, Free State men were not permitted to enter Kansas.

A body of South Carolinians and Border Ruffians organized into militia companies under the bogus laws of the Territory, with the government arms in their hands, intercepted them, even if they were so fortunate as to reach the borders of Kansas; while Slavery men were left free to enter. If anything is wanting to satisfy any man who is desirous of arriving at the truth of the deceptive character of this bill, I think it would be found in the fact that a Constitution formed by a convention thus elected under the management of the present administration is not to be submitted to the people for their approval. This I believe, is the first instance that a State Government has been authorized to be formed, and put without submission of its final ratification to the vote of the people, but to do so in this might hazard the interests of Slavery. Hence the Constitution is proposed to be forced upon the people of Kansas without their approval, and this I suppose Mr. Douglas and his colleagues would have the people believe is Democratic, and carrying out the principles of popular sovereignty.

Who would be so credulous as to believe, that if this bill is passed under such circumstances, there would not be shown to the satisfaction of the Government Commissioners, a Pro-Slavery majority in Kansas on the fourth day of July, instant? If this bill should become a law, the only hope for Kansas becoming a Free State, will be in Congress refusing to admit her with a slave Constitution, obtained through fraud and violence—and this can only be accomplished by a decisive and firm expression of the Free Men of the North.

Then let every elector who believes that this fine Territory, situated in the geographical center of our country, should be the home of respectable white laborers, instead of being monopolized by slave owners, with

all the attending evils, must vote in a manner to bring about such a result. Slavery or Freedom must have it. It is fallacy to talk about a joint occupancy by white and slave laborers, unless we are willing to degrade white laborers to a level socially and morally with slaves.

JAMES MYERS.

Grand Rapids Eagle.

CITY OF GRAND RAPIDS:
TUESDAY MORNING, AUGUST 12, 1856.

For Honest Men to Consider.

The following are among the resolutions passed by the State Democratic Convention of Alabama, which sent delegates to the Cincinnati Convention. Read them carefully:

"That the State of Alabama, in the judgment of this Convention, will and ought to resist, even (as a last resort) to a disruption of every tie which binds her to the Union, any action of Congress upon the subject of Slavery in the District of Columbia, or in places subject to the jurisdiction of Congress, incompatible with the safety, the domestic tranquility, the rights and honor of the slaveholding States, or any refusal to admit as a State any Territory hereafter applying because of the existence of Slavery therein; or any act prohibiting the introduction of slaves into the Territories of Utah or New Mexico; or any act repealing or materially modifying the laws now in force for the recovery of fugitive slaves.

"That any interference by Congress for the prevention of slavery in any of the Territories would be an inexcusable and unconstitutional infringement on the rights of the South, which it is the deliberate sense of this Convention it would be the duty of the people of Alabama to resist, even to a disruption of the ties that bind this State to the Union.

"That the restoration of the Missouri Compromise line by Congress, would be a great wrong, resistance to which even to the extent of a disruption of the Union! would be a sacred duty with all who cherish the essential principles of Constitutional right and State equality."

What a trivial thing the Union is in the estimation of Alabama locofocoism! If Kansas is refused admission as a slave State, they are for a disunion. If Congress shall prohibit slavery in the Territories, they are for disunion. Remember that the Convention which passed these resolutions was the one which sent delegates to the locofoco National Convention which nominated James Buchanan. We challenge the locofoco press of the country to point to any delegation to the Philadelphia Convention entering that body with such disunion avowals:

Let us look at these threats a minute.—First, the Constitution authorizes the admission of a State with or without slavery, and yet, if Congress shall do the latter, the locofocos of Alabama will turn traitors to the Union? Bear in mind that for the first fifty years of the existence of the Government the power of Congress to prohibit slavery in the territories was not questioned,—bear in mind that the Ordinance of 1787 which was enacted by the Continental Congress and re-enacted by the first Congress held under our present Constitution, was a prohibition of slavery in the territories—bear in mind that for thirty-four years the Missouri Prohibition was in full force, its constitutionality sanctioned by the ablest statesmen of the country—bear this all in mind, and then remember that if slavery is prohibited in the territories of the United States, if the Missouri Compromise is restored Alabama locofocos are for the disruption of the Union. It is no new, violent, or doubtful measure, that these Southern locofocos propose to adopt such extreme measures against, but an old established principle sanctioned by the usage, and confirmed by the endorsement of the great men of half a century. And yet the delegates from Alabama went into the Cincinnati Convention with these resolutions of rank

Union, were received, voted for James Buchanan, and voted also for the same platform on which the Michigan locofocos stand.—There the Democracy of this State and Alabama joined hands. Freemen of Michigan! is this the platform for you? Can you repose confidence in a candidate who is only this platform personified? Look at the company you are in—arm and arm with the disunionists of Alabama!

[Det. Tribune.]

SONG FOR THE TIMES.

Oh! peerless, soul-ennobling art—
Musical thou, name divine;
What strains of rapture fill the heart
That echoes unto thine.
And now let all thy impulse be
For KANSAS and for LIBERTY!

Let Freedom be thy synonym
Until the coartest's done:
Can chains and bondage drown the hymn
Of Afric's tolling son?
Ah no! then let thy echo be
For KANSAS and for Liberty!

Oh! freemen, raise the glorious song,
And sound the chorus far,
Till, caught by every noble tongue,
It stills the noise of war.
Still let the gorgeous motto be
"For KANSAS and for Liberty!"

Behold fair Science' chosen son!
He comes to lead the van:
He'll shrink not till the goal is won,
That noble-hearted man.
He paves the way to victory,
For Kansas and for Liberty!

Arouse, ye North! shall Senate halls
Become the ruffian's den?
Shall Kansas sink in Slavery's thralls
While ye are counted men?
No! noll let border ruffians see
That Kansas must and will be free!

Huzza! from valley, hill and brake
The FREMONT forces come;
The White House they are pledged to make
The brave Pathfinder's home.
Then shall the pean sounding free
Proclaim Free Speech and Victory!

PINE VALLE, August 4, 1856.

EOLINE.

What Slavery will do.

Slavery will make a man appear dreadfully mean sometimes. The *Free Press* of Thursday contained the following statements:

The nominee for President of the Black Republican party would, if elected, become commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States.—From that army that same candidate, only some eight years ago, was, by a court martial, composed of thirteen officers of high rank and character, sentenced to be dismissed, he having been found guilty of "mutiny," "disobedience of orders," and "conduct prejudicial to good order and military discipline."

Is not Fremont a pretty man for commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States—a man convicted of the highest offences known to the military code? Would he not make a nice chief magistrate of the nation—a man shown to be reckless, headstrong, indiscreet?

These paragraphs are editorial in that paper. So, also, was the following paragraph editorial, from the *Detroit Free Press*, of April 18, 1848, when Col. FREMONT was not a candidate for the Presidency:

COL. FREMONT.—The resignation by this gentleman of his commission in the army, was accepted by the President on the 15th of March, having been tendered nearly a month before. On the 14th Mr. Fremont wrote to the Adjutant-General, reminding him that no reply had been given to his note offering to resign. The reply came the next day as above.

The following extracts from the speeches of different Senators, the most of whom were leading Democrats, and all of whom who yet live, are opposed to Colonel FREMONT politi-

cally, do not very forcibly back up the views of the *Free Press*, in reference to the general merits of Col. FREMONT's military career.

Mr. DIX (Cong. Globe 18 vol. p. 559,) made an able speech in support of the bill, and in which he paid the highest compliment to Col. FREMONT. We have room only for the following extract:

"I do not know that any explanation further than that which has already been given by the Honorable Senator from Michigan is necessary to vindicate the propriety of passing the bill. The pecuniary obligations for the discharge of which it provides, were contracted in good faith for the purpose of subduing the country, and expelling from it the military forces of Mexico. In the execution of these objects, the young and accomplished officer, Col. Fremont, exhibited a combination of energy, promptitude, sagacity and prudence which indicates the highest capacity for civil and military command, and in addition to what he has done for the cause of science, it has given him a reputation at home and abroad, of which men much older and more experienced than himself might well be proud. That the country will do justice to his valuable and distinguished services, I entertain not the slightest doubt.

"There is no doubt that his (Fremont's) rapid and decisive movements kept California out of the hands of the British subjects, and perhaps out of the hands of the British Government.

"It is in this point of view that these transactions possess the greatest interest and importance and that the sagacity, promptitude and decision of our youthful commander in California, at the time disturbances broke out, have given him the strongest claim on his countrymen. Any faltering on his part, any hesitancy in acting promptly, might have cost us millions of dollars and thousands of lives, and it might also have cost us a contest of which the end is not readily seen."

Mr. ATCHISON, on the same day, (see page 561, Congressional Globe,) remarked as follows:

"He gave it as his opinion, not only that the conquest of California was effected by Col. Fremont, but that the United States had derived the advantages of his conquest at comparatively little cost. He justified Col. Fremont in all he had done. If he had done less, he would have deserved and would have received the execration of the whole country. He made some reference to the course which Col. Fremont pursued—a course in some instances rendered indispensable for his own preservation, and always characterized by skill and promptitude."

In the Senate, on the 25th of April, 1848, Mr. CRITFENDEN said:

"The conduct of Col. Fremont entitled him to our confidence, and on him we could more naturally rely than on any other persons who have not had the same connection with the claims."

On the same day Mr. ALLEN said:

"Col. Fremont, in his opinion, was the most meritorious American of his age now in existence, and had he (Mr. A.) the power of appointment, he would ere this have given him a military appointment in Mexico, for which nature had so clearly formed him."

Mr. RUSK, of Texas, paid the highest compliment to Col. FREMONT, and Mr. BAGBY, who opposed the passage of the bill, spoke of Col. FREMONT as a man of "extraordinary merits and abilities."

Mr. CALHOUN, who opposed the bill, said: "I do not oppose this measure on the ground of opposition to Col. Fremont. * * *

I have slight acquaintance with the Colonel, and am so favorably impressed as to him, that I would as readily trust him as any other individual."

Here we have Democratic Senatorial authority to stamp as falsehoods the brood of lies

which have been for the second time brought forth to blast the character of one whom even WILLIAM ALLEN, a Democratic U. S. Senator from Ohio said in his place in the Senate "WAS THE MOST MERITORIOUS AMERICAN NOW IN EXISTENCE," and of whom Mr. DIX, Democratic Senator from New York, said he "EXHIBITED THE HIGHEST CAPACITY FOR CIVIL AND MILITARY COMMAND." The "highest capacity!" those are good and brave words, and were spoken with calm deliberation, and with a thorough knowledge of the subject. With this testimony we dismiss the question of Col. FREMONT's integrity and capacity. It will stand strong against the whole pack of Locofoco editors and stump demagogues, who, with pandemonium delight, are trying to blast the fair fame, for a base party purpose, of "THE MOST MERITORIOUS AMERICAN NOW IN EXISTENCE." [Det. Advertiser.]

President Pierce Endorsed by the "Democracy" of Michigan.

The self-styled Democracy of Michigan, in their State Convention held at Jackson last week, adopted the following resolution:

"Resolved, That the democratic party of Michigan today renews its vows of fidelity to the Union and the Constitution, and declares its unqualified approval of and adherence to the platform of principles adopted by the democratic national convention held at Cincinnati in June last."

The following is one of the resolutions "adopted by the Democratic National Convention, held at Cincinnati in June last.":

"Resolved, That the Administration of FRANKLIN PIERCE has been true to Democratic principles, and therefore true to the best interests of the country; in the face of the violent opposition he has maintained the laws at home, and therefore we proclaim our unqualified admiration of his measures and policy."

It will be seen that the Democratic party in the National Convention proclaimed its "unqualified admiration" of the measures and policy of FRANKLIN PIERCE, whose administration "has been true to democratic principles;" and the Democratic party in Michigan "declares its unqualified approval of and adherence to the principles adopted by the democratic national convention."

Now, let us see what the Democracy of Michigan endorse:

Men are now imprisoned, to be tried, and may be hung for treason, in Kansas, for the part they took in the formation of that very Free State Constitution which the House of Representatives in Congress recently approved. These men are charged with no crime except their denial of the validity of the worse than Draconian code of laws enacted by the border ruffian Legislature, and their peaceable assembling at Topeka, to petition Congress for a redress of their grievances; but under the orders of President PIERCE and his appointees, they are held as prisoners under the grave charge of treason. The Democracy of Michigan declares its "unqualified approval of and adherence to" this policy.

The Free State Legislature, a body of men peaceably assembled at Topeka under the Constitution of Kansas approved by the House of Representatives, were dispersed by the threatened bayonets of U. S. soldiers on the 4th of July last, by order of President PIERCE; and the act challenges the "unqualified admiration" of the sham Democracy of Michigan.

Free presses have been destroyed, towns sacked and burned, dwelling houses entered and robbed, men shot down in cold blood and women driven to insanity; and for no reason but the purpose of establishing slavery in Kansas by brute force; and all this with the

connivance and aid of President PIERCE and his employees, and "unqualified" admirers of the Atchison-Stringfellow crew. The Democracy of Michigan have no fault to find with these atrocities, but in full effect declare their "unqualified approval" of them.

Not a single robber or murderer of Free State men in Kansas has been arrested by the bogus territorial officers or by the United States authorities, and no attempt has been made by said officers or authorities to bring the robbers or murderers to justice; and this "masterly inactivity" has the "unqualified approval" of the bogus democracy of Michigan.

United States troops are employed by President PIERCE to enforce the infamous code of laws enacted in Kansas by a Missouri elected Legislature, and to disperse a Legislature elected by the people of Kansas, the real "squatter sovereigns;" and this policy meets the "unqualified admiration" of the BUCHANAN democracy of Michigan.

President PIERCE has vetoed every bill Congress has passed since his inauguration for the improvement of Lake Harbors, claiming that he finds his justification in the hostility of the Democratic National platform to such improvements by the General Government, as well as in the votes of a large majority of his party in both Houses of Congress—and these vetoes were applauded by the "unqualified admiration" of the Democratic National Convention, and by every fair implication approved by the Democratic State Convention of Michigan.

"The Democratic National Convention held at Cincinnati" declared against the power of Congress to prohibit Slavery in the Territories, and also against the power of the people of the Territories, until they form a State Constitution, to exclude Slavery therefrom; and the BUCHANAN Democratic party of Michigan declares its unqualified approval of and adherence to this doctrine. What say the PEOPLE of Michigan.

Knoxville Register.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 12, 1856.

MORE KANSAS OUTRAGES!

The Abolitionists in Kansas, are still committing outrages of the most revolting character. The following extract of a letter from ATCHISON, in Kansas, appears in the *Charleston Courier*:

You will see by the newspapers of the several murders and outrages committed by the Abolitionists, who commit their cruel deeds under cover of night, and are as cowardly and cruel as ever were the most primitive savages. Just think of one man being dragged from his house and bed by fifty of these scoundrels, with his wife and children begging for mercy, Beecher men cutting off his ears, splitting his nose, and otherwise mutilating his body. His wife was not respected, but in his presence abused, after which his throat was cut, and his body left where it was, to rot; and this is but

one instance of what they are doing, as I could give you many more if necessary."

By whom are these parties represented in the Presidential contest?—By *Buchanan* for the South, and *Fremont* for the North. And every man who votes for either, aids in ratifying these murderous outrages.

The *Doyles* from our own county were murdered there, by these same Buchanan and Fremont men! Pierce and his party, headed by Douglas, opened up the slavery agitation, and then sent *Reeder* out there, and caused all this bloodshed. They tell us that they have since removed *Reeder* from office: True, but it is only giving him leisure to canvass Pennsylvania, in support of Buchanan! What a motly crew they are!

DAILY ADVERTISER.

DETROIT.

If the Washington stories are true, even Frank Pierce's government is disgusted with such judges as Lecompte, with his novel ideas of treason, (the man probably never read the Constitution of the United States) and such tools as Shannon, Donaldson, &c. The Hartford Times has defended all that Southerners have done in Kansas, through thick and thin; and if Pierce had kept his tools in, of course the Hartford Times would have endorsed them. But as Pierce has dropped them, they are now poor stick in the Times' esteem.

WESTERN BORDER LIFE; or What Fanny Hunter Saw and Heard in Kansas and Missouri. New York: published by Derby & Jackson.

This is a spirited sketch and a first rate book for the times. It is a description of life, social and moral—of manners, and customs and conduct in the western counties of Missouri, among the "Border Ruffians," the settlers, both Northern and Southern, and the lovers of free Kansas. The tale is spiritedly written, the style sprightly, and the characters well drawn. It ought to have a run from the interest of the subject and we hope it will. For sale by F. A. Brown.



TUESDAY EVENING, AUG 12, 1856.

REPORTED REMOVAL OF THE KANSAS BORDER-RUFFIAN JUDGES AND MARSHAL!

Telegraph Correspondence Courier and Enquirer.

WASHINGTON, Monday night.

Judges Lecompte and Cate, and Marshal Donaldson, of Kansas, were invited to resign three weeks ago, and having declined, they have this day been dismissed.

INSPECTOR.

Correspondence of the N. Y. Tribune.

WASHINGTON, Monday, Aug. 11, 1856.

Douglas reported voluminously against Mr. Dunn's bill this morning, endeavoring to depreciate it by charges of incongruity and other objections.

Mr. Collamer's minority report was a most conclusive answer on every point, exposing the sophistry on the other side throughout, and reducing difference of opinion to a plain issue between the extension of Freedom or Slavery.

The House receded from Mr. Sumner's proviso to the Army bill, and inserted one, on motion of Mr. Campbell of Ohio, prohibiting the President from using the army to enforce the Territorial laws of Kansas.

Important from Kansas.

THE OVERLAND EMIGRANT COMPANY SAFE IN TOPEKA—RUMOR OF A FIGHT.

CHICAGO, Aug. 11.

Advices from Leavenworth to Wednesday last have been received. The Overland Emigrant Company entered Topeka safely. A company of Missourians, who had enlisted as Kansas militia, marched to interrupt them, but returned without doing any damage.

It is stated that a company of dragoons, headed by Judge Lecompte, had entered Nebraska with the intention of arresting Gen. Lane, but had returned without effecting their object.

Rumors were current from the river towns last week of a battle between the emigrants and regulators, near the Nebraska line. They were not generally credited.

A report prevailed in Nebraska city July 30, that a large force of Missourians and South Carolinians had invaded the territory and blockaded the roads, and that 150 men had volunteered to drive them out.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 12.

Judges Cate and Lecompte and Marshal Donaldson, of Kansas, were yesterday dismissed by the President.

THE EVENING COURIER.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1856.

KANSAS.—The Chicago Tribune has a Lawrence letter of July 28. The following is an extract:

Just now there is a lull in the storm, but active preparations are going on, on the part of the Ruffian party to renew the conflict. They seem determined to carry on their measures, and to kill out or drive out the free State sentiment. Since the 4th, the U. S. troops have mostly been called into the fort, except two detachments, one of which now guards Gov. Robinson, stationed at Lecompton, and the other south of Lawrence, guarding and protecting a ruffian by the name of Lahay, whose house was the depot of the arms stolen from the Free State men at the sacking of our town, until said depot was 'cleaned out' some ten days since by a gentleman to me unknown. Within the past two weeks the remnants of Buford's party, together with Missourians, have been collecting in one camp in the southern portion of the Territory, and in another camp on the Big Blue, near the Nebraska line, where it is expected Northern emigrants will pass. Col. Sumner has left the Territory, and Gen. Smith is now in command, and appears to wink at these preparations making for the avowed purpose of stopping all emigration into Kansas via Iowa and Nebraska, as has been done up the Missouri river. The number of Missourians now congregated along the Northern line of Kansas, at last accounts, amount to several hundred, and is being daily augmented. They have cannon and other arms, together with all the ammunition needed. While parties of Northern emigrants have of late been disarmed, these preparations of the other party have been allowed to go on. It is easy to see how the army is helping the free sentiment of Kansas.

The Evening Press.

HARTFORD:

TUESDAY, AUGUST 12.

A Genuine Flunkey.

The question of Slavery, will be settled in Kansas by the votes of her own settlers, and in no other way.

Times.

The bogus legislature was not elected by "the votes of her own settlers,"—the laws of Kansas were not enacted by the settlers, nor by men elected by the settlers,—and yet the *Times* has exerted itself to sustain these bogus laws and that bogus legislature. What it could do to misrepresent the settlers and aid the cause of Slavery, the *Times* has done for a year past, in total disregard of every principle of

popular rights, of self-government, and of faithful representation.

For months past, outrage, persecution, robbery and oppression have been practiced upon the Free State men of that Territory. Their crops have been destroyed, their cattle stolen, their houses burned, and multitudes driven from the Territory, while at the same time organized bands of ruffians have prevented emigrants from the Free States from passing into Kansas. Hundreds have been driven back on the Missouri river. Other hundreds are interrupted on their way, after crossing Iowa and Nebraska, by these armed ruffians. The Administration have done nothing to prevent these wrongs and outrages. The *Times* and the Buchanan press suppress the facts, and have no complaints at these aggressions. While the Free State emigrants have been thus assaulted and repulsed, every facility has been extended to the emigrants from the Slave States. This is the Buchanan policy. Such is the marked difference between the supporters of BUCHANAN and the supporters of FREMONT.

While the Free State men in the Territory have been harassed and oppressed, and many of them driven out,—while the Free State emigrants are precluded from going into the Territory,—and while, on the other hand, emigration from the Slave States is unobstructed, one Buchanan organ, the *Hartford Times*, in the true spirit of a flunkey, comes out with a declaration that "the question of Slavery will be settled in Kansas by the votes of her own settlers, and in no other way." ROBINSON and his Free State associates are prisoners, confined and guarded by United States soldiers, for daring to advocate a free constitution. LANE and others are in exile. Hundreds with their families, from the Free States, are excluded from the Territory, while not one individual from a Slave State is detained or molested. And yet the Buchanan presses are talking of the question of Slavery being "settled by the settlers!"

The people of the Free States do well in resisting these monstrous outrages to extend Slavery against law, against the Constitution, against justice, and against humanity. It is the question of Slavery on the one hand, and Freedom on the other. BUCHANAN is the candidate of the Slavery extensionists. FREMONT is the candidate of Freedom. The election of BUCHANAN would make Kansas a Slave State. The election of FREMONT will make it a Free State. The settlers will, with the latter for President, have their rights, but not otherwise.

Legislation for Kansas.

The Washington correspondent of the *New York Times* wrote Monday evening, that a new bill for the pacification of Kansas is proposed by the Republicans, providing for the absolute annulment of all Kansas laws and the election of a new legislature at an early day. It is said to have the earnest support of GEARY, the new Governor of Kansas, who is now in Washington, and an effort will be made to pass it at the earliest opportunity.

The correspondent of the *Herald* has the following to-day:

"The President some time since requested the two Judges in Kansas Territory, LECOMPTRE and CATO, to resign. They failed to comply with his wishes, and I learn this evening that he has removed them; and, further, that prosecutions against citizens of Kansas for treason and other crimes are all to be quashed. This course has been pursued at the request of Col. GEARY, the new Governor, who informed the President that he would not accept the position unless he (PIERCE) would agree to the above."

A telegraphic dispatch to-day confirms this statement.

SHAME!—The attempt of the *Times* to class GEORGE WASHINGTON with Border Ruffians,—placing the Father of his country on a level with ATCHISON and STRINGFELLOW,—is characteristic. But the editors can not degrade WASHINGTON, or elevate ATCHISON and his associates, to the same standard. Let WASHINGTON's address to his countrymen, and ATCHISON's address to the Ruffians from a whisky cart when they were about invading Kansas, be published side by side, and even the

Times would hang its head in shame at the contrast, though base enough to make the attempt of classing WASHINGTON with its Missouri complices.

The Issue.

The attempt on the part of the Border Ruffians to elect the legislature and make laws for the people of Kansas is justified or palliated by the Administration and the supporters of Mr. BUCHANAN. It is opposed as an outrage, as unjust, as in conflict with the rights of man, and our whole system of popular government, by those who advocate the election of Col. FREMONT. One of these parties is right and the other wrong, and it is for the American people to decide in regard to them, by the votes which they shall give, in the ensuing Presidential election.

Are the people of Kansas entitled to the privilege of electing their own legislature, of making their own laws, and of governing themselves within the prescribed limits of the Organic Act defining their powers, as is the case with the people of every other territory and State of this Union? Or are they to be governed by the people of another jurisdiction who invade the territory, seize the ballot-boxes and impose upon them laws of the most odious character, which in the words of Gen. CASS are "a disracc to the age"—laws, some of which are so detestable that even the Senate, by an almost unanimous vote, have declared them null and void.

Mr. BUCHANAN is the candidate of the Border Ruffians—the representative man of that party.—Col. FREMONT is the candidate of those who vindicate the rights of the people of Kansas, and is the representative man of those who sustain the great principles of popular sovereignty, freedom and self-government.

We are not unaware that some of the supporters of Mr. BUCHANAN, claim that they are opposed to the policy that has been pursued in regard to Kansas; but yet support those who are engaged in it and their candidate. This class of persons evade the question—are deaf to every enormity—will not believe the outrages are so great as they are proven to be, and greedily listen to and circulate any libel upon the people who are wronged, robbed, and plundered of their property and rights.

Congress has sent out a Committee of its own body to investigate the frauds and outrages committed. On the earnest application of the Administration members, the Speaker placed upon that Committee Mr. OLIVER, the representative of the border counties in Missouri, where the conspiracy against Kansas had been matured. This Committee, after a laborious investigation, in which they examined the register of the voters, the census returns of every district in the Territory, and the whole transactions connected with the election, have reported the facts and the evidence to Congress. It describes a series of villainies, violence and fraud, such as have no parallel in this or any other country.

In the course of the investigation it was proven that Mr. OLIVER, the Administration member on the committee, had himself been one of the Ruffian invaders, and though he denied having voted in Kansas, it was not denied that he was with those who did and stimulated them on. Instead of prosecuting the investigation and trying to develop all the facts, his efforts when present were rather to embarrass the proceedings, but much of the time he was absent. Of course he did not unite with his associates in their report, nor would he make one until theirs was consummated, when he, aided by others, got up a counter report, trying to explain away or soften down some of the overwhelming and irrefutable evidence that was collected.

As a specimen of the manner in which the friends of Mr. BUCHANAN meet the issues before the country, we have alluded to the circumstances of this case, and to state that the *Hartford Times* suppresses the report, the evidence and the facts; but publishes in its columns, the counter report of Mr. OLIVER, justifying and excusing the Border Ruffians. The oppressed and wronged people of Kansas have no voice or justice done them in the columns of that paper. Its sympathies, feelings and wishes are all with the Ruffian invaders. The editors wish their

readers to form an opinion without a knowledge of the facts. They profess to wish that Kansas should be a free State, and very recently have claimed great credit for the Senate, because that body had voted to expunge out some of the tyrannical laws which the usurpers had undertaken to inflict upon the people.

This is the spirit in which the supporters of BUCHANAN are conducting the campaign. They fear to disclose the truth, and publish only the one-sided statement of a person implicated who tries to exculpate himself and his associates. So far as they can they would extinguish popular government in that territory and justify those who are oppressing that people.

What have We to do about it?

We heard a "Fremontier" talking loudly about Kansas and slavery the other day, when a bystander mildly asked him "how the question was to be settled?" "Why," he, "by their State Constitution." "And who will make that?" "The people of Kansas," continued the Fremontier, "of course." "Then," asked the other, "what have you and I to do about it?" At the latest account the Fremontier had not got ready to make a reply.

Times.

This is of a piece with the studied misrepresentation and fraud with regard to Kansas affairs which the *Times* has practiced all along. It aims to deceive its readers, and is thus publishing the minority report of the Kansas committee of investigation, a one sided document, written not upon the evidence, but to answer the majority report, and delayed for that purpose a fortnight or more after the other was presented to Congress and the public. The *Times*, from partisan motives, formerly suppressed the truth. It has now descended lower in its flunkeyism and subservience, and falsifies and distorts the facts.

If the *Times* had presented the true history of the Kansas oppressions and outrages to its readers, they would have no trouble in answering the question, "What have you and I to do about it?" What the people of Connecticut have to do now, is to aid in electing FREMONT. This they intend to do. We shall then have a President under whose administration the people of Kansas will be protected from invasion and outrage, and guaranteed their rights and liberties, of which they are now shamefully despoiled. This, Mr. *Times*, is what "you and I have to do about it," and you are doing your fair share.—You do more each day, by arousing the indignation of honest men, to insure the election of FREMONT, than you think you are promoting the election of the bachelor BUCHANAN. DEMOCRAT.

The Daily Sp. .

TUESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1856.

KANSAS MATTERS.—(Correspondence of the N. Y. *Times*.)—Chicago, Aug. 7.—I have late and reliable intelligence from Kansas, to the effect that — Richardson, Major General of the Militia, under the bogus Legislature, has gone to the Northern frontier, with three hundred or four hundred Missourians and Southerners, to prevent the entrance of Free Soil men. Lane is on the Iowa frontier; his plans are not known. Parties have gone from the vicinity of Lawrence and Topeka, to watch Richardson and aid Lane, in case of conflict, but most of the Free State men in the territory are required to stay at home to guard against the threatened depredations of the guerrilla bands in the Southern part. It is now currently reported throughout the territory that Gen. Smith will not attempt to prevent the entry of Lane, neither will he interfere to prevent a fight with the Ruffians. If a conflict ensues, he will proclaim martial law, and allow the parties to fight it out.

AWFUL VISIONS!—SHARP'S RIFLES AND THE SLAVERY HOBBY!

To a stranger, the language used by certain political mountebanks would seem to portend that all sub-lunary things—at least so far as this little world of ours, the United States of America, is concerned—would speedily be knocked into a cocked hat, "so to speak," but to those familiar with the tactics of the hungry abolition and know nothing pack, who are now in full cry, it is a matter neither of surprise nor alarm; on the contrary, a source of considerable amusement, alloyed, it is true, by the pitying reflection that men, in order to attain to a little brief authority, can demean themselves so much as to shut out both honor and honesty to manufacture political capital.

We were to believe a tenth part of the insane ravings of the black republicans and their hireling scribes, the President of this Union has a heart blacker than the blackest pet of the abolition philanthropists, and that instead of his being laboring with patriot zeal to support the constitution and the laws, regardless of party clamor, we would readily believe him to be doing all in his power to tear down the noble fabric reared by the fathers of the country, and which has stood, and was designed to be, a beacon of hope to the distressed of all lands. And only one hour at Henry Ward Beecher's politico-religious laboratory would suffice to fill the mind with visions of "fantastic devils"—(representatives of that hot region that the constitution is said to be closely allied to)—chains, manacles, whips, stakes, and writhing, tortured negroes! In fact, the whole south might be set down as a huge forge, and the white population thereof so many Vulcans busily engaged in manufacturing the necessary articles to bind together and to torture into subjection "the rest of mankind!"

What a werry orful state of affairs! Where's the Duchess of Sutherland? Where's George Thompson? Can nothing be done to save us?

But fanatics may screech forth their twaddle about freedom and freedom of speech—the very men who closed Faneuil Hall to Daniel Webster—and they may lay on, with a full brush, their high coloring of slavery; they will find it all of no avail—their machinations against the constitution and the Union will sooner or later recoil upon their own guilty heads.

With Bible and rifle in each fratricide hand, Beecher and Company may roam over the land, but they'll and the democracy ready at hand, To come like a whirlwind, early in fall, And crush the whole crew of political quacks Who'd sever these states to free a few blacks!

M.

The A. a. s.

TUESDAY MORNING, AUGUST 12, 1856.

The English press speak in terms of high commendation of Col. Fremont and of the principles avowed in his letter of acceptance. We give below the editorial of the London Star:—

[From the London Star.]

BRITISH VIEW OF COLONEL FREMONT'S LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.—Col. Fremont's address, in accepting the nomination for the American Presidency, is so remarkable for its advanced expression of opinion, that it ought to excite an ardent hope throughout England for his success. There are only two topics, at this moment, which appear to agitate the people of the United States—the questions of foreign policy and human freedom, and to these Col. Fremont entirely applies himself, and with such clear and well-defined principles, that we can have no doubt or difficulty about his language.

First, concerning Slavery. The immediate issue which Congress has to settle is, whether the Territory of Kansas should be recognized by the Union as a free State, or a State inhabited by slaves; and the Congress can either say that Kansas may be left to its own discretion in the matter, or that it can form no part of the American Confederation, if slavery exists on its soil. Colonel Fremont decides for the latter alternative. He believes that the proposal to leave Kansas to its own choice will stand in the face of a solemn compact that such Territories as Kansas were to be free, while it would aid the plans of that

slaveholding fraternity, who will be satisfied with nothing but the extension of their system. The cause to which he commits himself is, therefore, one which he aptly describes by the phrase "constitutional freedom," and he will not fail, we should hope, to receive the support of all the anti-slavery sections of the United States.

But it is when Col. Fremont speaks of the foreign policy he means to espouse, that we feel the greatest interest for the moment, because he gives utterance, in our opinion, to those views, which, if they had only prevailed in the Old world, would have saved the nations from repeated and periodical convulsions. On this question he will not bind himself down to any party issues. He would provoke no hostilities by unjust assumption. He depreciates that kind of policy which says that one nation has a right to take the domains of another. He traces all internal embarrassment mainly to a secret diplomacy which aims to keep the operations of the government from the knowledge of the people; and he declares that an action of that nature is an abandonment of the honest character which the United States has acquired. In one word, Col. Fremont expresses his wish to go back to the principles of Washington and Jefferson; and we who live on the European side of the Atlantic know that Washington and Jefferson were the fathers of civil liberty and political justice. Why, then, should the United States hesitate to draw fresh life from the fountain head of that safety and freedom from which they may have departed? And why should they not teach a new lesson to the old kingdoms of the world, by making progress in the direction of human equality and international peace? If they will choose Fremont for their new President, after that gentleman has so clearly expressed himself, Europe will be compelled to go to the feet of America to learn wisdom.

The following is from the London News:—

"The prospects of Colonel Fremont in regard to the Presidential election are stated to be hourly improving, and his nomination has given heartfelt pleasure to the great body of good and earnest men in the States, who hold aloof from disgusting party squabble and intrigue, but put forth their strength upon occasion. This election will show how far the plea for the ordinary inaction of the best class in America is valid. Never, of course, can there occur a crisis when their country will stand more in need of their strength and energy, and should they now permit an unworthy candidate to carry the day, we must hear no more of American patriotism. But we hope better things. Colonel Fremont has pronounced boldly on the Kansas question—on which the Senate and House of Representatives are now in direct collision—and he declares manfully that Kansas ought to be admitted as a Free State. On foreign politics and annexations he professes himself of the doctrine of Washington, which is that of justice and honesty. The same mails apprise us that a Colonel of another kind, the favorite of the South—the rufian Brooks—has been sentenced to a trumpery fine of 300 dollars for his murderous outrage on Mr. Sumner; but the journals explain this ridiculous sentence by stating that the Court which inflicted it is completely under the influence of the South, a statement which again requires explanation of its own. The other respectable statesman, who murdered the waiter, ought, say the same journals, to be fined about 50 cents, if consistency is to be preserved."

THE NATIONAL KANSAS COMMITTEE.

[The writer of the following letter is a gentleman of Concord, Mass., and the efficient Secretary of the Middlesex Co. Kansas Committee. He gives the information that has been desired by many since the formation of the above organization.]

CHICAGO, Aug. 7th, 1856.

As the friends of Kansas in Massachusetts and the rest of New England, are not perhaps, generally informed about the action which the National Committee, located here, are taking, it may not be out of place to state through your Journal, who they are, what their action is.

His National Committee was appointed by the late Convention, with power to fill vacancies, and some new members have been appointed in this; I will give their names as they stand at present: D. Webster, Chairman; H. B. Hurd, Secretary; W. Dole, Treasurer; J. G. Scammon, of Chicago.

r. S. G. Howe, Dr. Samuel Cabot, Jr., Boston,

V. H. Russell, New Haven, Ct.
 W. W. Hoppin, Providence, R. I.
 Alexander Hyatt, New York City.
 Alexander Gordon, Pittsburg, Pa.
 S. Barnard, Detroit, Mich.
 J. A. Tweedy, Milwaukee, Wis.
 Penn Clark, Iowa City, Iowa.
 M. H. Stanley, Cleveland, Ohio.
 W. Wright, Logansport, Ia.
 F. M. Army, Bloomington, Ill.
 A. Hunt, St. Louis, Mo.
 W. Eldridge, Lawrence, Kansas.

his city is the working point of the Committee, the Chicago members are therefore the most directly engaged. They are such men as would anywhere command the confidence of the community. T. Webster is a New Hampshire man, and was fifteen years an officer in the U. S. Topographical Engineers, but resigned his captaincy two years since, to take charge of important works here. Mr. Hurd prominent lawyer; Mr. Dole is Water Commissioner for this city, an office of great trust and importance; Mr. Scammon is President of the Marine Bank, and Mr. Army (who resides here temporarily) Editor of the Prairie Farmer. All are practical business men, and devote themselves to their work. The Committee met here on the 30th July, and effected their organization. Besides the Chicago members, Dr. Howe and Mr. Hyatt will reside here to work with them. They have agents on both the West through Iowa (by Iowa City and Mount Pleasant) and are rapidly perfecting all the necessary arrangements for sending aid and emigrants to Kansas. They are in constant communication with the State men of Kansas, and the various committees in the North—and if little has been heard of them, it is because they have had the prudence to work with a noise. They are prepared to act, and are acting, actively for these two objects—the support of the State men already in Kansas, and the sending of actual settlers. All that they need to accomplish these objects so thoroughly that freedom shall be secured there, is liberal contributions from the Free-ers. Fellow citizens of Massachusetts, will you see that they have the means to carry on the work they have so well begun?

F. B. SANBORN.

We learn, in addition to what is stated above, that the majority of the Chicago members of the Committee are men of large fortunes. Mr. Dole is doubtless known to many New England merchants, and he West no man has a better business reputation; none is more popular in Chicago. He was elected to his present office of Water Commissioner by a large majority, though the rest of the ticket on which he ran was defeated. One cause of his great popularity is his conduct some years ago, when, being a real estate dealer in Chicago, he resisted a combination of other dealers, and kept them from holding up the flour at starvation prices. Mr. Army is of German birth, and is a man of great influence in South-illinois. Altogether they are a committee worthy of all confidence.

RELIEF FOR KANSAS.

We have been sorry to hear apprehensions expressed in some quarters that the moneys subscribed for the relief of Kansas have been perverted. A feeling of this kind, we learn, has caused some sums designed for the relief of Kansas to be withheld from the Committees.

We have made particular inquiry, both with regard to the State Committee, and the Faneuil Hall Committee, and are able to assure the public, in the most distinct manner, that such apprehensions are unfounded. All of the money which has been spent by these Committees has been applied strictly in legitimate modes, for the relief of suffering in Kansas, and for sending out men, women and children to the Territory and providing for their support there to a limited extent. No part of the funds have been applied to electioneering purposes, or to anything of the sort. A considerable part of the funds already subscribed are still in the control of the Committees.

There has been no evidence whatever, so far as we know, to support the allegation of misappropriation of funds, except a remark in a letter from our former Mayor, Dr. Smith. That gentleman, we believe, has been satisfied that the apprehensions he suggested do not warrant a discontinuance of the efforts for the relief of suffering in Kansas. At all events, we can assure the public that all subscriptions rendered either to the State Committee or to the Faneuil Hall Committee are applied according to the wishes and design of the donors, for the relief of suffering without per-ersion.

The present is a critical moment, and relief is especially opportune.

The following letter is from a member of the Kansas Hall Committee, who went out in person to superintend the application of a part of the funds subscribed here. It is addressed to one of his colleagues upon the Committee, and is, of course, perfectly authentic:—

MOUNT TABOR, Nebraska frontier, }
July 26, 1856.

DEAR SIR—In pursuance of the plan heretofore explained to you, I have travelled 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. I have at last arrived at the frontier of Nebraska Territory. Here 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 U. S. 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 that 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.

As for the expedition called "Lane's Army," the following is reliable:—

They crossed the Missouri river at Nebraska city, on Tuesday last, three hundred in number, all told. They advanced about twenty miles into Nebraska. They found that Missourians were gathering in large bands to oppose their progress, and they halted. They are, almost without exception, hardy pioneers, who have the real purpose and earnest wish to settle in Kansas. Among them are about one hundred from Wisconsin, men, women and children. Also a party of Massachusetts men, guided by Martin Stowell. Not more than one-third of the whole number are fully armed. It was thought best, in order to keep themselves entirely within the right and to effect their purpose of a peaceful entering into Kansas, that Col. Lane should leave the party and go back into the States. The other leaders then addressed a respectful memorial to Gen. P. Smith, at Fort Leavenworth, setting forth the fact that they were peaceful emigrants—that their way into Kansas was opposed by armed bands of Missourians, and praying for an escort of dragoons. The answer is expected by the messenger tonight. It will probably be that Gen. Smith has no power in Nebraska Territory. If the emigrants do not get protection, they will wait for the other companies who are on the road, and who are better armed, and then will march on. If opposed by Missourians, there will be a stern struggle. If by U. S. troops, the emigrants will move forward until actual force is used against them, and will then yield. They will not, however, budge a foot backward, unless at the point of the bayonet. This is the plan.

THIRTY-FOURTH CONGRESS—First Session. WASHINGTON, Monday, August 11.

Mr. Douglas, from the Committee on Territories, reported back the House bill to reorganize the Territory of Kansas, with a written report, which takes the ground that the Senate bill now before the House is the best plan for the pacification of Kansas that the Senate can devise. It then recommends that the House bill be laid on the table, as a test vote on its rejection.

Mr. Collamer read the minority report in favor of the enactment of the House bill.

It was tabled—35 against 12, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Adams, Allen, Bell of Tenn., Benjamin, Briggs, Bixler, Bright, Brodhead, Brown, Butler, Cass, Clay, Douglas, Evans, Fitzpatrick, Geary, Houston, Hunter, Iverson, Jones of Tenn., Malloy, Mason, Pratt, Pugh, Reid, Slidell, Stuart, Thompson of Ky., Thompson of N. J., Toombs, Toucey, Weller, Wright, Yulee.

NAYS—Messrs. Bell of N. H., Collamer, Fessenden, Fish, Foot, Foster, Hale, Harlan, Seward, Trumbull, Wade, Wilson.

Mr. Austin, who had yielded the floor that the committee might report, resumed. He defined his own position; he was an American, but his Americanism went for freedom of speech, a free press, and a free Kansas.

In regard to the Vice Presidency, he said it had always been his object to do all that he could for freedom, and for that reason he stood pledged to go for W. L. Dayton. He stood thus because there were but two or three States which would put up a Johnston ticket. He believed it was the duty of every man to do what he could to elevate Northern sentiment to the White House in 1857.

Mr. Simonds, the newly elected President of the Club, was conducted to the Chair, after Mr. Austin closed his remarks. He was enthusiastically received. Mr. Simonds addressed the meeting briefly, touching upon a few prominent political questions.

Mr. Wright stated that an anteroom of the Lyceum Hall had been secured for the campaign, and that it would be open every evening during the week.

On motion of Mr. Campbell, of Ohio, the Army bill, returned from the Senate without the Sherman proviso, was taken up. He simply asked the Clerk to read the clause from the Constitution.

Objections were made, and a debate on points of order took place.

Mr. Pennington offered a substitute, which Mr. Campbell accepted, and moved the previous question.

Mr. Cobb of Georgia rose to a point of order. He said the Senate's amendment to the bill was to strike out the Sherman proviso, and the House was compelled to vote on that only.

The Speaker decided that the amendment was in order, and was sustained by 16 majority.

Mr. Pennington's proviso was adopted by 100 against 90. The Senate's amendment, thus amended, was returned to the body. Light House appropriation, and other bills of minor importance, were then passed.

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

DAILY ADVERTISER.

BOSTON:

TUESDAY MORNING, AUGUST 12, 1856.

Kansas Affairs.—We have a variety of further information this morning with regard to Kansas. On this page will be found a statement respecting Gov. Geary's instructions, and an announcement of the dismissal of the judges, and also an authentic narrative of the sack of Lawrence on the 21st of May, derived from an official report made to the House of Representatives. On the second page will be found a letter written from the camp of the emigration on the northern frontier, by the same correspondent, whose letter was printed in our paper on Saturday. A paragraph from the Worcester Spy announces the safe arrival in Kansas of Martin Stowell's party, (this is perhaps a mistake, but we hope not), and an extract from the Springfield Republican gives late intelligence from the neighborhood of Lawrence.

Our special correspondent telegraphs us of a proposed new Kansas bill, to annul all the territorial legislation and begin afresh. Governor Geary is said to favor this plan. This has a promising aspect.

OFFICIAL ACCOUNT OF THE SACK OF LAWRENCE.

Mr. Grow from the Committee on Territories made a report to the House of Representatives on Friday last, on the memorial of R. G. Elliott and others, citizens of Kansas, praying for compensation for property destroyed in said Territory. This report contains the first authentic account of the sack of Lawrence, published under official sanction. A narrative of the affair is contained in the memorial. The committee state that they believe that the memorial sets forth fully and correctly the facts in the case, and they accordingly append it to their report and make it a part thereof.

We have received from our own correspondent an early copy of this report. The memorial begins with a recital of the proclamation of Marshal Donaldson, issued early in May, commanding law-abiding citizens to repair to Leocompton on the ground that an attempt to execute U. S. writs had been "virtually resisted by a large number of the citizens of Lawrence"—an allegation which the petitioners assert was untrue. They adduce facts leading to the belief

that it was the intention of the marshal to collect a miscellaneous force in the Territory, and to justify this force whom he had supplied with U. S. arms in their acts of lawless violence. The marshal's posse was augmented by accessions from Missouri, and supplied from the same source with several pieces of artillery. Camps were formed; peaceable citizens were stopped and robbed; cattle, provisions, arms and other property, were stolen by these marauders. A committee of the people of Lawrence called on Gov. Shannon (May 11) for protection. He answered that there were no forces about Lawrence except the legally-constituted posse of the sheriff and U. S. Marshal. Another committee on the 14th, addressed the marshal, who sent them on the next day, an insulting reply, which is subjected in the memorial to a critical review, and is proved to abound in mis-statements of facts, and in false reasoning. The committee sent a respectful rejoinder to the marshal on the 17th, to which no reply was vouchsafed. The narrative proceeds as follows:—

The same day a communication was sent to the governor by Messrs. S. W. Eldridge and T. B. Eldridge, proprietors of the Eldridge House, asking for its protection against the destruction threatened by the mob in the marshal's posse. The building itself was the property of the Emigrant Aid Company, but it had been furnished by the Messrs. Eldridge at a heavy expense, and was not yet opened as a public house. A verbal reply was returned by the governor to this appeal, expressing regret that the proprietors had taken possession, and giving some encouragement for its protection. On the 18th, he was visited by the Messrs. Eldridge in person, and a full and truthful representation made of all the facts in the case. At this interview, the governor, as well as the marshal, seemed disposed to afford the protection needful.

The citizens of Kansas offered the following proposition:—

LAWRENCE, K. T., May 17, 1856.

GENTLEMEN:—Having learned that your reasons for assembling so large a force in the vicinity of our town to act as a posse in the enforcement of the laws, rests on the supposition that we are armed against the laws and the officers in the exercise of their duties, we would say that we hold our arms only for our own individual defence against violence, and not against the laws or the officers in the execution of the same, therefore, having no further use for them when our protection is otherwise secured, we propose to deliver our arms to Colonel Sumner so soon as he shall quarter in our town a body of United States troops sufficient for our protection, to be retained by him so long as such force shall remain among us.

Very truly yours, MANY CITIZENS.

His Excellency WILSON SHANNON, Governor, and J. B. DONALDSON, Esq., U. S. Marshal for Kansas Territory.

Both the governor and the marshal expressed satisfaction with this proposition, and agreed to its terms in case a demand should be enforced for the surrender of the arms. If no resistance was offered his force, the marshal gave a positive promise of protection to the property of the citizens. But it was said that a portion of the posse was clamorous for the destruction of the hotel and the printing offices; and the Messrs. Eldridge were invited to return again on the following day, after time had been afforded for consultation with the captains of the companies.

On the 19th, Messrs. Eldridge renewed their visit, according to agreement, but found a great change in the tone of the officials. It appeared that the companies composing the posse would be satisfied with nothing short of some destruction of property; and this feeling was so strong as to defy the power of the marshal. The Messrs. Eldridge, on behalf of the citizens of Lawrence, offered the marshal their services, and proposed, if he would supply them with weapons, to make all necessary pledges to sustain him in the protection of property and the execution of the laws. This offer the marshal did not see fit to accept, alleging only the excuse of a deficiency of arms. It was evident that a course of violence was resolved upon. One of the captains, a Colonel Titus of Florida, a member of the late expedition against Cuba, declared boldly that the printing-presses must be destroyed, to satisfy the boys from South Carolina. But promises of protection to the hotel were renewed; and the marshal pledged his word that if no resist-

ance was made, he would enter the town only with a small posse of unarmed men, and that the remainder should not be admitted; he also further promised not to dismiss them in the vicinity. The incongruities of these various statements it is not for us to reconcile.

Feeling, from all these circumstances, the necessity to the town of efficient protection, the Messrs. Eldridge made a last effort to secure aid from the governor. He disclaimed all authority over the force of the marshal, and stated that he should not interfere with that officer's operations. He was implored to summon to his aid the force of Colonel Sumner, for the protection of the property of the citizens, but peremptorily refused. It was represented to him that the marshal's posse had resolved on perpetrating unlawful outrages in Lawrence, and he said the people of Lawrence must take such consequences as should ensue; that he could protect them with the United States troops if he chose, but that he should not do so. When apprehensions were expressed to him that the outrages would finally madden the people to the point of resistance, and precipitate all the horrors of civil war, he turned angrily away and left the room, with the expression, "Wa, then, it is, by God!" These were the last words spoken to persons representing the people of Lawrence, by the highest officer of the Territory.

During the following day the deputy marshal, W. P. Faire, a resident of Calloun, Georgia, visited the town, and, in conversation with a citizen, expressed the belief that the printing presses would be destroyed, but that the Eldridge House would be spared.

On the morning of the 21st instant, a cavalry force was seen stationed on a hill commanding the town. It was soon increased by a company of artillery, and another of infantry. A white flag was first displayed, which soon gave place to a red one. This emblem would have incited the citizens to resistance, but for the known fact that the force was commanded by a United States officer, (whose pledge of protection had been given,) and armed with national weapons. Beside the red flag, whose motto was—"Southern rights," soon floated that of the Union.

The deputy marshal entered the town with less than ten men, and, proceeding to the Eldridge House, summoned both the proprietors to act on his posse, together with De Garvey, John A. Percy, C. W. Toppliff, and Wm. Jones, all citizens of the town. This summons was promptly obeyed, and all required assistance cheerfully given. Only two arrests were made during the morning, and, with these, after dinner, the whole posse repaired to the camp; Colonel Toppliff charged with the delivery to the marshal, the following communication:—

LAWRENCE, K. T., May 21, 1856.

We, the committee of public safety for the citizens of Lawrence, make this statement and declaration to you as marshal of Kansas Territory:—

That we represent citizens of the United States and of Kansas, who acknowledge the constituted authorities of the government, and that we make no resistance to the execution of the laws, national or territorial; and that we ask protection of the government, and claim it as law-abiding American citizens.

For the private property already taken by your posse we ask indemnification, and what remains to us and our citizens we throw upon you for protection, trusting that, under the flag of our Union, and within the fold of the Constitution, we may obtain safety.

SAMUEL C. POMEROY,
W. G. ROBERTS,
LYMAN ALLEN,
JOHN A. PERRY,
C. W. BARBOCK,
S. B. PRESTON,
A. H. MALLORY,
JOEL GROW.

J. B. DONALDSON,

United States Marshal, K. T.

It was now hoped that the crisis had passed. On summoning on his posse the proprietors of the Eldridge House, Deputy Marshal Faire had renewed his promise to protect their property, the officials had been treated with every courtesy, and even a generous hospitality. But about 3 o'clock the streets were filled by a company of armed horsemen, headed by Samuel J. Jones, sheriff of Douglas county, who drew up his force in front of the Eldridge House, and demanded of the citizens, in the name of the law, the surrender of their rifles and cannon. He was answered by General Pomeroy, that the cannon and all rifles not individual property, if any such there were, would be given up on this giving an official receipt for the same. General Pomeroy and General Roberts proceeded with him to assist in their delivery. This done, it was answered that the printing offices and the Eldridge House must be destroyed. Remonstrance was in vain. In the mean time, the remainder of the force, comprising several hundred men, with the United States muskets and fixed bayonets, now taking position in the town. Men, endeavoring by argument, and women by tears, to alter the determination of Jones, but in vain; at 3 o'clock, he announced to Messrs. Eldridge, that he would give them till five, to remove their families and furniture from the house. The work of pillage had already commenced—the contents of the printing offices were scattered in the streets, and the red flag placed on the roof first of the offices of the Herald of Freedom, and afterwards of the Eldridge House; the family of Mrs. G. W. Brown were driven from their home, and the immediate pillage of the hotel

prevented only by the resolute interference of a few citizens, aided by some individuals of the mob, who kept a strict guard at the doors, and insisted that the families of the proprietors should have the time promised by Jones, in which to collect their most necessary effects and leave. At last the cannon were placed and ready, and it was announced to Colonel S. W. Eldridge that the bombardment would commence in five minutes. His wife and children, and such personal effects as they had been enabled to collect, were placed in carriages and driven off between files of United States bayonets, and amidst the yells of the impatient mob. As they left the town the first boom of a cannon told that the work of destruction had begun. Soon, as the impression made by the cannon was not great, the building was fired, and with the aid of gunpowder reduced, with its furniture and stores, to a pile of ruins. The work of pillage spread through the whole town, and continued until after dark, every house and store which could be entered was ransacked; trunks broken open, and money and property taken at will. Where women had not fled they were, in some cases, insulted, and even robbed of their clothing.

From one house over two thousand dollars in money were carried away. The house of Charles Robinson was pillaged and burned to the ground. The same evening the forces were drawn off to their camp, and the sack of Lawrence was concluded.

Some incidents of this authorized outrage here demand attention. While Messrs. Toppliff and Perry were aiding the marshal in making the arrests, both their houses were broken open and pillaged. Some of the flags which floated beside that of the Union, had for mottoes "Superiority of the White Race," "Kansas the Outpost," "South Carolina;" while one had the national stripes, with a tiger in place of the Union; another had alternated stripes of black and white. While the cannon were being placed for the destruction of the Eldridge House, David R. Atchison, late the President of the United States Senate, was conspicuous amongst the mob. When the final doom of the hotel and printing offices was pronounced, it was said by the officials to be by the order of the government, as the grand jury of Douglas county had ordered them abated as nuisances.—The only charge against the Eldridge House, was its ownership by the Emigrant Aid Company.

To evade the pledge given by the marshal, that he would not allow his posse to enter Lawrence, they were disbanded by him after the arrests were made, and enrolled as a sheriff's posse by Samuel J. Jones, the martial, thus keeping one pledge at the expense of another. On the next day they were again enrolled as the posse of the marshal.

There are also some facts of another character which we wish to record. We believe that many of the captains of the invading companies exerted themselves to the utmost for the protection of life and property; some of them protested against these enormous outrages, and endeavored to dissuade Samuel J. Jones from their perpetration. Many used personal effort to remove such property as was possible from the Eldridge House before its destruction. Among these stood prominently, Col. Zaddock Jackson, of Georgia, who did not scruple either in Lawrence or his own camp, to denounce the outrages in terms such as they deserved. Col. Buford of Alabama, also disclaimed having come to Kansas to destroy property, and condemned the course which had been taken. The prosecuting attorney of Douglas county, the legal adviser of the sheriff, used his influence in vain to prevent the destruction of property.

We have thus given an outline of the events which have concluded an unparalleled chapter in the history of our country. That we have dealt mildly with the facts, and fallen short of the real atrocity of the case, will be proven by the testimony which, in time, public opinion will not fail to gather. So gigantic is that official villainy of which we are being made the victims, that the understanding almost refuses to believe the evidence, however strong. That any set of men in a representative government like ours, can be so reckless and so deficient of right as to attempt the administration of law on the principles of perjury and brigandage, is a combination of fatuity and corruption almost passing belief. Yet the facts spring out with startling boldness on the picture of events, and we see the spectacle of rulers utterly ignoring the oaths they have taken, and perverting the beneficial power of government to the base uses of a ruthless despotism, at will despoiling men of their property and lives, endeavoring to bind fast the hands of the loyal citizens who look to them for protection, and to deliver them over as bondsmen to an invading force. We cannot but feel that you will be slow to believe facts, such as we have stated, and for the credit of humanity we cannot otherwise think; but we assure you that such are the facts, and we trust that you will heed the voice of a suffering and outraged people, who thus lay their complaints before your honorable body, and extend to them such redress and protection as your power and the nature of the case so clearly demand. Such an abuse of power by offi-

cers of the government of a great nation, should not pass unnoticed; and we therefore pray your honorable body to institute such scrutiny into their past conduct as will reveal its true character, and inspire a salutary caution in the future.

Such has been the conduct of our officers that our people have been compelled to appoint a committee of protection, whose duty it will be to use all legal means for the defence of our lives and property during the absence of that protection which government is bound to extend to peaceful and law-abiding subjects.

As regards the pecuniary damage sustained by this community at the hands of the government, as administered by these officials, we cannot doubt but you will see the justice of our claims and procure for us an adequate compensation. The readiest way to do this would seem to be by an appropriation by Congress, which it is within your province to make. It is at present impossible to estimate the damage, as new deprivations are continually being made. How long these will be permitted to continue, will depend, to a great extent, upon the pleasure of our rulers. But it is certain that the amount is even at present, for a community like ours, very great. The loss to the proprietors of the Eldridge House alone, is to nearly the full extent of their investment. Time being denied them to remove any material portion of the costly furniture and abundant stores provided for its use. The destruction of the printing offices like that of the hotel, involves not only the cost of the property, but the complete ruin of the business in which it was employed. And then there is scarcely a freeholder in Lawrence, or for many miles around, but has had costly experience of that predatory action which the marshal in his proclamation calls the "proper execution of the law."

Were the destruction of property, however, the greatest result of this maladministration, it would be shorn of its chief importance, but it must be borne in mind, that among its consequences has been loss of life, and it is due to the community and to the nation at large that justice be administered upon those who caused it, and the burning shame wiped from the brow of the government of laws.

In view of these facts, it will certainly not be considered ill-timed or disrespectful in us to urge, with all the earnestness of men who know the truth whereof they speak, upon your honorable body, the speedy employment of all your power in redressing our wrongs and extending to us that protection which we have a right to claim as American citizens.

And as in duty bound we will ever pray,
R. G. ELLIOT and others.

Boston Journal.

TUESDAY EVENING, AUG. 12, 1856.

DEATH OF A BOSTONIAN IN KANSAS. Among the first party of emigrants from Massachusetts to Kansas in the spring of 1854, was our young townsman, James G. Bolles, the oldest son of Mr. Matthew Bolles, the well known broker of this city. At the time of his emigration, young Mr. Bolles had just arrived at manhood, and was full of activity, spirit and enterprise. He settled near Topeka, built himself a house, and engaged in agricultural pursuits with all the industry of a frontier farmer, and with every prospect of ample success. There he has continued to reside and labor. On the morning of Monday, the 25th of July last, Mr. Bolles, who with a friend had gone on a hunting expedition, and was encamped on the summit of a ridge about eight miles south of Topeka, was instantaneously killed by lightning as he lay asleep in his tent. His companion was considerably scorched. The body of Mr. Bolles was brought back and buried with the ordinary funeral solemnities near Topeka.

BORDER RUFFIANISM IN NEBRASKA. The pro-slavery hordes have arrived in Nebraska, and the residents of that peaceful territory are much excited. The Council Bluffs *Chronicle* of July 30, says:

"We have startling intelligence from Southern Nebraska. The Border Ruffians from Missouri have invaded the territory, and up to Sunday they were within twenty miles of Nebraska City. They are over one thousand strong—are composed of Missourians, South Carolinians and Georgians, and are fully armed with cannon, etc., 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, and we presume a hundred and fifty men immediately volunteered to go to the assistance of the Free State settlers, and messengers were dispatched to learn the true state of affairs. Some eighty 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

...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.

Evening Telegraph.

BOSTON, TUESDAY, AUG 12, 1856.

Aug 12 [For the Telegraph.] 1856
LETTER FROM KANSAS.

OSAWATOMIE, K. T., Sunday, July 13, 1856.
In coming to Kansas, the question which every person should resolve in his mind, is whether he is willing to forego present comfort and good society, and suffer present privation and hardship for a prospective advancement. *This I conceive just the whole question in a nut shell.* If a man is doing well, that is, not working too hard, and getting a good living and a little more, he should perhaps be satisfied to remain where he is, unless he is willing to come to the rescue, and dispense with the privileges of civilization. I wish that many more of this class would find their way to Kansas. But from this section, of late, two have left the territory, where one has come in, being frightened out. I am speaking, of course, of *Free State* men, though pro-slavery men are leaving in larger numbers, being frightened, as they may have reason to be, thinking a day of retribution is at hand.

But while the pro-slavery men are leaving, their places are being more than supplied by large companies coming in from *Georgia* and *S. Carolina*. A party of Georgians settled last week two miles from this village, about a hundred in number, and more are coming, this being only the advance-guard. They have laid out a town, and intend to build immediately. They can already form a settlement as large as this.

Another company from *S. Carolina* passed through here to-day, and have gone up the *Potawatomie*, a short distance from here. So you see the *Free States* must be *immediately* up and doing, or it will be regretted when too late. Let all who ever intended to come to Kansas come now. It seems to be taken for granted by many at the North and East, that Kansas can never become a *Slave State*. This is the opinion expressed in about all the letters I have seen from Massachusetts; but if those writers could reside a short time in Kansas, they might change their opinion. You will think, perhaps, that I expect this to become a *Slave State*, but this is not so. I think it will not, though my hope is larger than a great many others. If this administration, aided by its *bullets, blackguards, drunkards, assassins and murderers* can reduce it to slavery, it will be done. I do not expect any person will give full credence to the fact when I state it, that these epithets apply to *nearly every* government officer in the territory, and perhaps some of them to every one. To my certain knowledge, the first, second, and third, apply strictly to every one I have come in contact with, and this is quite a number, and it can be fully demonstrated that the fourth and fifth apply to some of them also.

I think no man ever had more to discourage him in going into a new country than I have had—I mean small things in themselves, but all of which make up life; yet I am as yet in good spirits. You would laugh to see me cooking, and might like to get a pattern of my stove and furniture. Well, I will try and describe it. In the first place, then, my cooking stove (for I have to do the cooking, my wife being sick) occupies a building not made with hands, the horizon constituting the walls and the canopy of heaven the roof. Then, the stove is of my own manufacture, consisting of several large stones laid up so as to form three sides of a square, the vacant side, of course, being the front of the stove. Then I have a bake kettle, commonly known as a Dutch Oven, in which I bake my "corn jodgers," or anything else fortune may favor me with, by putting some coals under the kettle, and many more on top. If the wind blows badly, I just put a big rock, as the boys would say, on top, to prevent it running away with kettle dinner and all. I have then a sheet-iron camp kettle, in which I boil water for tea and every other purpose, by driving down a stick each side of the fire place (I mean stove), and running another across to these horizontally, for a crane, on which I hang the kettle. I have a coffee pot, holding near a gallon, in which I make my tea or coffee, by steeping on the coals. Should the wind, as it sometimes does, overturn it with the contents, and blow it over the prairie, and far away, George and I just capture the fugitive and return him to his place and legal master, to serve during his natural life, which I fear will be short, as he already appears to have a broken constitution, the extreme heat of the country not appearing to agree with him. You ask me, perhaps, why not have a civilized stove? Well, in the first place, there are none kept for sale in this place as yet. There was however an opportunity for me to buy one this last week, for \$30, of a man who was leaving for his former home in Illinois. This here is cheap for a good stove, having cost him \$43. I think it is for sale here at present, being left with his brother.—But to be candid, having fingered my purse over

and over again, I cannot seem to find so much as \$30 in it at this time. Now just walk in and see my furniture. Until lately a chest constituted my table, and one or two others the seats; but now I have two black walnut tables of my own construction—a dining and a toilette table. Just think of this—black walnut tables. You poor fellows are compelled to eat from pine all the days of your life. To be sure you get something to eat, but then we have the black walnut tables. I have also made a bedstead, some chairs, a case for my books, tin crockery, &c., all of black walnut, as well as a good part of my fuel of the same material. Think of this, ye who can afford to burn nothing but plebeian pine and oak, that any pauper may use.—Will you come to Kansas now?

Tuesday, July 15. The mail got in last night, and I got a letter from N—, and another from W—; also two numbers of the Weekly Telegraph, which were to me a rare treat, being the first papers I have seen from Boston since leaving, and nearly the first from any quarter. I sat up until past midnight reading them, and little George also, he being about as much interested as myself, compelling me to read aloud to him.

After writing what I did Sunday, I went over into the Georgians' camp, being acquainted with the physician attending them. I went in his company to see for myself how they appeared. I found a large body of men, women and children, the men being all able bodied except such as were taken down with disease since their arrival. I found them also more intelligent than most of those I have seen from the same quarter, being I think the best class of their laboring population; and they are probably at home looked upon as being nearly as good as "niggers." Many of them are sick, and one I saw has since died, and some others cannot survive. While some I talked with were in good spirits, and enthusiastic to build up New Georgia, as they are going to call their town, many were heartily sick of Kansas; said they had been misinformed; that a chap lectured in Georgia and told them that the Abolitionists were all frightened off; that they had nothing to do but to come here, gather up the crops they had planted, and take possession of the houses they had left.—"D—n him," said he, "I want to go back to Georgia, and if I can find him I am going to give him a coat of tar and cotton." Another said he had got only four dollars and a half, but he was going back to Georgia if he had to fight his way back; and that he would not give one half the county he came from for the whole of Kansas.—They have a great deal of sickness among them, and are exposed in tents, with bad water, and scarce at that. Many of them will die, and I think they will be compelled to break up. This is simply my opinion. These men are supported, or have the promise of it, by the slaveholders, for one year after arriving, and they have offered to take in men in this vicinity and give them their support for a year. They avow themselves pro-slavery, and say they intend to make this a slave State. The captain has a slave with him, an old negress; they however profess to be peaceable settlers, and appear to fear the free State people here as much as some of the free State people do them. They have selected two men from Missouri to canvass the State of Georgia for aid for them. Many other parties are coming from the South. So you see the slave States are packing the territory at this time, evidently for an object.

Now this must be immediately checkmated by the free States or when too late it will be regretted. I have just now been reading a paper which I got hold of at the postoffice, called the "*Border Ruffian*," published in Westport, Mo., in which is an editorial article noticing this company of Georgians. It states that a large company from Georgia passed through that place en route for Kansas; that they intended to settle near the abolition town of *Osawatimie*; that other companies were coming; and that soon *Osawatimie* would be surrounded by settlers of this class, and then our situation would be anything but agreeable; a significant hint which I do not feel disposed to doubt, particularly if they are influenced by the incarnate devils from besotted *Westport*. If I could get this paper I would like to send it to Boston. If it was put in the Museum it would well be worth the price of admission to read it alone. Such bold, unblushing ruffianism, openly counseling and threatening murder and assassination no man could credit unless he read it for himself.

Yours &c., G.

Daily Evening Traveller.

BOSTON:
TUESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1856.

THE ATTEMPT TO ENTER KANSAS VIA NEBRASKA.—We make the following extract from a private letter received in this city from one who is connected with the expedition about to attempt to enter Kansas by the way of Nebraska:

CIVIL BEND, IOWA, AUG. 1.
I have time only to report myself as about to start for the Territory to-day, in company with the great Emigrant train, which proposes to force its way into Kansas through Nebraska. It numbers about 500. It will take us ten days to go. I trust it may go in safety;

but it is prepared for any emergency.—It is bound to go in. A messenger was sent some ten or twelve days since to ask of Gen. Smith an escort, but none has arrived, and the messenger is missing. If the Government troops keep out of the way the Missourians can't stop us. I would go in alone, but it is not deemed safe to cross the border unprotected. We shall move on to-day or to-morrow, and with the greatest caution. The camp is now about 20 miles from here, in Nebraska, near the little Nemaha. I am here in Iowa, nearly opposite the mouth of Platte River, or rather 6 miles above Nebraska City, on the Iowa side. Reports reach us that the enemy are collecting along the line to oppose our passage, but they must be smart to do it. It will be the crisis in this great question. If we are beaten back by violence, then look out for commotion. I trust, however, that they will not be so mad as to attempt any such thing.

The Salem Gazette.

TUESDAY MORNING, AUGUST 12, 1856.

"WHY NOT PASS THE SENATE BILL?" is the question sometimes asked by those who attempt to deceive the public into the belief, that the Toombs and Douglas Bill repeals the unconstitutional laws of the sham Kansas Legislature, which deny to Northern men the right of citizenship. This is all a pretext. The bill repeals or rather proposes to suspend, some few of these infamous enactments, but it does that in a very equivocal manner, and, indeed, in substance, only raises a question as to the validity of the acts, and refers that question to the Courts under Lecompte and his associates. The Bill confirms the mass of the edicts designed to ostracize free State immigrants. This is the very worst feature of the measure, and indeed was necessary to the completeness of the plot of which it forms a part—to establish Slavery in the Territory.

The crying grievance from which Kansas demands and implores relief is the invasion of March, 1855, with its consequences. From that moment the inhabitants of Kansas have been a conquered and subjugated people. Rulers, not of their own choice, have been placed over them; a most tyrannical code of laws has been enacted for them; and every functionary, down to a justice of the peace, has been selected from the foreign party by whom they have been overrun. All this tyranny Mr. Toombs' bill leaves in full force. He offers Kansas no relief, or show of relief. He offers nothing but the privilege of a sham contest at the ballot boxes, under circumstances which foreclose the free State party to defeat. Some of the provisions of the bill would not be unfair, though totally opposed to the doctrine of popular sovereignty, if Kansas were a peaceable Territory, if there were no mortal struggle going on there between the North and South for supremacy, and if the present Executive were impartial between the contending parties, but the bill furnishes no guarantee whatever for a fair election. The Free State people have been driven out of the Territory, and the Missouri river has been blockaded and the land route intercepted, to prevent their return. Their leaders, pursued by judicial tyrants and hunted by mobs, are indicted, imprisoned, or exiled. Their presses have been destroyed, and not a single free newspaper, is or can be printed in Kansas. The discussion, in any form, of slavery questions is prohibited under terrible penalties. Nobody, under Mr. Toombs' scheme, is to be allowed the right of suffrage, except those to whom it may be awarded by commissioners to be appointed by the same Franklin Pierce, who has been from the first the soul of the conspiracy against freedom. We know what sort of men he has appointed and retains in office in Kansas. We know what he keeps upon the bench a Judge who

told the Grand Jury, in effect, that it was high treason against the United States to speak or write against the introduction of slavery into Kansas. He has kept in office a Marshal who collected a band of rowdies and ruffians who had no right in the territory at all, and half of them no right to be outside of the penitentiary any where, and calling them a "posse," handed them over to a bogus sheriff for the destruction of a hotel and printing office, on the ground that a grand jury had presented them as nuisances. He has sent orders to enforce laws, which Gen. Cass said, in the Senate, were "disgraceful to the age," and at the same time permitted the most atrocious crimes against property, liberty and life to go unpunished. This is what he has done, and from this may be judged what he would do if the appointment of the Commissioners to superintend the highest concerns of Kansas should be entrusted to him.

The only safety for Kansas is in the total, unqualified, abrogation of all the acts of the mob legislature. If they passed any that were just and appropriate, they can be re-enacted in a body, by Congress, in one hour. The great remedy for Kansas is to crush the authority of that infamous body of men and their abettors.

Portland Advertiser.

Tuesday Morning August 12, 1856.

Southern Clap-Trap.

The humorist who undertook to characterize the natives of the different States, said the regular costume of a Georgia gentleman was a dickey and a pair of spurs. One half was for show, and the other for riding. The Hon. Mr. Cobb, who was here the other day, vindicates his title to the rank of a perfect Georgian by similar characteristics of speech. There is the profuse linen of a showy demagogue, the sharp spurs of a slavery extensionist riding his hobby remorselessly—and nothing useful and respectable between.

We have read his effort through carefully, and so much fustian both of the tricky and impudent patterns, we never saw put together before. There is no honest statement of facts, or fair hand-to-hand reasoning about it. Its assertions are one-sided, its logic the catch-penny smartness of the Southern stump, and its sentiment nothing but clap-trap adapted for this particular attitude. A great assailant of wind-mills is Mr. Cobb, and a mighty victor over his own men of straw! He puts the "black Republicans" (for he is very gentlemanly in style) into any false position he chooses, and then floors them as his favorite Brooks cudgelled down Sumner. Aware that no man will endanger his own life by controverting his views at the South, and shielded by his fearful friends from open discussion here, this Georgia politician seizes the privilege to flaunt his utmost impudence before the people of Maine.

He begins (and continues the spirit all through) with addressing the Republicans as—"you, who regard me as your enemy,—you, who seek to war upon the interests of my State,—you, who are arousing the prejudices of this people against your brethren who live upon the soil that gave me birth." This is the key-note of Mr. Cobb's war-ton misrepresentation. He knows that we no more regard him as our "enemy," than we do Fuller, McDonald, or any other supporter of Buchanan. And he knows that we seek no war upon the interests of Georgia. He cannot, and does not attempt to show that these assumed charges are sustained—but taking them for grant-

ed, drives right on from falsehood to slander, and from slander to sheer nonsense.

He is particularly mighty in one line of argumentation which he considers so valuable that he cannot help giving his audience the following recipe of it, as a sure means of killing off the "black Republicans":

"Now, fellow citizens, do not rely upon the test which I have made here; but when you enter into argument with your neighbors, with your friends, with your acquaintances of the opposite party, just put to them the same questions I have put to this audience, and I will show you just where you will have them. Ask them—would you be in favor of putting into a new Constitution the provision for delivering up fugitive Slaves? If they say "no," then, by their own admission, they are not content with the Constitution of the country. If they say "yes," then charge hypocrisy upon them! (Loud cheers.)"

Let us venture near this double-horned "infernal machine," and see if it is so fatal after all.—Perhaps, though, it would be safer to take our fathers and first see how it will affect them.—Many of the best of them who framed the Constitution, were not "in favor of putting into a new Constitution the provision for delivering up fugitive Slaves." They said "no," but the clause was accepted over them—and they were never afterwards charged with being "not content with the Constitution of the country." Others with similar views yielded to the emergency and said "yes"—but where was the petty demagogue to "charge hypocrisy upon them?" Thus our fathers gloriously survive the test—and when Mr. Cobb is so short-sighted as to inquire: "I ask you to-day, are you willing to stand where your fathers stood!" We answer: 'WE ARE.'

But declaring to our faces that we are a degenerate and treasonable race, Mr. Cobb, of course, has no difficulty in making out our hostility to the Constitution, and even of specifying our particular measures. He says, after attempting the latter:

"Elect Mr. Fremont, give him party power in both branches of Congress, let them carry out the pledges which they have made to the country—what is the result?"

"In one short word, every provision of the Constitution which was placed there by the fathers of the Republic,—your fathers, our fathers,—the men who fought through the bloody days of the Revolution,—the men who under the inspiration of Heaven, gave to their country this Constitution, this bulwark of American and Constitutional freedom,—every guarantee which our fathers placed there for the protection of the rights of the south, will have been removed, abandoned, ignored, repealed, and repudiated. (Cheers)"

This "one short word" opens like a patent umbrella, and seems to have struck the audience very impressively. But we merely hold it up as a finished specimen of Southern clap-trap, and pass on to its object:

"I will not say what the people of the south will or ought to do in such a case; but I put it to the hearts of the freemen of Maine, tell me to-day, if your rights, your influence, your safety, your honor, under this Constitution, was stricken down by a southern majority, what would you do? (That's it! and loud cheers.)"

Here we have a squint towards Fillmore's disunion doctrine, which is based on our assumed disloyalty in certain contingencies. Let's see, what would we do? We have a "right" to go to Kansas, establish a printing press, and work in favor of freedom. We cannot do it, for the right has been denied by force of arms. Thus our constitutional "influence" as citizens of a free State, is cut off. Thus not only our "safety" as individuals is impaired, but the grand pillars of the republic are surely undermined. Thus the "honor" due to a freeman and constitutionally secured to a citizen, is trampled in the dust. In this one way—and a hundred others might be mentioned—our rights, our influence, our safety and our honor, under this Constitution, are stricken down by a Southern majority (or, what is the same thing, a majority wielded, in the passage of the Kansas bill, by the South)—and what do we do? We go to the polls and take our chances! Will

the South do the same in case of Fremont's election? We have no doubt of it. Perhaps the hankies who cheered Mr. Cobb's interrogatory had at bottom the same opinion.

But to proceed: Mr. Cobb, like all the other retailers of Southern clap-trap, is a fierce champion of popular sovereignty. He has the perfect brassiness to ignore the fact that this popular sovereignty has been overslaughed by the Border Ruffians, disowned by the Administration and rejected by the Toombs bill—and yet he goes on to argue its justice, thus:

"Well, who are these people in the territories! Some of them are your neighbors—went from Maine and Massachusetts—went from Georgia and South Carolina. Just as long as they staid here in Maine, the people of Maine said, 'You are capable of self-government; go and vote, and you shall have a voice equal to that of any other man in this land.' Just as long as they staid in Georgia, we said, let them vote; as Georgians, they are capable of deciding this question for themselves. Well, I want to know if they lost their senses between here and Kansas! (Laughter and great cheering.)"

By the side of this brilliant, and brilliantly received, piece of reasoning, we place a simple illustration: Maine might have said to her emigrants, the day before they left, 'you are capable of self-government, go and vote for Governor and State officers, and your voice shall be respected.' Georgia says to her spurred and dicked sons, 'and you, too, vote for Governor.' Well, what we want to know is, if they so lost their senses between here and Kansas that they can't choose their own Governor! But Kansas is a Territory, not a State! Certainly, and if you admit that the self-government of its citizens is abridged in some particulars, it would be well for you to inquire whether it is not in others, instead of making sweeping assertions which are obviously incorrect!

But it is not worth while to follow this slippery Georgian through all his mazes of special pleading and clap-trap. When uttered glibly it seemed to have some force, but no thinking Northern mind, whether favorable or hostile to its objects, can calmly read it without being struck with its silliness and disgusted with its inflated impudence. Howell Cobb has been called a statesman, high-minded and honorable. Let us put him to a good test by seeing how he will speak of an opponent:

"The Republican party presents to us for our support Mr. Fremont. Well, as I have not time now to discuss his biography, I advise you all to buy the picture book that his friends are circulating. It is a most admirable book; it is a great book; it is worthy of the candidate and of the party. (Laughter.) It will give you a truthful account of how Col. Fremont, with the daring and heroism of a true man of valor, marched into the mountains with two hundred mules, and then marched back without them. (Roars of laughter.) It will give you, fellow citizens, a most interesting account of how he had a terrific battle with some grizzly bears, but, according to my recollection, the historian fails to tell us how near he got to them, or how many he killed. (Laughter.) It will tell you how Col. Fremont marched, with the flag of his country in his hand—(the account said it had thirty-one stars, which must be a serious objection to our Republican friends)—marched up to the top of an enormous cliff, where no man ever before had been, where no man ever yet has been, and where no man ever will be. (Great merriment,) and there planted the flag of his country—which never was there. (Renewed laughter.) In addition to that, the historian gives a most interesting account of the father and mother of this distinguished candidate of the Republican party, giving the number of children the old man and the old lady had, together with the number they didn't have. (Laughter and cheers.) At that point of the history, the bell rung, and I had not time to read the rest. I commend it to you all."

Is this the language and tone of a statesman, or of a blackguard? What shall we say of a man that can find no terms but those of scurrility and low abuse to characterize a fellow citizen whose achievements have added renown to our country, and whose purity of life and modesty of demeanor have been worthy of his high exploits? Is it his misfortune or his disgrace that he cannot render—not honor—but decency to another? What-

If he, it is both misfortune and disgrace in the party which employs such a traitor to come before the people of Maine, to dictate their course in the present crisis. But we are a good-natured people, and in the overthrow we shall give them in September we shall simply greet Mr. Cobb's hearers as they greeted him, with "Great merriment" and "Roars of laughter."

Morning Chronicle.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1856.

Correspondence of the Chronicle.

LETTER FROM KANSAS.

LEAVENWORTH CITY, July 29, '56.

Dear Friend:—I am once more in this goodly city. It really seems like home. I came up from St. Louis on the steamer Morning Star, and arrived here last evening. I found a number of friends on the levee, who received me kindly and bid me a hearty welcome to the territory again. Things here are looking better,—business improving, and business men happy.

Leavenworth will become one of the finest places west of St. Louis, within a short time. Affairs here are now quiet, but I regard it only as a prelude to the storm which will rage next November. I think the election here will be a close shave. Parties are nearly equal. The pro-slavery party are confident of success, and calculate on victory. The Free State men do not despair. They rely on settlers from the East, coming to the rescue.

Men are wanted here with their families—men who desire to seek a home among us.—They must have means, for it requires time and considerable outlay, before a profitable venture is realized. Hundreds of persons have been in the territory this season,—mechanics especially, expecting to find work immediately,—and being disappointed, and their limited funds exhausted, have been forced to return home; whereas, had they possessed more means, they would have remained and become of inestimable benefit to the territory. Others have entered Kansas, and keeping along the public roads only, found no unclaimed land to suit them—become discouraged, and turned their faces to the rising sun.

The best land in the territory is yet unsettled. One of the finest portions lies along the Red Vermillion River, and is now "fast settling up." There are, however, plenty of fine timber claims yet to be taken. The bottom lands are the very best I have seen in Kansas—a black rich soil, perfectly level, and entirely free from rocks; while back, as a protection from the cold winds of the prairie, rise the bluffs. The best of building stone also abounds; excellent springs of water are scattered among the bluffs, and the timber is the best in the territory.

About six miles from the head of the river, the new town of Hiawatha is being laid out. A first-rate steam saw mill is being set up there—a shingle mill to be added soon. The site is held by a company of gentlemen, who are all actual residents of the place. They offer liberal inducements for people to settle there. A hotel, school house, store, &c., are to be erected at once. As the proprietors of the mill are interested in the town, they will furnish lumber for building purposes at very reasonable rates. As the place is not intended to enrich speculators, but actual settlers, it will progress rapidly. I locate there, and start for my new home this afternoon, on foot—something of a walk, by the way, seventy miles.

Lawrence is building up again. Phenix-like, the hotel is rising from its ashes. I trust

better days are ahead of us. I am attracted to your country. Col. Lane is in Iowa, rushing emigrants into this territory. Will not the old Granite State do her part? I trust she will. If ever she acts, it is imperative that she acts now—"now or never." We want men, actual settlers, here, at once; for the hour hasteth—it draws nigh.

I have been told that Buford has gone South. I had a long talk with two of his men yesterday, at a wood yard on the Delavan reserve, where the boat wooded. They informed me that they remained with Buford as long as they had money; but that being thus associated, did not pay. They are now cutting wood for the Indians.

Gen. Smith is at the Fort. The weather is very warm. Yours, F. H. B.

PROVIDENCE JOURNAL.

TUESDAY MORNING, AUGUST 12, 1856.

So accustomed have people become to the outrages that have been perpetrated in behalf of slavery in Kansas, that we suppose all this will make little impression. But see what is the effect of it. The people of the free States are positively shut out from Kansas. The Missouri, the natural pathway into the territory, has long since been closed to the free immigration, and now the land side is threatened in the same manner; and the federal troops afford no protection to the peaceful citizens, but, on the contrary, give countenance, if not real aid, to the marauders. And this sort of thing the people of the North are invited to endorse and submit to by the election of James Buchanan and the border ruffian platform that was adopted at Cincinnati.

The Mercury.

NEW BEDFORD.

TUESDAY MORNING, AUGUST 12, 1856.

FREMONT CAMPAIGN SONG.

The following, is the excellent campaign song given at the last great "Fremont Rally" in this city. It is the production of a well known citizen:—

Oh Jemmy Buchanan you're not the man,
Get out of the way as soon as you can;
You're nought but a worn political hack,
The "path finder's" coming, so clear the track.
He's a steed of the prairie, with foot so fleet;
That run as you may, you're sure to be beat;
He stand in your path, and he is our man,
Get out of the way old Jemmy Bucan.

Freemen for "Fremont" and Dayton turn out,
And put these pro-slavery men to the rout.

Let them see that the spirit of seventy-six
Indignantly spurns their political tricks:—
With manly front for the right will contend
To the cause of freedom its energies lend,
The blessings our fathers so bravely won,
Shall be transmitted from sire to son,
The winds that sweep onward o'er hill and plain,
Will bear on their wings the joyous refrain.

Freemen for "Fremont" and Dayton turn out,
And put these pro-slavery men to the rout.

From the heights of Nevada a voice is heard,
The valleys of Kansas re-echo the word,
No further the foot prints of slavery come,
The sons of the pilgrims shall here find a home.
The flag of our country unfurled by his hand,
On the mountains' peak, o'er shadows the land,
And he is our man freedom's standard to bear,
We'll all go for Fremont and Jessie the fair.

Freemen for "Fremont" and Dayton turn out,
And put these pro-slavery men to the rout.

The Semi-Weekly Times.

NEW-YORK, TUESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1856.

Correspondence of the New-York Daily Times.
CHICAGO, Wednesday, Aug. 6, 1856.

EN ROUTE—A LAKE STEAMER.
I am so far on my way to Kansas. Already a change is perceptible in the political atmosphere; being so much the nearer the scenes of border strife, one can but hear the echoes more plainly. I cannot resist a rising feeling of regret, that in seeking my home, I am leaving a land of peace

and law, to encounter again the dissensions and violence of anarchy. What a crown of thorns, indeed, were the fitting emblem of such "squatter sovereignty!"

Thus far I have been fortunate in my route. At Buffalo I left the Railroad, glad to escape for a season from its dust and smoke, to the clean hospitality of a lake steamer. On the *Western World*,—one of the magnificent boats running between Buffalo and Detroit, in the Michigan Central R. R. line,—my hopes for rest were realized.

PRESIDENTIAL VOTING.

On board the *Western World*, as on the train from Detroit, ardent politicians, as usual, amused themselves by electing a President in advance. On the boat, the ballot stood for FREMONT 28, for FILLMORE 12, for BUCHANAN 5. On the train, for FREMONT 49, for BUCHANAN 22, for FILLMORE 13. As the vote was taken by men of different parties acting in concert, it is presumed to be honestly reported. The Buchanan men on the train were (or seemed) much chagrined at the result. But one—captain of a Lake Superior steamer—had been in a worse spot; for he shortly since took a vote himself on his own boat, and out of over ninety votes, there was but one for Buchanan—and that was his own!

A FIGHT IMPENDING IN KANSAS.

I have late and reliable intelligence from Kansas to the effect that RICHARDSON—Major-General of Militia under the bogus Legislature—has gone to the Northern frontier with three or four hundred Missourians and Southerners to prevent the entrance of Free-Soil men. LANE is on the Iowa frontier; his plans not known. Parties have gone from the vicinity of Lawrence and Topeka to watch RICHARDSON and aid LANE in case of conflict. But most of the Free-State men in the Territory are required to stay at home, to guard against the threatened depredations of the guerrilla bands in the southern part.

THE UNITED STATES TROOPS WILL NOT INTERFERE.

It is now currently reported throughout the Territory that Gen. SMITH will not attempt to prevent the entry of LANE; neither will he interfere to prevent a fight with the ruffians. If a conflict ensues, he will proclaim martial law, and allow the parties to fight it out.

EMIGRATION—CAPITAL.

It is not believed that much Southern emigration is taking place. The Free-State men are getting discouraged for want of business. They do not ask to be supported in idleness, but they wish the North to send in capital, to be employed in paying for their labor. *This should be done.* There are modes in which capital may be safely invested in Kansas, *even now*, and yield good profit.

FREMONT.

The people of Kansas are devoutly praying for the election of FREMONT. They see no other hope. You cannot humbug them with the respectability of the old fillibuster, BUCHANAN, or the nationality of the disunionist, FILLMORE. They have seen the elephant, and are satisfied. The troubles in Kansas need strong medicine. Oh! old politicians are well enough in their way, but we don't need courtiers just now. The one thing needful is backbone.

If anybody doubts that the Buchaneers and Fillmourners are equally Pro-Slavery at heart, let them look at the voting in Iowa, where the Fillmore strength went in a lump for the Buchanan candidates, where needed.

They people of Kansas have appealed to the voters of the North. I send a copy. Shall it not be read and heeded? LITERAL.

Appeal of Kansas to the Voters of the Free States.

The following appeal has been issued from the office of the *Kansas Tribune*, for circulation in the Free States:

Believing that there is a continual endeavor on the part of Administration Journals to suppress the facts, and misrepresent the condition of Kansas, and to throw a cruel discredit upon the complaints of an oppressed and outraged people: the following brief summary of the true state of the Kansas question is earnestly commended to candid men of all parties, and we entreat and confidently hope that you will do us justice.

1. The Free State men of Kansas constitute a very large majority of the population; and we are ready and have always been ready to prove this by any test which it is possible to require with any show of fairness.

2. We were not only willing but earnestly desirous to organize a territorial government in accordance with the provisions of the Kansas act, but were forcibly prevented from doing so.

3. Our polls were violently seized by an overwhelming force of armed invaders, residents of an adjoining State, and men offensive to the great majority of the legal voters of Kansas, and hostile to their interests, were chosen to constitute the Kansas Legislature.

4. This pretended legislature, having never been invested with any power by those whom they are constituted to govern, have always been and are still

regarded by the great majority of the people of Kansas as usurpers to whom they owe no obedience.

6. Having been prevented by violence from carrying out the provisions of the organic act, the people of Kansas had then no alternative but to submit to enslavement, and be ruled by their enemies as a conquered people, or to assert their rights and organize a government for themselves.

7. They chose the latter course, following the example of California, State government, and are now asking for admission into the Union.

8. This was not the movement of a mere party. The call was addressed to the actual residents of the Territory, and every legal voter had full opportunity to either concur in the movement or to express his opposition to it.

POSITION OF THE ADMINISTRATION.

1. The organic act contained a distinct guaranty to the people of Kansas that they should decide the question of Slavery for themselves; yet when a body of men who were notoriously usurpers assumed to decide the question for us, the Administration, utterly regardless of this guaranty, has employed all its power, direct and indirect, to compel us to submit to and abide by that decision.

2. To this end the President has upheld the bogus Legislature in their usurpation, he caused the State officers elected by the people to be arrested and imprisoned on a charge of high treason, and has appropriately crowned his tyranny by sending a military force on the fourth of July to disperse the people's representatives, when they had assembled at Topeka according to adjournment.

3. To be compelled to submit to even a just code, dictated by a foreign power and imposed without our consent, is sufficiently degrading—but to have the most odious of institutions and the most barbarous of codes, forced upon us by a mob of our enemies, backed by the very Executive whose sworn duty it is to protect us, is a thing unprecedented in American history, and appears to us intolerable.

4. The code to which the Administration is pledged to compel us to submit establishes Slavery—abolishes Freedom of Speech and Freedom of the Press—affixes the penalty of death to sundry offences against Slavery, and provides against the possibility of repealing any of these enactments, by an act which disfranchises all who will not swear to support the Fugitive Slave Law, and at the same time enables non-residents to vote, on the payment of one dollar.

5. The President has placed over us, and sustains as Governor, a man who has never manifested the slightest sympathy with the People of Kansas, nor cultivated their acquaintance, but when intoxicated is the facile tool of the ruffians of the border, and their cordial accomplice when sober.

6. The much-talked-of enforcement of the laws has not consisted in the imprisonment of murderers, robbers, and ruffians, etc., by whomsoever committed, but solely and exclusively in endeavoring to compel citizens to acknowledge the authority of the bogus officers, and particularly of the Sheriff whom the usurpers have appointed over us. As for administration of justice—there is none here. There is no crime which a Pro-Slavery man may not commit with impunity. Territorial authorities are concerned, and no injury for which a Free State man can obtain any legal redress. Dow was murdered in cold blood, and his murderer is still at large. BARNES was murdered on the highway, more than six months ago. The murderer, as we are credibly informed, was an Indian agent, holding the appointment of the President, yet he is still at large and still in office. The murderers of BROWN, JOHNS, SWARTZ and many others, are still at large and unquestioned. A Grand Jury, packed by a Territorial officer and charged by a Territorial Judge, have indicted hotels and printing presses as nuisances, and recommended their removal, and United States Marshals have accordingly destroyed them without trial, while no notice has been taken of such crimes as murder, robbery, and arson. The President, who largely in the majority, have never tried to interfere with the rights of those of contrary sentiments.

When Major BURROCK and his followers arrived, there was nothing to hinder their settling quietly among us, attending to their own business and enjoying their own opinions. But it was very soon manifest that they were no part of the purpose for which they were brought here. About the middle of May, they, in connection with two or three hundred Missourians, commenced a series of deprecations in this Territory. For weeks we were subjected to a reign of terror. Men were barbarously murdered, as well in cold blood as in the heat of passion. Towns were sacked, houses burned, property stolen or wantonly destroyed, the sanctity of the domestic hearth invaded, and women subjected to fiendish outrage. Our highways have been beset with banditti, at whose caprices our citizens goest peaceably about their business have been arrested and detained, or plundered, abused and insulted. When asked by what authority they did these things, the ruffians were wont to show their revolvers as their sole and sufficient authority. Citizens have been reduced to the humiliation of traveling the highways under protection of a pass from some Border Ruffian magnate. Many of these passes are extant, signed by WILSON.

A few only of the outrages committed can be mentioned here. At Blandon Bridge, four miles from Lawrence, a young man named JONES, a quiet, inoffensive settler, was beset by an armed banditti, who demanded his arms, and, after taking them, deliberately shot him dead. Two days afterward, a young man named STRAWBERRY was murdered in a similar manner, near the same place. A man, named CANTWELL, a Missourian, of Free-State sentiments, residing at Palmyra, was seized a few weeks since, at a short distance from his own house, by a guerrilla party, who took him with them towards Missouri, his family not knowing what had become of him. When they reached Cedar Creek two or three of the party took him into the woods and shot him repeatedly till he was dead. The Suwanee Agent, named GAY, was stopped near Westport, and asked if he was a Free-State man. On his answering that he was, he was shot dead on the spot.

Some desperadoes on the border have been known to boast of murders of which we have no knowledge in any other way. Whether these boasts were mere lies, or whether their victims really lie in some obscure ravine, a prey to wolves and buzzards, can

only be conjectured. The boast is at least illustrative of border morals.

The full details of all these outrages would fill volumes, and a large portion of them have been already published in the Northern and Eastern journals. These papers are extensively read here, and it is a matter of common remark, that the reports of occurrences in this Territory—though sometimes inaccurate—are seldom exaggerated. The reports which we have of the more important events, as the sacking of Lawrence, &c., have been neither inaccurate nor exaggerated.

The conflict here is not between adverse parties within the Territory, for the Pro-Slavery residents are too few to engage in such a conflict, and many of them are peaceable men, willing to abide the decision of the majority. Our enemies are without. Their attacks upon us have been undistinguished invasions. The piracies lately committed at Lexington and other Missouri towns show with sufficient clearness where our enemies are. They also show what they intend—which indeed they openly avow—viz.: to forcibly prevent any more Free-State emigrants from entering the Territory, and to drive out or exterminate those who are here.

What shall be the end of these things? It seems to us not very difficult to predict. If another Pro-Slavery President be elected, our enemies will either accomplish their purpose of expelling or exterminating us, or convulse the nation with Civil War in the attempt to do it. If the North does her duty Kansas will be saved, and the Nation saved with her.

We shall read our doom or deliverance in the result of the Presidential election. PIERCE had no personal reason for opposing us. He has only served the power which gave him his seat, and BUCHANAN, if elected, will do the same—with more decency, and fewer blunders, but not less effectually. If we had no other criterion, the knowledge that our enemies trust him, would be sufficient. The hope of Kansas lies in the success of FREEMONT and the Republicans. We appeal to the voters of the Free-States to forget party attachments and animosities for the time, and unite as one man, for the defence of our rights and their own. If but one or two large Northern States vote with the South for BUCHANAN, Kansas is lost.

We appeal to the tens of thousands of candid men who acquiesced in the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, believing that the Administration and the South were sincere in proposing to leave the Slavery question to the free action of the people of the Territory. You can not doubt that you have been betrayed. We appeal to you as you love fair play and detest oppression, to unite in the one course which can save us from ruin and the nation from disaster and disgrace.

We cannot close without referring to an inquiry which for months past, has recurred continually to every thinking mind. That inquiry is, "What can the Slave Power mean?" We are amazed and confounded by its audacity. We have said of this and of that step—"They will not dare to do it"—yet they have done those very things, one after another, until the inquiry has become—"What will they not dare to do?" Their audacity utter rocks, and the mass of the effect which their doings must have on our minds the suspicion of some deep-laid treason by which they mean to hold on to power, even though the election should go against them. This apprehension may be unfounded, but we have well learned this truth, that the SLAVE POWER SOLICITS ALL MEN.

TOPEKA, July 4, 1856.

Army Appropriations—Speeches in the House.

Special Correspondence of the N. Y. Daily Times.

WASHINGTON, Thursday, Aug. 7, 1856.

The day has been a highly interesting one in the Senate. The subject was the Army Appropriation bill, and the recommendation, by the Committee on Finance, to strike out the Sherman Provision, forbidding the use of the army in compelling the execution of the bogus laws of Kansas. Mr. HUNTER, in opening the discussion, assumed that the adoption of this amendment by the House, was an attempt to coerce the Senate into concurrence upon the penalty of stopping supplies to carry on the Government. This was a very important proposition in Mr. HUNTER'S estimation, involving a question of revolution; and, therefore, the Committee had concluded to make a clear issue and present no other amendment.

The answer to all this is very simple, and was presented in such variety of form and argument by Senators SEWARD, FESSENDEN, WALK, TRUMBULL, WILSON and others, that no effort of sophistry can escape it. It is simply this: The House is the popular branch of Congress. It is called upon to vote appropriations for the support of the army, and it does so. It does not refuse to vote the needed supplies, but it has the right and the duty to impose conditions upon these appropriations, and it does impose such conditions on every appropriation bill which is ever passed. It is admitted by every honest man, of all parties, that many by the laws of Kansas are infamous. Still others, not of the Republican Party too, confess in view of the overwhelming statement of facts contained in the Kansas Investigation Committee's Report, that the late Legislative Assembly of Kansas was a fraud, and, therefore, that all its legislation is void. But there is reason to believe that the President will insist upon the execution of these laws, wicked and oppressive as they are. He has already used the Army of the United States for that purpose; and now, in voting further appropriations for that Army, the House deems it proper to make the condition that the money shall not be used for this unjust purpose. There is here no refusal to vote supplies, but merely a prohibition of their use for a specific purpose. Even if this prohibition should result in the defeat of the bill, that would not stop the wheels of the Government, un-

less it be conceded that this Republic cannot live four months without a promptly paid army. But the House having passed its Appropriation bill with this proviso, which it clearly has the constitutional right to make, the bill is sent to the Senate. The latter body rejects the amendment, and the bill fails. I submit that it is the Senate which "stops the wheels of Government," when it fails to "coerce" the other branch of Congress into its view of the propriety of the amendment under discussion. By what possible process of reason can the Senate hope to shift that responsibility upon the popular branch of Congress?

New-York Daily Tribune

TUESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1856.

HELP FOR FREE KANSAS.

Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune.

CHICAGO, Friday, Aug. 8, 1856.

Since the adjournment of the Buffalo Convention, the National Committee there appointed has completed its organization and commenced its work, but in so unostentatious a manner that the friends of Kansas have sometimes feared it was doing little or nothing. Such, however, is far from being the case. They have not judged best to work with so much parade and publicity as has attended the operations of many Kansas Committees and Conventions; but, for this very reason, what they have done is all the more to the purpose.

Some changes have been made in the Committee since their names were published in THE TRIBUNE. Dr. S. G. Howe of Boston has been put on in place of Mr. Arnold of Chicago; Dr. Samuel Cabot, jr., instead of G. R. Russell of Mass.; Alexander Gordon instead of Mr. Craig of Pennsylvania; S. S. Barnard instead of E. B. Ward of Michigan, and W. F. M. Army of Bloomington, Ill., in place of the Illinois member. Four of the Committee are residents of Chicago—Messrs. Dole, Hurd, Scammon and Webster; and three others—Messrs. Howe, Hyatt and Army—will temporarily reside here, as this is judged to be the best place for action.

Capt. J. D. Webster, formerly of the United States Topographical Engineers, is Chairman, and H. B. Hurd, esq., Secretary, and Geo. W. Dole, esq., Treasurer. All these gentlemen are well qualified for their important position by their business capacity, their strict integrity, and their devotion to the cause of Kansas. Perhaps no man in all the West could give such weight to the Committee by consenting to work on it, as Mr. Dole. Widely known as a merchant, he is quite as well known for his entire honor and uprightness, and so much do his fellow-citizens respect him, that although he is a Republican, they chose him at their late election to the responsible office of Water Commissioner by a great majority, while the Administration men carried the other offices. Capt. Webster also holds an office of trust in the City Government, and has had fifteen years' service in the army. Mr. Hurd is a prominent lawyer; Mr. Scammon a Bank President, and man of great wealth. Mr. Army is favorably known all through Illinois, especially in the southern part, where he lives. Dr. Howe of Boston, and Mr. Hyatt of New-York, are also well known to the public.

This Committee has already begun and is carrying out, as fast as the money sent in will permit, its two great purposes of supporting the Free-State men now in Kansas, and of sending in new settlers. It has appointed agents in Kansas and at different points in Iowa to aid on emigration and the relief of sufferers. Its means of communication with Kansas and its information from there are more perfect and reliable than those of any other body of men. Its measures are wisely planned and secretly executed, and will tell with force on the future of Kansas. All that it needs for the perfect accomplishment of its purposes is that the State and County Committees should furnish it with means. If there were as efficient a Committee as that at Chicago in every State and County, or even in half of them, Kansas would of necessity become free.

By, then, will not these local Committees cooperate zealously with the central one at Chicago, which has shown so much wisdom and energy? They certainly have the best position, facilities and temper for their work. Let them have means in abundance!

Total amount appropriated by bills that have passed the Senate, \$93,866,333

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, was the Rev. Thomas Johnson, who was 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 33d 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 re-election. 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 aided, 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 bring them under the white man's law." But a majority of actual citizens voted for me, yet 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 inoperative 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 at all; and for that reason it was set apart for Indian colonization, and its settlement by white men was forbidden by law under heavy penalties. The few whites there were there by sufficiency 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 GUHME,
Washington, D. C., Aug. 6, 1856.

FROM WASHINGTON.

From Our Own Correspondent.

WASHINGTON, Monday, Aug. 11, 1856.

Douglas reported voluminously against Mr. Dunn's bill this morning, endeavoring to depreciate it by charges of incongruity and other objections.

Mr. Collamer's minority report was a most conclusive answer on every point, exposing the sophistry on the other side throughout, and reducing difference of opinion to a plain issue between the extension of Freedom or Slavery.

Mr. Foot of Vermont closed the debate after 6 o'clock in one of the most effective, thrilling, and conclusive speeches of the Session, by the admission of all parties in the Senate. His review of the outrages perpetrated in Kansas, of the exact position occupied by the people of the Free States, and his exposition of the whole course of Southern policy, made an extraordinary impression. While his language was free from all denunciation, and marked by discriminating propriety, it was none the less fearful in execution. A Southern Senator of eminence told me to-day he had heard no effort during the whole Session which so much commanded his admiration and respect. The imposing manner and utterance of Mr. Foot contributed to its immediate effect, but the thoughts and their expression can hardly fail to excite equal appreciation wherever they may go. If he had done nothing else to establish his reputation, the service

which he rendered yesterday is fame enough to rest upon him.

Mr. DOUGLAS, from the Committee on Territories, reported back the House bill to reorganize the Territory of Kansas, with a written report, which takes the ground that the Senate bill now before the House is the best plan for the pacification of Kansas that the Senate can devise. It then recommends that the House bill be laid on the table as a test vote on its rejection.

Mr. COLLAMER, from the Committee on Territories, to whom was referred a bill from the House of Representatives entitled "An Act to Reorganize the Territory of Kansas, and for other purposes," submits the following Minority Report:

In all legislation, the true actual condition of the country to which it is to apply should be and must be regarded, in order to ascertain what will be the probable effect of such legislation. What is the present condition of Kansas for which legislation is now proposed? and what is the legislation adapted to that condition? If its condition is peaceful and prosperous, let it proceed under the law which has produced and is advancing such prosperity. If, on the other hand, it is convulsed with violence, confusion and blood, then it must be equally clear that legislation should change and correct the measures and causes which have produced this condition.

A brief and summary statement of affairs will be amply sufficient for the present purpose. The Territory on the 30th March, 1855, the day for the election of the Territorial Legislature, was invaded by armed bands of men from Missouri, who dispersed themselves into the different election districts, and by violence and intimidation drove the inhabitants from the polls, and by their own votes elected members of the Legislature in all the election districts but one. This Legislature, so elected, by force and fraud, by the people of Missouri, convened and presumed to legislate for the Territory of Kansas, and to appoint officers to execute their laws. The object of this atrocious invasion and assumption was open, avowed, and well known to all—that is, to establish and sustain the institution of Domestic Slavery in that Territory, thus acknowledging that, if left to themselves, the inhabitants would not receive and promote it. The laws adopted by this usurping Legislature were framed in all their aspects to secure the same purpose for what it had been intended—to oppress, harass and exclude all those opposed to Slavery then in said Territory, to procure their departure, and to deter all others, entertaining such views, from entering the Territory for settlement. Under the color of the laws thus made, off the affairs of the Territory and people under their countenance and direction, have performed acts of violence and atrocity shocking to every sentiment of justice and purity. The Executive of the nation declares that those laws shall be enforced with the whole power of the Government, and the people are informed by the commander of the army there, that he cannot protect them, even from the lawless acts of the Territorial militia and the Marshal's and Sheriff's posse, because they act under the color of law. At the same time it is insisted that if they attempt to protect themselves, it must be treated as a resistance to lawful authority. A large part of the people there justly regard the acts of that usurping Legislature as utterly void, and they framed a State Constitution to present to Congress for admission as a State, which was adopted by votes of a large majority of the inhabitants of said Territory, and measures were taken to organize a Provisional Government under the same, subject to the action of Congress thereon. Congress having yet taken no definite action, when the people again attempted to hold a meeting, peacefully and unarmed, further to forward that object, they were forcibly dispersed by the United States Dragoons. The men who were most active in this matter of a State Constitution have been arrested and indicted, and are now held in durance as guilty of treason, or constructive treason, and guarded by United States soldiers, under the command of the

President of the Kansas State. These proceedings have naturally led to some violent acts of resistance and retaliation, and bad men from a distance have gathered there to take advantage of these scenes of violence, to gratify their lawlessness and cupidity; those laws, and the acts done under color of them, have in a great measure had their desired effect, and driven large numbers of the Free-State and other peaceable people from the Territory. The people of Missouri, and others uniting in their purposes, have forcibly turned back large parties of emigrants from the Free States attempting to enter into the Territory by the national highway, the Missouri River; and large numbers in armed bodies are now gathered along the borders of the Territory to guard it against the access of said emigrants by land. This condition of that country, so anomalous and unprecedented, so inconsistent with this enlightened age, so injurious to the character of the Government of this country under whose jurisdiction it exists, and so dangerous in its continuance and tendencies, lead us to inquire what cause has produced it. Nothing of this kind has ever before existed in relation to any one of our Territories. The cause is perfectly obvious to every man in our country. It is the novel attempt and experiment to invite people to settle that country under a proclamation to them, that they should have it for Free or for Slave labor, as they should themselves determine. In order to enter upon the experiment, Congress, in 1854, vacated the Missouri Compromise, which sequestered all the country north of 36 deg. 30 min. to be free from Slavery forever. They destroyed that statute of compromise and repose, which was the bond of peace for more than one-third of a century. They broke up that condition of quietness on the subject of Slavery in the Territories. Congress in the Nebraska-Kansas bill not only provided that when admitted as States, they should be admitted as Free or Slave States, as they should desire, as had been done in New-Mexico; but they proceeded to repeal the Missouri Compromise, a compromise line that prohibited Slavery and declared that the people should be perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way. This was the cause of all the trouble which has transpired there. The invasion from Missouri, and all the violence and outrage done under color of the laws, so produced as before stated, are but efforts to establish Slavery as a domestic institution, perfectly free and in their own way. Palliation or excuse for this violence and lawlessness is much urged by the President, and in the South, by helping unfounded execrations on the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Society; but Southern emigrants, actually hired by slaveholding associations, find no difficulty in entering the Territory, and are employed as Marshal's posse, under pay. How little ground existed for the excuses of Missouri violence in the efforts of the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Society now most fully appears, when it has been shown by the official census of the Territory, taken the month before the invasion, that of all the adult free men in the Territory, amounting to near 3,000, only 150 were from the New-England States. The condition of the Territory is well calculated to convince every impartial and candid man that it is entirely preposterous to submit any matter affecting the subject of Slavery to any vote to be taken by the people now in the Territory. The Free-State people have, to a large extent, been driven off. They for some months have been, and they now are, prevented from entering or returning. Those now there may be, and probably will be run out, wherever it is ascertained that such is necessary to determine an election for Slavery. Anything like a discussion of that subject is entirely impracticable there, with personal safety. Freedom of the press is prohibited, and the Free State presses are, under color of law, declared nuisances and destroyed by the marshal and his posse. The next inquiry is, what is the mode of redress? The President insists that he has no power to inquire into the origin of the Kansas laws, but will do his duty in executing them. He, however, in his Message of the 24th of June last, on this subject, represents that matter as proper to be inquired into and considered by the House of Representatives when deciding on the validity of the election of a Delegate chosen under such laws. The House of Representatives have accordingly inquired into the matter with great care, and having found the Legislature was elected by a military invasion and fraud have declared their acts void, and the Delegate chosen in virtue thereof has been refused a seat. Still the President does not submit to the decision, nor does he recommend to Congress to make further inquiry. In the Senate it is insisted that those laws are prima facie good, and absolutely binding on the Executive and the Courts, until suspended or repealed by the Territorial Legislature or by Congress. And yet the Senate entirely decline or neglect to take any measures to inquire as to the truth that they may afford relief. The usurpers,

therefore, continue in possession of Kansas, sustained by the President. And again it is inquired what is the redress. The Senate has passed a bill for pacification. Its essential features are that certain of the most obnoxious laws of Kansas shall cease, but those in power there shall remain, and the people now there, in the condition now existing, and after all the preparations before described, shall, by vote, forever, decide the condition of the Territory as to Slavery by now making a State Constitution. It must be obvious that this is but to give to violence, outrage and atrocity the reward of all its effort, by the consummation of its wishes—Domestic Slavery forever. The House of Representatives has passed a bill to admit Kansas under the State Constitution adopted by a large majority of its people. This the Senate rejected, again insisting on submitting the matter to the people now there, to act on a Constitution in the present condition of the Territory by those they may permit to remain until next November. The House has now passed a bill, the leading and essential

provisions or which are, that the Missouri Compromise line shall be restored, and the actual inhabitants in the Territory shall proceed to elect a Legislature for the Territory. These are its leading provisions, and all the other details and particulars, which it includes, are but collateral, and if they are unsatisfactory they are only proper matter of amendment, but constitute no ground for rejecting the bill. This applies to a large part of the Committee's report; it finds fault with provisions which are merely collateral details, and yet no amendment is proposed. If the now proposed boundaries include any part of the Cherokee lands or of New-Mexico, which ought not to be included, let it be amended. If the criminal laws of Kansas, which really never have been used but to promote the cause of Slavery and persecute pretended political offenders, should not all be declared inoperative, then adopt the proper amendments. If apparent inconsistencies or incongruities are found in the bill, it should be amended, not rejected on that account. If the bill contains no sufficient security against illegal voting, let it be inserted. If there be serious objections to the provisions in the bill in relation to permitting the slaves now in the Territory and their children to be held there or removed until January, 1853, let the same be stricken out or amended. It is no reasonable objection, to restoring the Missouri Compromise, which was agreed to, because it was not and is not extended to the Pacific, which never was agreed to. The essential principle of this bill is the restoration of the Missouri Compromise line; deprived of this it loses all vitality, it is evicted and becomes utterly valueless and detrimental. It proposes that the people now there shall proceed to the election of a Legislature. This would appear to regard them as suitable to be intrusted with the power of election, and if so, why not permit them to form a State Constitution? The people there may safely be left to the election of a Territorial Legislature when Congress shall have established the law forever forbidding Slavery in the Territory, but at the same time they are so conditional as to be entirely unfitted to the fair and impartial decision of the question of Slavery at this time. The plausible experiment of settling the subject of Slavery in a Territory by submitting it to the people who shall hereafter go in to settle there, is incapable of a peaceful or satisfactory result, however it might be as one already settled. The settlement under such a proposition will be made with a view to this object, especially as political importance depends on it; these settlements will be advanced by extreme means, and collisions will ensue. The agitation on this subject on the plains and prairies beyond the Mississippi, on the borders of civilized life, will be no more peaceful or conciliatory than in the rest of the country or in the halls of Congress. The application of the popular sovereignty to this subject, to be exercised by the people, in a Territory, while it is settling, and while a Territory, is a delusion. This is what the Missouri Compromise line was professedly repealed to try, and the experiment is either an intended duplicity, or is a failure, and should be frankly and magnanimously abandoned, notwithstanding a National Political Convention may have indorsed it. It is, however, highly probable that the representatives of the Slaveholding States, constituting a majority of the party in power, considering their people regard themselves as having secured an advantage in the Kansas bill, will not abandon the experiment, especially as the slaveholding power has already possession in Kansas, with a President to sustain it. It is true that power may, for a time, prevail; the experiment may proceed; the people of Kansas may be dragged into submission, and power may, for a time, continue that vassalage which usurpation produced, but the end is not yet. Can it be expected that a slaveholding State, made such by such atrocities, can ever be admitted into this Union by any votes given by the representatives of a free people? From the manifestations thus far presented by this experiment, we have full reason to expect that violence will continue so long as this apple of discord is continued in Kansas, and that any question involving it subjected to their solution will suffer violence, and the violent will take it by force. If this matter is not settled by Congress by the admission of Kansas as a Free State, or the restoration of the Missouri Compromise line, or some equivalent provision, then this experiment must proceed until the people will elect a President who will stop the execution of laws which usurpation has produced, and which the House of Representatives, in the exercise of a legitimate power and duty, have found to be void—even although in such usurpation the Senate decline to believe and refuse or neglect to inquire. J. COLLAMER.

It was tabled by 35 against 12, as follows:
 YEAS—Messrs. Adams, Allen, Bell of Tenn., Benjamin, Briggs, Bigler, Bright, Brodhead, Brown, Butler, Cass, Clay, Douglas, Evans, Fitzpatrick, Geyer, Houston, Hunter, Iveson, Jones of Tenn., May, Mason, Prentiss, Fugh, Reid, Sebastian, Sheld, Stuart, Thompson of Ky., Thompson of N. J., Toombs, Toucy, Weller, Wright, Yulee.
 NAYS—Messrs. Bel of N. H., Collamer, Fessenden, Fish, Foot, Foster, Hale, Harlan, Seward, Trumbull, Wade, Wilson.

New-York Daily Times.

NEW-YORK, TUESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1856.

Disturbed Condition of the Territory—Attempt to Levy Territorial Taxes—More Outrages—Movements of the South.

Correspondence of the New-York Daily Times.

LAWRENCE, Kansas, Friday, Aug. 1, 1856.
 The Pro-Slavery men down south, as we say, or about Ossawatimie, are becoming more troublesome. Rev. J. E. STEWART, of this place, was forcibly taken to a camp last week by one of their

squads, but after suffering all the abuse they were capable of inflicting for several hours, they released him, and have since taken several others. Last Saturday two young men named KLINE and RASKIN, recently from Wisconsin, were taken by a mob numbering about forty armed men, on a charge of horse-stealing. They were from Milwaukee County, and were acting somewhat as agents for a larger party, and this, of course, made them obnoxious. It is said, also, that these two gentlemen were attacked some weeks since by four ruffian robbers, who went through the ordinary rigmarole of commands, but that the two killed the four on the spot, and this made them further obnoxious. They both have claims on Sugar Creek, and two horses were found ten miles west of them last week, which somebody pretends Messrs. KLINE and RASKIN had stolen, to obtain their arrest. They were accordingly arrested—insulted by a mock trial, in which they were not allowed to produce a particle of testimony, even when both of them could have abundantly proved an alibi; and the only testimony against them was that they were found within ten miles of them. Still they are held in confinement; and carried out of Kansas, and are now in jail in Harrisonville, Missouri. Think of that, freemen!

Mr. CHAPMAN of this place has been again admitted to bail—for murder, remember—and is held recognizant in the sum of \$3,000. Mr. DAY, who has now been confined at Leecompton nearly two weeks, has not yet been allowed a trial,—neither will he be allowed to give bail. His bonds were first fixed at \$1,300. His father at once appeared for him as bail, but they would not receive him. Four others were afterwards obtained who offered to become recognizant in a sum as high as \$2,000, but they still refused. To-day Mr. TASON has been up and offered to go still higher bail, but their reply now is, that he has been turned over to the prosecuting attorney, Judge G. WOOD, one of the murderers of BARKER, and the man who has said within three days that "the Lawrence Hotel shall never be rebuilt while he was prosecuting attorney in Kansas Territory, by God." So DAY is passed from the hands of a Justice to a new jurisdiction, and still without a trial. Who would not be a lawyer in Kansas?

Marshal FAIN was in town to-day, for the purpose of assessing taxes, but we were prepared for him—had a Committee all arranged to visit him, who told him he would be welcome to our town at all times as a citizen, but we should give him no protection, if he persisted; that we should pay no taxes until compelled to do so. He received it all like a gentleman, and left without making any effort to assess, but said some other man from Leecompton would be appointed, who would see the laws enforced. So there may be worse times ahead for us.

A man was robbed yesterday, near Westport, of his team and all its contents, by Southern pirates. PERKINS is recovering. Have had a few heavy showers, and Nature smiles again. RANDOLPH.

LAWRENCE, Sunday, July 29, 1856.

In passing through Leavenworth on my return, I learned that Col. SEMSER left for the East last Tuesday, on furlough for six months, and that Capt. Wood, a Southerner by birth and education, with strong prejudices against the North, is in command at that post, as Gen. SMITH is commander of the entire Western Division; consequently his removal to Leavenworth does not particularly interfere with the command of that post. The world knows how much favor we have had heretofore from Col. SEMSER, with all his Free State proclivities, and can well conceive how much we can now expect from Capt. Wood. I also learned there that large numbers of horses are being gathered in there from Missouri—that ammunition and provisions are being stored in large quantities, for some purpose, and that men are steadily moving in from the South, but in small parties. The morning of the 18th the Leavenworth Herald contained the following:

WHAT THE SOUTH IS DOING WITH REGARD TO KANSAS.

CATHERINE, Mo., Sunday, June 16, 1856.
 DEAR COLONEL: In recognition of our promise, we have started on our tour to address our people on the great question which carried us to Kansas. We have an additional and able ally in HENRY D. CLAYTON, Esq., a lawyer and gentleman of good estate and high prospects in our country. We will, I think, get \$1,000 more. The men are plenty if we had the money—I can hear of them everywhere. Do write to me at once and tell me all the news as it resulted. I am sorry we left so soon, but perhaps it was all for the best, and we will be back again I think by the 15th of August. We will bring some of the wealthiest men in our country besides the emigrants. Dissat to Eatula, Barbour County, Ala. Col. E. S. OFF, on Saturday, at a meeting, pledged himself to be one of ten to raise \$5,000 by subscribing \$500 each. This

is worthy of a border ruffian.
 Your friend &c.,
 ALPHEUS BAKER.

CATHERINE, Randolph Co., Ga., June 16, 1856.
 COLONEL O. ANDERSON: My dear Sir: We have just had a splendid meeting at this place. We found everything cold and indifferent—all is in a fever now. Hon. DAVID KIDDO, Judge of the Circuit Court was Chairman of the meeting. After the speech, a Committee of five men were appointed, to take subscriptions and enroll men. \$300 were subscribed immediately, and they say there is no doubt of the amount being raised to \$1,000 or \$2,000. We went to a Justice Court Saturday, in Barbour County, Ala., and all hands spoke. One man subscribed \$500, and others various amounts. I have a letter from Palaski County, in this State, informing me that they are at work in earnest, and will soon send on a company of the right sort of men. BAKER and JOHNSTON are redeeming their promise made to you. I suppose you have received a list of their appointments for several meetings in this State, and near thirty in Alabama.

A Committee of three were appointed here to-day, to enlist a company of men to be prepared for and act in any emergency our interests in Kansas may demand. We receive the telegraphic dispatches from KANSAS with much impatience. Whilst reason convinces BAKER and JOHNSTON that they are doing more good here, they are exceedingly anxious to return to Kansas.
 Truly, &c.,
 H. D. CLAYTON.

HAWKENSVILLE, Pulaski Co., Geo., June 21, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR: I have only time now to say I have just addressed a glorious Kansas meeting at this place, and inform you of the result. A subscription of \$700 was taken up and twenty-three names enrolled as emigrants—they will both be increased.

At a meeting of the emigrants in the evening, my uncle, Mr. JOHN CATHERINES, was elected Captain, and Mr. JOHN BEANTRY, Treasurer and Secretary. Supposing you have received Mr. BAKER's letter introducing myself to you, I take the liberty of recommending to you and our friends in Kansas and Missouri, these gentlemen, CATHERINES and BEANTRY, and their company.

I shall join our friends BAKER and JOHNSTON again in a few days, and when we have finished our Georgia appointments, will give you a full report.
 Truly, &c.,
 H. D. CLAYTON.

Col. O. ANDERSON, Lexington, Missouri.

This Col. ANDERSON, to whom these letters are addressed, is a young, sprightly border ruffian, who resides in Lexington, and was by his constituents at home elected to the Kansas bogus Legislature in '55, and took an active part in the enactment of the bogus laws, and his bowels have yearned ever since for their execution, and he has rode a fast mule every time Lawrence has been invaded, keeping with the Buford party of late as his near-

est bosom friends, and still has no other residence than in Lexington, Mo. He came on board our boat at Lexington as I was coming up the Missouri River last week, and continued with us as far as Kansas City, when he left for Westport, riding that same fast mule, probably to join the Buford party in some ruffian stampede. He took especial pains in coming up the river to inform all on board of my presence as "a specimen of a Lawrence Abolitionist."

A meeting was recently held in Platte County, Mo., (a report of which I regret I am unable to send you,) at which STURGEWELL was chief speaker, and the ground he took was, that the "boys" must go over to Kansas at once and pretend to take claims—then they might go back about their business awhile, and when the October election comes off they could go over again, and they would be allowed to vote and be as good residents as anybody.

I have already alluded to a memorial to the citizens of the South, recently sent from Missouri, not Kansas, but I am still unable to furnish you a copy of it. The pith of the whole matter is this: The memorial represents that Kansas is in danger of being secured to Freedom, and urges upon the South the necessity of rallying at once to save the institution—money and men are loudly called for, &c., and then comes the climax. The memorialists are the celebrated ATCHISON, of Platte City; RUSSELL of Lexington; STRINGFELLOW, of Weston; BOONE, of Westport; ANDERSON, of Lexington; and BUFORD, of —, all but the last of Missouri. Comment would seem to indicate that their guilt was debatable.

[This memorial has already been published in the TIMES.]

On my return to Lawrence I found that petty skirmishes are still reported. — Southern parties are collecting in the various by-towns all over the country. Several of our men have been chased and disarmed by a party of about thirty, on the upper Wakarusa, and our forbearance will not be

guaranty for their security much longer. At Franklin, the Free-State men now have a majority, and for a week or more past, the mob have been gathering there as on former occasions, but the Free-State men have declared they should not rendezvous among them in future, so this afternoon a country fist fight came off between some twenty upon each side, in which our men were the acknowledged victors; but more serious troubles are anticipated there immediately. RANDOLPH.

State of Affairs at Lawrence—Movements Toward the Assessment of Taxes.

LAWRENCE, KANSAS, Monday, July 28, 1856.

THE WEATHER.

To-day we are blessed with a cool and invigorating breeze which, sweeping over the prairie moistened by the bountiful showers of last night, seems to bear to us the glad thanksgivings of the farmer, who but yesterday mourned over crops begging for rain, and over vast fields of verdure grown so dry and crispy that the prairie-fire in its wild and fearful march could have found hardly a damp green spot to oppose its progress.

The soaking rain has so revived the corn and the grass that the farmer feels confident of an abundance. The settlers will now have enough of corn and the cattle of provender.

CONCILIATORY PROPOSALS.

The citizens of Leecompton have held a public meeting and declared that the citizens of that town have never driven any person from it on account of his political opinions, and they earnestly invite all persons having business, or wishing to locate there, to come. It is said that they have also made overtures to leading Free-State men favorable to the organization of a Vigilance Committee on the California plan, in order to put a stop to the depredations being committed throughout the Territory—and have signified a willingness to return the howitzer taken at the "sack of Lawrence" as soon as General POMEROY shall give up the receipt given him by JONES for it.

We regret to inform the citizens of Leecompton that we are under the necessity of denying their declaration. We say and we know that no active and sincere Free-State man can reside at Leecompton or near it without hazarding his life and property.

Marshal DONALDSON and his Deputies, Sheriff JONES and his associates, WILSON SHANNON, Col. WOODSON, and JOHN P. WOOD, all reside at Leecompton; and Major CLARK, the murderer of BARBER, uses it for his loafing place. The citizens there presume largely upon the credulity of the people when they endeavor to make them believe that a Free-State man, either in person or in property, can be safe where such men give the tone and direction to public opinion. As well might a man consider his wallet safe when surrounded by pickpockets! We beg of the editor of the Leecompton *Union* to publish again his account of the "sack of Lawrence," that it may be generally distributed, and then people can judge how safe they can be at Leecompton.

We do not blame the citizens of Leecompton in their wish to form a Vigilance Committee. Prior to the 21st of May the U. S. Marshal and his posse stole all the horses. Since then others have proved themselves equally expert in selecting, catching and keeping good nags. It was all well enough for the Marshal to press Free-State horses, but it "hurts" when Free-State men press Pro-Slavery horses. We dislike such actions and hate to apologize for them; but we must say that it requires all the vigilance we possess to watch the people of Leecompton, alienated as they are from us, without increasing our chances for loss by closer communion.

As to the howitzer, it is shrewdness on their part to give it up. We know the anxiety it has given them. We have heard of the midnight alarms—their unceasing watchfulness—the long, long hours of guard duty, the restlessness and fear of their citizens when rumor whispered to them—"The Abolitionists are coming."

We cannot quite understand their generous advances, however. Perhaps DOUGLAS can tell. Will you, Mr. Editor, ask him if he has not advised his associate ruffians here to "make love" with the Free-State men, and by cordial caresses melt away their opposition to the Toombs bill? We are not prepared for such a millennium. The freedom-loving settlers of Kansas prize their cause too highly to barter it away for the smiles and favor of their tyrants.

TAX-GATHERING.

While at Leecompton all seems sunshine, other parts of the Territory give indications of a rising storm. The assessor has been at Council City and at Prairie City. He said he was a member of BURD'S party, and accepted the position because

the County Commissioners could get no other person to do so. He was armed with four revolvers and a bowie knife. No Free-State man gave him a list of his property subject to taxation. At Prairie City, an old gray-headed pioneer told the assessor "that persons from the South and the North were welcome to enjoy his hospitality—but not one cent would he ever pay to the support of the Territorial Government." The statutes of Kansas provide for the assessment of a Poll Tax—a tax on lands and town lots, and all other property, real or personal. They also provide for the election of a County Assessor by the tribunal transacting county business. It is made the duty of all persons liable to tax to attend the place designated by the assessor, and deliver to him a list of all property taxable by law, except merchandise, and to attach to said list a fair cash value, on oath or affirmation. If a person fails to do this, it is the duty of the assessor to do it, and make any examination and search necessary for that purpose. The tax lists are then to be given to the Sheriff for collection.

If the Territorial officers undertake to enforce this, bloodshed must ensue. If Gov. SHANNON orders the United States troops to assist the assessor, as he has the power to do, in many instances we fear the assessor will succeed. Our people are so respectful to United States authority, when represented by United States troops, that they seem willing to submit to any outrage, no matter how unjust, simply because it is committed by a person clothed with the Federal authority. Within the past month, outrages so gross and insulting have been committed here by the United States troops—and tamely submitted to—that it makes one blush at the servility of the American character. Had the same thing happened in Paris, Vienna, or even at Madrid, they would have caused a desire at least for revolution. While these outrages are being perpetrated—brave hearts cry out for resistance, and are met with the reply: "Don't! We must keep right on the record! We must not resist the United States authority! The Committee will soon report and then Congress will do something for us." And so it goes on—each day bringing upon us new degradations—new insults and injuries. The Free-State men of Kansas have suffered—struggled and submitted, in order that the North might receive from them a "spotless record" replete with devotion to the *Union* and obedience to the national authority. On this they have staked their all—will the North be true to them? Some of our friends charge us with cowardice. When the friends of Kansas in the North and East shall so act as to render it unnecessary for us to inquire when we propose resistance—"What will our friends say about it? Will they sustain us?"—they will find resistance on our part made and sustained with spirit and determination. If we could rely upon the North to sustain us in opposing the assessor and tax-gatherer, you may be assured that we would do it. We are prepared to resist the tyranny of the Federal authority when our friends in the North will sustain us,—but before you again taunt us with cowardice, dare feebly to request the President to open the Missouri River.

ALMOST AN ARREST.

Yesterday Deputy-Marshal FAIN, accompanied by Lieut. STOCKTON and a dozen dragoons, went to the house of Mr. GRAHAM, to arrest him and his son for disobeying a summons to appear before a Justice of the Peace at Leecompton as witness. FAIN arrived at the house before the dragoons, and made known his demands to them. They refused to comply. On the approach of the dragoons GRAHAM and his son entered the house and left it by another door. FAIN took a corporal, and after some opposition from Mrs. GRAHAM and her daughters, succeeded in entering the house for the purpose of searching for them. He went from room to room, examining beds, closets, and other places. The women followed him, bitterly taunting him. They related to him in that scolding style in which their sex excel, mean "scraps" from his history, and made ironical appeals to him, to search in places where no one but a fool would think of finding them. FAIN went away disappointed, first telling Mrs. GRAHAM that her husband had better submit. He then went to the house of JOHN MACK, to arrest him for the same complaint. He found him outside of the house. JOHN requested permission to go in and change his clothing, FAIN granted it. JOHN went in—and FAIN has not seen him since. How long will it take the Administration to subdue us? It is our duty to say that Lieut. STOCKTON performed his duty with reluctance and with courtesy.

SETTLERS RETURNING.

Yesterday morning four families who had been settled near Willow Springs, twelve miles south of us, passed through town with their horses, oxen and household goods, on their return to Iowa. Some of their property had been stolen from them—the cabin of one had been burned—and they were wearied with a life of watching and care. A party of Pro-Slavery men under command of a Capt. SAUNDERS, who holds his military commis-

sion from Gov. SHANNON, visited their neighborhood and committed these outrages. The Free-State men broke up the camp of SAUNDERS some month ago—took away arms and ammunition, and with a small party under Major REDPATH took SAUNDERS and some of his associates as prisoners. Col. SUMNER hearing of their arrest proceeded to the Free-State camp and rescued them.

These families have gone—leaving behind them one hundred and thirty acres of well-fenced corn, and other improvements. They even said they should return after getting their families to a place of safety. They have not grit enough to come back. We offer this statement to DOUGLAS as an argument in favor of his bill. LIBERTAS.

LAWRENCE, Kansas, Friday, Aug. 1, 1856.

DEPUTY MARSHAL FAIN AS ASSESSOR.

Mr. FAIN, who writes after his name the word "Deputy Marshal," announced that to-day he should be here to receive the lists of taxable property from our people for assessment. Within the past few days, the citizens have been perfecting an organization for the purpose of preventing crime and outrage, and they considered this proposed visit of Mr. FAIN one demanding their earliest and most serious attention. Accordingly a Committee were appointed to wait upon him, if he should visit us as he had announced. This forenoon he arrived in town, and stopped at an office occupied by a Pro-Slavery lawyer and physician, in order probably to take the gauge of public sentiment in regard to his business. Without attempting to perform his duty he went into the Post-Office building, and there made inquiries which led him to an immediate introduction to the Committee, who graciously, but firmly, informed him of the determination of the citizens. FAIN told them it was the intention of Governor SHANNON to enforce the assessment of taxes, and that he should inform Mr. CROWDER, upon whom it seems he intends shifting the responsibility of the assessor's office, of the statements of the Committee, so that he could come prepared to perform his duty surely and safely. In conclusion, we have only to announce that Mr. FAIN has left town.

GOVERNOR SHANNON'S OPINIONS.

Some of our citizens visited Leecompton yesterday, and held conversation with SHANNON upon the present aspect of affairs. He seems opposed, inasmuch as the popular branch of Congress has annulled the Territorial law, to their rigid enforcement. Secretary WOODSON, who was present during the conversation, strongly dissented from his opinion. SHANNON, who is naturally more "convivial" than determined, would, if left to himself, undoubtedly pursue a mild and temporizing policy, but unfortunately for us and for the country, the Administration in selecting him, selected a man who, in the presence of the Border Ruffian, has no opinion and possesses no will but theirs. Unfortunate man—his masters, taking advantage of his imbecility, command him, over the exhilarations of the convivial cup, to deeds of tyranny and crime, and he dares not disobey.

MOVEMENTS OF THE PRO-SLAVERY PARTY.

We are anxiously awaiting news from the northern part of the Territory. There is no doubt in the statement that a portion of the emigrants who were assembled upon the western borders of Iowa have crossed the river into the Territory. It is also certain that a considerable number of men, under the sanction of the Territorial authorities, have gone to intercept them. A select party of well-armed and well-mounted Free-State men, under a brave and experienced commander, have gone from this neighborhood to render any aid which may be necessary to the emigrants. If the emigrants are opposed, fighting will ensue. There are now encamped at Ossawatimie 300 Pro-Slavery men. We learn they are committing many depredations there. We have heard of three or four camps of these persons within twenty miles of us. A lady, who has just returned from a visit to her friends in Western Missouri, reports that under the belief that DOUGLAS' bill would pass, parties of ten or twelve were being formed in order that they might, without suspicion, come into the Territory under pretence of being emigrants. If that bill should not pass, these forces may yet be used to enforce submission to the demand of the assessors.

OUTRAGES ON SUGAR CREEK.

I have just seen two gentlemen from Sugar Creek, which is some fifty miles south from here.

One of them, a Mr. TOWNLEY, reports that he was driven from his home by the members of Company F, of the U. S. Dragoons, which company is stationed near there. This company is composed of Southern men, many of whom have lately enlisted, and belonged to Col. BURD'S party. They were stationed at Palmyra, but, in consequence of their depredations, committed upon the property

of both Free-State and Pro-Slavery men, all parties united to request their removal, and they were removed.

A company of Pro-Slavery men, encamped in that neighborhood, arrested two Free-State men, named RANKIN and CLINE, who were lately from Wisconsin. They arrested them for horse-stealing, and took them before a bogus Justice of the Peace for examination. The Justice would not permit them to introduce any testimony in their own behalf, and declared that he knew they must be guilty. After the examination the mob again took them. They took them to their camp with the determination of hanging them. Some of the more reasonable opposed this, succeeded in getting the prisoners away, and had them carried to Harrisonville, Mo., where they are now confined in jail. The charge of horse-stealing is false. These men stopped in Lawrence while on their way to the southern part of the Territory, and those acquainted with them have the fullest confidence in their honesty and respectability. The gentlemen from whom I gathered these facts are here for aid to assist in driving out the villains who infest their neighborhood.

DEFEATS OF A TERRITORIAL JUSTICE.

DAY, of whose arrest I wrote you in a former letter, has not yet been examined. They can find no witnesses to appear against him. The Justice offered to let him out on bail of \$1,200. His father offered to become his bail, and was accepted by the Justice. They would not then release him from custody, demanding another bondsman. A Mr. LEONARD offered himself—was accepted—and they still refused—when a Mr. WATERMAN presented himself and was accepted—still they would not let him off. To-day, a Mr. TABER offered to become his bondsman, yet they will not release him, although persons possessing property to the amount of over \$10,000 have offered to become his bail. For these facts, strange as they may appear to you, I am indebted to Mr. DAY and to Mr. TABER, both of whom are reliable men.

LIBERTAS.

Movements of Gen. Lane—Efforts of the South—Condition of the Territory.

CHICAGO, Friday, Aug 5, 1856. GEN. LANE.

It is now well understood that one cause of LANE'S delay on the Iowa frontier has been for the purpose of learning the real intentions of Gen. SMITH. Communications have passed between the parties—the last sent by LANE being a demand on SMITH for protection to emigrants, in case the latter objected to their going in prepared to protect themselves. The reply from Gen. SMITH has not transpired.

The people of Kansas are firm in the belief that they will not be able to avoid a fight.

GRAND RALLY IN THE SOUTH.

Though everybody knows that BTFORD has gone South to rally the necessary men and get the means to "pacificate" Kansas then TOOMBS' bill shall have passed, yet all may not know that every man who has the ability to help him, and can be spared, has also been detailed on the same service. The fact is, the South is just now making the most earnest effort she has ever attempted, to get control of Kansas. She is doing more to-day, proportionately, to colonize Kansas, than is the North! Let the latter not be deceived; the South is making a struggle of final desperation, and, unless met in the same spirit, will yet triumph.

THE HERALD OF FREEDOM.

The efforts which have been made to reestablish this paper at Alton have, as yet, been unsuccessful. It was supposed that material and other aid were both provided for, including a local editor; but something seems to be lacking. Kansas is not yet to have an organ of its own. Mr. Brown has for some time been preparing editorials in his prison, but I fear the labor is in vain.

FOOD IN KANSAS—CAPITAL.

Whatever of suffering in Kansas has resulted from want of food, arises from want of money, not of market to buy in. Though the interior is cut off from Kansas City by the garrisoned town of Westport, which lies in the road, yet access can be had to Leavenworth, from Lawrence, as the military keep the road free from robbers. So let it, once for all, be understood that the people of Kansas will not die of starvation so long as they have the wherewith to buy flour.

When will Northern capital put on a little courage and seek investment in Kansas, thereby planting so deeply the roots of free institutions, that all the powers of despotism shall not be able to eradicate them? That investment is safer to-day, and more surely profitable, than if placed in New-York Central Railroad stock, or in piles of brick and mortar anywhere east of the Alleghanies.

EMIGRATION.

Settlers are going forward, though more slowly than could be wished. A party of about fifty

passed here a few days since, going through Iowa. But unless emigration gets an active impulse soon, we shall see the South ahead, favored, as it is, with the exclusive control of the Missouri River, and the use of Governmental powers.

LATEST FROM LANE'S PARTY.

THADDEUS HYATT, President of the National Executive Committee, in company with Dr. How of Boston, and Major SEABL of Lawrence, has just returned from the Iowa frontier, where he went for the purpose of procuring reliable information.

The force which has usually been known as LANE'S Company, is now about five hundred persons, men, women and children, and poorly provided with arms and means of support. General LANE is anxious to go over in person, but is restrained by his advisers, who fear that his presence among the emigrants will be made the pretext for an assault, for the ostensible purpose of an arrest. It is resolved that the whole character of the movement shall show its object to be simply one of peaceful emigration, though, if attacked, the settlers do not mean to waive their right of self-defence. The whole Kansas frontier, both of Nebraska and Missouri, is reported to be infested with spies; and the routes of travel are blockaded by bodies of ruffians intent on preventing the entrance of Free-State men. The Free-State camp was broken up last Monday week, and preparations made to enter the Territory.

Two reliable and experienced Kansas men have gone in, with money to procure food for the present settlers who are in want. I think (knowing the men) that there is little doubt that they will succeed in getting in.

It is no unusual thing for the scouts of both parties to meet in their excursions, and sometimes exchange shots.

It is a little singular, in the present shape of politics, that the southwest county in Ohio—the one nearest Kansas—should be named Fremont, and the town where the Kansas route crosses into Nebraska, Dayton. So the way to Kansas, literally, is through Fremont and Dayton!

One suggestion relative to the mode of location in Kansas, strikes me favorably, viz.: that companies make settlements first along the Nebraska frontier, and so down towards the centre by degrees—making, with each additional arrival, new points, which in turn shall serve as supports for those to be made still in advance. If our emigration can be made large enough to warrant it, this course will be the safest and best: thus a guarded road to the centre will soon be formed. But our friends East must hurry up their contributions, or the ruffians will yet outnumber them, so energetic is the effort now being made.

LITERAL.

Kansas State Central Committee in Session—Aid Wanted—Iowans Returning—Miscellaneous News.

Correspondence of the New-York Daily Times: LAWRENCE, Kansas, Sunday, July 27, 1856.

Last week, the Kansas State Central Committee held a two days' session in Topeka, and business of importance came before them. The

District Committees were all appointed, and now the entire organization is complete. A report from the Read Committee was heard, by which it appears that a stage route can be easily opened from Topeka to Nebraska City or Iowa. Five hundred dollars were appropriated to lay out the same, and improve the ravines till they are passable for stages. Large companies are already on the way over this route, on foot, and with hired teams, and as soon as a line of stages is put in operation, it must be largely patronized. By the first of September, it is expected that emigrants will be taken through by stage from Iowa City to Topeka in less than ten days. Now it is a tedious and exposed route, but it will be used. There is no keeping back the hundreds who love Kansas for its suffering cause—they are coming to bear with us the tyrant's yoke, and to struggle with us till the right shall triumph.

ENCOURAGEMENT TO IMMIGRATION.

To aid and encourage on those who seek a home here among us, the Committee have appointed an agency at Nebraska City. A. A. JAMIESON, Esq., will remain there permanently for that purpose. He is a Kansas man, and in every respect one of us. Heretofore the emigrants have only met at that place with those whose interest was against us, consequently many who started for Kansas are now in Nebraska, owing to the false accounts, or no accounts, given of the natural resources of Kansas. Those who have traveled extensively in both Territories say, "Nebraska is a fine country, but Kansas is very fine." The prospect now is, that all our country, north of the Kansas River, that is open for preemption, will be settled immediately. To forward such a desideratum ten of our best men have been selected and ordered to start to-day for the northern frontier,

with horses, provisions, arms, &c., for the purpose of protecting weak parties on their way, and guiding them to the most favorable sites for locating claims. This little party of ten will also keep a vigilant eye upon the movements of the Barons, and report to us all their meanderings in that vicinity. Gen. RICHARDSON is supposed to be encamped somewhere west of the Grasshopper, with nearly two hundred men—all warriors—searching for claims!

AID WANTED.

The Committee have not a dollar on hand for relief purposes, and have even hired money at a high per cent. to meet some urgent cases until aid reaches them from the States. It is greatly needed this moment, and Mr. COVIER, of Leavenworth City, has been dispatched to-day for Chicago and other places with authority to represent our case to their Committees, and direct them as to the manner of getting aid into our hands immediately. Our Treasurer (WM. HUTCHINSON) has given bonds in the sum of twenty-five thousand dollars, which bonds will be increased, whenever the sum placed in his hands shall exceed two-thirds that amount on hand at any one time. The whole financial system is now placed upon a firm basis, and it is hoped undivided confidence will be secured, together with an abundance of the more material influence.

Our physical sufferings for want of money will soon be beyond description. Almost hourly we receive applications for relief from all parts of the Territory, and in some instances accompanied with a recital of the grievous wrongs they have endured, that would unloose a purse of adamant, and we all fear for the future, unless our friends in the States care more for us, and less for President-making. One half a million of dollars will be necessary to feed and clothe the present inhabitants of Kansas, beyond their present means, until they can raise their own support from the soil next year. We have been unable to cultivate the soil this year; our time has been to a great extent demanded to defend what little we possess of the place called home. Some fields were planted, but not fenced. Some were plowed, but not planted; others were both plowed, fenced and planted, and then abandoned by the owner to a gang of Southern outlaws, who seize it at the point of the bayonet.

IOWANS RETURNING.

I witnessed a sorry sight this morning. Four families, in all about twenty-five, with fine teams, and about forty cows and calves, passed through our town, on their return to Iowa. They all left excellent claims in the vicinity of Washington Creek, with 130 acres of good corn and other improvements. It is all abandoned, and they go away mournful and sad. It was the most mortifying sight I have ever beheld in Kansas. The refugees of oppression must leave American soil—their own chosen home, where they had hoped for long years of social quietude and joy. They are chased away by the nation's sanction, for no crime. One of their houses was burnt a few nights since, and the whole neighborhood has been threatened by a band of prowling desperadoes, about sixty in number, who are scouring the country for plunder and support in that vicinity. A portion of them have been encamped in sight of the United States dragons stationed there to keep the peace, yet they took no notice of them when requested to remove them, but replied that they were there only for claims; that being a peaceable object, they could not interfere with them. The sequel shows how they intend to get their claims. By driving freemen away from their houses and improved fields, they say, like Robinson Crusoe, "My right there is none to dispute."

It may seem strange that we allowed them to leave without offering assistance. We did offer to join them with a company, and go back and "clear out the neighborhood;" but we could give no guarantee that it would remain so two days, and they seemed to have prejudged the case, and were determined to go, at any rate. We have lost them, and somebody will get their claims.

A FATAL RECONTRITE.

MR. CHAPMAN, a member of the Pawnee Council from this District, had some difficulty last Wednesday with a stranger recently from Georgia, and, following the altercation, he struck him with a club across the temples. He was not known to be dangerously injured at the time, and being, probably, partially deranged, he immediately took the stage for Westport, and died in a few minutes after he arrived in that town.

MR. CHAPMAN was arrested for manslaughter soon after this was ascertained, by the Leecompton law-mongers, and on being taken there, gave bail in the sum of one thousand dollars for his appearance this week. To-day he went again to that place upon some private business, and while there

arrested for murder, for the same offence. Such is Kansas jurisprudence. Mr. CHAPMAN will probably be retained, and it is supposed this is like their ordinary prosecutions, instigated to keep men in confinement rather than to give them a fair trial. We have no disposition to screen any man from justice, but how two such indictments can be valid for the same offence, appears strange to "law and abidant men."

ENCAMPMENT OF GEORGIANS.

In the vicinity of Ossawatimie, there are about 160 Georgians encamped, but I have not learned of any recent outrages committed by them.

Horse-stealing has become one of the fixed institutions of the South, and no one feels safe to keep a horse unless it is watched every night. Seven were taken in one night last week in the vicinity of those four families who passed through town today, and they were followed nearly to the Missouri line, but when it was found that they had taken refuge in Westport, the chase was abandoned.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE PASSING OF THE DOUGLAS BILL.

It appears that the enemy are looking with assurance for the passage of something like the Douglas Bill, and are sworn to overrun us by force if possible. *Civil war is inevitable if such a bill passes.* There can be no compromise, in view of such developments as we have already witnessed on their part. They intend to get five hundred transient robbers into the county before the time of voting, and their store-houses of provisions are already here for their support.

THE PRISONERS.

General LANE is not here yet, and it is doubtful whether he comes at present. The prisoners are still in camp, but have moved two miles beyond Leecompton. The petty officials undertook last week to prevent all visitors from going to them. Orders were given accordingly, but were disregarded. Governor SHANNON then repeated the order, but Captain SACKETT replied, that while the prisoners were under this charge, they would see their friends, and if his Excellency was not satisfied, he might take care of them himself. This all pleases the prisoners, but the people about Leecompton are quite enraged because they are not supreme.

RANDOLPH.

The Kansas Code in Baltimore.

[From the Baltimore Wecker (German Republican), Aug. 13.]

The Republican meeting which was held yesterday evening in Temperance Hall was dispersed by a brutal rabble. Scarcely had the address of the Association to the citizens of Baltimore been read, when a gang of rowdies, shouting "Hurrah for Buchanan!" "Hurrah for Fillmore!" rushed into the Hall, and took possession of the seats. Mr. Corkran, the President of the meeting, was then dragged into the street, and, we are told, maltreated. The crowd of ruffians, after breaking up the meeting and creating a great disturbance in the vicinity, paid our premises a visit, and now are uttering fearful yells in front of our office. As we write, a shot is fired against a shutter. How the affair will end God alone knows. We are prepared for the worst.

INDEPENDENT WHIG

LANCASTER, PA.

TUESDAY MORNING, AUGUST 12, 1856.

THE TRANQUILITY OF KANSAS.—A man named 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 went 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.

The Soil of Kansas and Nebraska.

The soil of Kansas has been held up as far superior many respects to that of Nebraska; and in this respect it is alleged that injustice has been done to the latter.

A correspondent of the Missouri Republican gives what appears to be an impartial statement in regard to both, from which we glean the following information. In the vicinity of the rivers the richness of the soil of Kansas cannot be surpassed. There are hundreds of places where the praries skirt the streams without a timber to speak of. In Southern Nebraska there is the

same excellent quality of land and beauty of landscape, where the emigrant may find every attraction that he finds in Kansas. But in the vicinity of the Big Sioux the scene changes gradually, the prairies become more extensive, and the forests of cotton wood are numerous. The geological character of the country is also different. The cretaceous rocks which underlie the greater part of Nebraska crop out into bluffs. This is the formation that prevails in that vast extent of country known as the *mauvais terres*, or bad lands. The worst and most desolate portions of these lands are comprised in a district of country extending from the foot of the Black Hills to the Missouri and Platte rivers; and this whole region, as seen from the High bluffs, presents an appearance unfavorable to cultivation. Scarcely any trees are to be seen except the stunted cedars that grow in the ravines.

It is thought that this wretched country never can be inhabited. But this opinion seems to be hastily formed. In many places, the view opens upon miles of hills upon hills, either covered by a sickly growth of grass, or brown from impure ores of iron. Many of these hills present the appearance of being volcanic.— This is owing to the action of water and the atmosphere upon beds of pyrites, or sulphate of iron. For several hundred miles below Fort Pierre, these blackened hills form the prominent feature of the country. Still, there is a vast extent of country in Nebraska, the fertility of which is not excelled by an tract in the Union, and this is rapidly filling up with the best class of emigrants.

From the Harrisburg Democrat (German and English).

Interesting Correspondence.

We are favored with the following important and interesting correspondence between the citizens of Harrisburg and Col. Geary, who has just been appointed Governor of Kansas. We feel justified in saying, that the peculiar fitness and wisdom manifested in this appointment, in the opinion of our people, has given origin and character to this public expression of their feelings and opinions. The correspondence speaks for itself and, we doubt not, will be read with interest.

HARRISBURG, July 29, 1856.

To Col. JOHN W. GEARY, of Westmoreland co., Pa.

DEAR SIR:—Having just heard of your appointment as Governor of the Territory of Kansas, the undersigned, your fellow-citizens, without distinction of party, tender to you their warm congratulations, and, as an evidence of their high respect for your personal character and patriotic services, offer you a public dinner at such time as may best suit your convenience.

As Pennsylvanians, we rejoice in the elevation of one of her sons who has so gallantly maintained the honor of her flags on the battle fields of Mexico, and who, when in official position in California, reflected lustre upon his native State by the prudence, honesty, tact, and energy, which characterized his administration of various important civil offices.

We wish you much success in your new and delicate field of labor, and feel confident from your antecedents, that you will adopt as yours, the golden rule of action, *fiat justitia ruat cælum.*

With much respect, we are

Your friends and fellow citizens,
David R. Porter,
A. O. Hiester,
Richard M'Allister,
A. J. Jones,
William F. Murray,
Robert J. Ross,
Hamilton Alicks,
James Fox,
Lewis Heck,
Joseph Casey,
Robert A. Lamberton,
William D. Boas,
O. Barrett,
Theodore Adams,
William Buehler,
J. D. Hoffman,
James L. Reiley,
William Mitchell,
Geo. F. Weaver,
John M. Eberman,
David Fleming,
George J. Shoemaker,
J. Martin Lutz,
Quincy A. Taylor,
George R. Long,
Andrew Krause,
William C. Lawrence,
Jas. W. Morgan,
William Willis,

Jos. P. Miller,
Charles A. Dolson,
Robt. Harris,
James Gowan,
Edm'd H. Turner,
J. M. Colestock,
J. A. Spofford,
Edwin Perkins,
A. W. Pergstreser,
Samuel Buch,
George Dinger,
William S. Buch,
James B. Finney,
John Bernheisel,
S. J. Mulkrige,
William Q. Wallace,
B. F. Eder,
Andrew Porter,
Samuel S. Bigler,
N. H. Stürdevant,
J. A. W. Jones,
W. D. Rhinehart,
Richard H. Adams,
J. C. Bomberger,

REPLY OF COL. GEARY.

HARRISBURG, July 29, 1856.

GENTLEMEN:—It affords me no ordinary gratification to acknowledge the receipt of your very complimentary letter, bearing even date herewith, tendering me congratulations and a public dinner, upon the occasion of my appointment as Governor of the Territory of Kansas.

Believe me, gentlemen, that I am profoundly grateful for this manifestation of your esteem and approval, and more particularly so, as it has been signed by my fellow citizens without distinction of party. I have always been a partizan, yet I have always been proud to number among the ranks of my political opponents many of my warmest personal friends.

The appointment to which you refer, was entirely unsolicited by myself, and has been voluntarily tendered me by the distinguished Chief Magistrate of the nation.

By your complimentary reference to any service which it has been my lot to render to my country either in a military or civil capacity, you have more than done me justice.

Thanking you most warmly for your kind wishes for my success, I shall be proud to take as my rule of action the maxim to which you are pleased to refer.

As my desire is to proceed at once to the field of my labors, and my time will be fully occupied in the necessary arrangement of my private affairs, you will therefore, have the kindness to excuse me from meeting you at the festive board.

Under other circumstances it would afford me the greatest pleasure to meet my fellow citizens of Harrisburg and thank them, in person, for their kind manifestation of esteem and for the manner of its communication.

I have the honor to be, gentlemen, with great respect your friend and fellow-citizen,

JOHN W. GEARY.

To D. R. Porter, A. J. Jones, Richard M'Allister, Wm. F. Murray, A. O. Hiester, E. C. Williams, M. Burk, E. Banks, J. M. Sullivan, J. H. Berryhill, H. Om and others.

From the above correspondence it appears that the appointment of Col. Geary as Governor of Kansas will be received by all parties at Harrisburg, and we have reason therefore to expect that his administration will be unexceptionable to all. We hope this will be the case; and that he will at once put a stop to the persecutions, robberies, murders and other innumerable outrages that have been inflicted upon the people of Kansas, through the wickedness and imbecility of the late besotted Executive there. No one will more sincerely rejoice or more freely bestow praise upon Gov. Geary, for doing his duty to the citizens of Kansas, and affording them protection in their rights, persons and property than ourself; and we entertain a belief that he will do so, and then secure to himself the blessing not only of the afflicted citizens of that territory, but of every just and honest citizen in every State in the Union, South as well as North.

BY MRS. MARY A. LIVERMORE.

Hunted like the prairie bison,
Slaughtered like the prairie deer,
With the crack of gun and rifle
Ringing sharply in their ear;
With their homes a blaze behind them,
And their children on before,
See the hosts of Freedom fleeing
From a country theirs no more!

In the dust their banner traileth,
Overborne by slavery's might;
And against oppression's legions,
They have faltered in the fight,
Pulsing onward from the prairies,
Comes a loud, imploring cry,
Waking echoes mid the mountains,
Piercing even to the sky!

Where arose a fair, young city,
As from out a flowery sea—
Where the little prairie cabins
Dotted o'er the beautiful lea—
Now are charred and smouldering ruins,
Whence all trace of life hath fled—
Some before the foe are fleeing,
Some are sleeping with the dead.

Shall the fields of virgin Kansas,
Young and beautiful and free,
By the fearful curse be blackened,
That e'er clings to slavery?
There, shall be upbuilt the slave-mart?
There, the iron fetters wrought—
Entering deep the darkened spirit
Of the bondman, crushed, untaught?

Shall the blue vault arching Kansas,
Hear the sad slave-mother's cry,
Who, when far her child is sundered,
Asks of heaven but this—to die?
To this land of bride like beauty,
Will ye this dark dower bestow—
Slavery, with her lash and fetter,
And her life long hours of woe?

NAY! God of heaven, forbid it!
Who hast made Thy children free,
And hast made all nations, brothers,
And alike as dear to Thee!
Sooner let the rending earthquake,
Bury deep the smiling land,
Than that slavery should defile it
With the touch of her foul hand!

Freemen, on the hills of granite,
By the ever-sounding sea,
Where the "plowing winds" are relentless,
And the dancing waves are free—
Freemen, of the glorious country,
Which your father's bought with blood,
And a heritage bequeathed you,
As a trust to hold for God—

Hear the cry from suffering Kansas—
Freedom's new Thermopylae—
And again uprear the banner,
Blazoned o'er with Liberty!
Speak, in tones of gathering fulness,
As resounds the angry sea:
"Back, ye unrelenting hounds of slavery,
For we WILL have Kansas free!"

Auburn, July, 1856.

DAILY GAZETTE.
Gazette Co. Proprietors.
Office—N. E. Corner Fourth and Vine Sts

Organize.

We hope our friends will not neglect to organize themselves perfectly before election day. This is absolutely necessary if we expect to succeed. We cannot work effectually unless we work intelligently, and therefore it is necessary that we should know what work is to be done as well as where and when it is to be done. Everything which does not tend to enlighten us on these points, is useless and harmful. Our large conventions, consequently, are generally very expensive and very useless demonstrations. Very few attend them whose opinions are not already formed, and lulled into fancied security by the crowd and enthusiasm, they are apt to go home thinking victory already achieved. The first work of the canvass should be to ascertain who are wavering and undecided, and then to bring them under the influences necessary to secure their vote for freedom. There are thousands and hundreds of thousands of honest well-meaning

men, who have acted with the Democratic party all their lives, and get all their political information from Democratic sources, who would, notwithstanding, vote for FREMONT, if the question which divides the political parties of the day could be presented to them fairly and candidly. They never get any other than a false and distorted view of it from their party papers, and they take no other. Now, it is of the first necessity that such men should be furnished with the facts connected with the living issues of the day in a shape to which they cannot object on account of their partizan character.

The Report of the Kansas Investigating Committee, for instance, is such a document as is needed. Let that be placed in the hands of every voter that can read, and it will work most astonishing results. The people of our country have no sympathy with those who oppress and wrong their fellow-citizens, and let them but know the character of the officials who have been appointed to rule over Kansas; let them but know what gross oppression and usurpation these officials have been guilty of; let them but know what wrongs have been suffered by honest, peaceful and law-abiding emigrants to Kansas, because they wished to make it a free State, and their indignation will overwhelm the present administration and the party which endorses and supports it, in ignominious defeat.

To secure this, however, it is necessary that we should work, and in the short time that will elapse before the election, every Republican voter ought to be busy. Let him ascertain who of his neighbors is "open to conviction," and furnish him with the documents which will enlighten and convert him. See that the neighbor who has the most influence with him exerts that influence to remove his prejudices, and furnishes facts, so that his vote if possible may be cast on the right side.

Our cause is mighty, because it is that of Freedom and the rights of man; but we must not trust everything to the cause. We must work, and do not give ourselves up to the delusion that we can achieve a victory without a struggle. If every Republican voter, ten, works from this day until the November election, as if the triumph of our cause depended upon his own efforts alone, and the majority in his own neighborhood, we need have no apprehension of the result.

The New York Tribune offers some excellent suggestions which we copy, hoping that they will be adopted and acted upon as far as practicable in every neighborhood:

There should be a Fremont Club in every village, if the township be large enough, but at least one Club in each town hip, and a Central Union Club in the county, composed of delegates from each township club. The club should address itself to the following labors:

1. To get a list of every voter in each village or town of every county, and note his known or supposed predilections for President, and keep this in a book, noting the changes, if any, from time to time, and reporting to the County Committee.

2. To see that every voter has all the documents the Club can afford to purchase, and especially of "The American Platform," "Campaign Life of Fremont," "Summer's Speech," "Report of the Kansas Investigating Committee." Let these be thrown into every voter's door by a person in each village employed for the purpose.

3. To have frequent meetings for interchange of opinion, and let speakers be instructed upon the topics most suitable for the locality. In some places the distinction pointed out between Fillmoreism and Americanism; in others, the Buchanans to be attended to, and the particular shape which treason towards freedom may assume well shaken out.

4. Let all difficulties be fairly looked in the face and let no enthusiasm warp cool calculation. If help is needed, in the way of documents or speakers, let timely notice be given to the County Central Club, or to the County Committee, or to the State Committee.

5. See that the success of the Electoral ticket and of Congressmen be preferred over and above all local considerations or local quarrels on local issues.

6. Divide the Club into Sub-Committees—for example: Document Committee, Public Meeting Committee, Vigilance Committee, Challenging Committee, Ticket Committee, etc.; so that there may be a perfect division of labor.

7. Let each Club work its own locality as if the success of the party depended upon the majority in that locality. Let the majority everywhere be swelled, and enlist the Ladies in the cause.

8. Make public every change of tactics observed to be made by either the Buchanan or Fillmore opponents of Freedom.

9. Take care of the local newspaper favorable

to the cause, and add to its campaign circulation.

10. Don't waste money in fireworks, eating and drinking, sports, music, and unnecessary decorations. Save this to pay expenses of printing and speech-making, and circulating the documents.

11. Relax no endeavors until the Polls are closed, and count on no result as certain.

Lynchburg Virginian.

Tuesday Morning, August 12, 1856

FOR PRESIDENT,
MILLARD FILLMORE,
OF NEW YORK.
FOR VICE PRESIDENT,
ANDREW J. DONELSON,
OF TENNESSEE.

The Territorial Question.

A debate occurred in the Senate of the United States in 1850, touching the relations of the Territories to the Federal Government, in which Daniel Webster, the great expounder of the Constitution, laid down the true doctrine on the subject. Gen. Cass also made known, in the same debate, the opinions he entertained. We publish a paragraph from the speech of each of these Senators, that the public may perceive the radical difference between the Whig and Democratic positions at that time.

Mr. Webster said:

"We have always gone upon the ground that these territorial governments were in a state of pupillage, under the protection or patronage of the General Government. The Territorial Legislature have a Constitution prescribed by Congress. They have no power not given by Congress. They must act within the limits of the Constitution granted them by Congress, or else their acts become void. The people under the Territorial Government are not a Sovereignty; they do not constitute a Sovereignty. They are, if you so please to denominate it, in a state of inchoate government and sovereignty. If we will consider this question upon the ground of our practice during the last half century, I think we will find one way of disposing of it. It is our duty to provide for the people of a territory a government to keep the peace, to secure their property; to assign to them a subordinate legislative authority; to see that the protection of their persons and the security of their property are in all regularly provided for; and to maintain them in that state until they grow into sufficient importance, in point of population, to be admitted into the Union as a State upon the same footing with the original States. It seems to me that that is all our duty. I shall most readily concur in anything which tends to the performance of that duty. But I cannot go into any general discussion about the rights of the people while under the Territorial Government, to do more than they are permitted to do by that Constitution which creates a government over them."

This is the true, common sense doctrine upon this all important and vital question.

We give a portion of the remarks of Mr. Cass

in reply to Mr. Webster:

"I so understood the gentleman. These laws are to be submitted to Congress, not for confirmation, but for consideration, with the view, I suppose, to repeal or modify such as might appear unconstitutional or improper. But I can recall only one case where his power has been exercised, and that is in relation to banking. I again ask why this case of slavery should be excepted from the jurisdiction of the Territorial Legislatures? The Senator from Massachusetts says we have accepted many other cases. But I repeat that he labors under a misapprehension upon that subject. I consider the people of a Territory just as competent to settle this question as the people of a State; and I believe a man knows just as much when he goes to a territory as he did before he went there. And I believe, further, that we have no territory where the American settlers will not exercise a preponderating influence over all public affairs. The inhabitants will always be a legislature which will reflect their wishes; and if they desire slavery, they will have it, and if they do not, they will exclude it, unless prevented by the Constitution. The simple question is, why you take from them one of their natural rights—the right of regulating one of their domestic relations? The gentleman told us just now that he did not desire to see the question of slavery agitated in the Territories. Sir, this is just where I desire to see it agitated, if agitated it must be, as it will do far less injury there than here. Why, then, I repeat, do you make a distinction between this right and any other?"

Mr. Buchanan, by making the declaration in his letter of acceptance that, under the Kansas

Fessenden very clearly argued that the clause was germane to the bill, that it was perfectly competent for the House to annex any condition it pleased to the money bills it originated, and that the proviso was justified by the rules of parliamentary law and the usage of legislative bodies, both here and in England. The power to withhold or regulate appropriations had, for hundreds of years, been one of the most valued prerogatives of the British House of Commons, as a check upon the authority of the Crown.

Trumbull maintained that the administration senators were trying to misrepresent the issue, and to throw the responsibility of the failure of the bill on the House. But it should be remembered that the Senate, and not the House proposes to change its provisions by amendment, and if it insists, the responsibility for the defeat of the appropriations rests on the Senate.

The House, said he, sends us a bill appropriating some \$12,000,000 for the support of the army, and providing that none of the money shall be used for the payment of troops to enforce the bogus laws of the so called Kansas Legislature—laws which the House regards as nullities, some of which the Senate has declared of no force, and which the President now stands committed by a special message to Congress to treat as invalid. In that message he says that "any question appertaining to the qualification of the persons voting as the people of the territory would have passed necessarily, and at once, under the supervision of Congress, as the judge of the validity of the returns of the delegates," in case the legislature had been chosen at the time of the first election of a delegate.

The second election of a delegate was held in pursuance of the action of the so-called legislature, and the House of Representatives, in passing upon the rights of the delegate to a seat, have decided that the election was held without authority of law, that the persons voting as people of the territory for the members of the legislature, which undertook to provide for the election of a delegate were not inhabitants of the territory, and that the delegate elected in pursuance of its authority was not entitled to a seat. The President is, therefore, stopped from longer regarding the laws of the pretended Kansas legislature as valid. For they have been pronounced invalid by the very body pointed out by the President as having authority to pass upon them.

As for the question of responsibility, the House has appropriated twelve millions to support the army, but has refused to make provision for troops to enforce laws which it has pronounced invalid. If, therefore, the bill is lost, because the Senate insists that the army shall not go unpaid, unless the House agrees to pay for a particular service, the Senate is clearly responsible.

Such was the substance of Trumbull's first speech. Subsequently, replying to Douglas's remarks above mentioned, he urged:

1. That Douglass had misstated the proviso which the Senate proposed to strike out. It did not declare the laws of Kansas invalid, but only suspended their enforcement by the army, until an act of Congress should decide whether they were valid or not. That it did not, as Douglass had charged, propose to deprive the people of Kansas of legal protection, and license murder, arson, larceny, &c.

2. That if the "laws" of Kansas were valid, they would remain so under the House bill, which was a compromise proposition, and that it was a reproach to our people to say that valid laws could not be enforced without the aid of the United States troops. If the territorial acts of Kansas were valid and in accordance with the sentiment of the people, they needed no military enforcement.

3. If the territorial laws were invalid, then the territory was still in an unorganized condition and the general laws of the United States providing for the punishment of crimes committed in any district of country over which the United States had exclusive jurisdiction, would apply.

4. If this were not so, then the laws in force in the Louisiana Territory, when we acquired it, would be in force, except so far as they were inconsistent with our institutions and the organic act. That such was the understanding of Congress is manifest by the provision of the organic act, declaring that none of its provisions should be construed to revive any law which existed prior to the enactment of the Missouri Compromise, "either protecting, prohibiting or abolishing slavery."

At the close of the debate, the vote stood on the Senate's amendment striking out the proviso—Ayes 29, Noes 9; Allen, of Rhode Island, voting with the Buchanians. The question then arose upon the passage of the bill as amended, which was discussed by Seward and Stuart of Michigan, of whose remarks I will write at another time. The bill finally passed.

Two or three little incidents occurred in the debate worthy of mention. There was some very vigorous sparring between Douglas and Fessenden, which was finally reduced to a question of personal veracity. Fessenden is too cool and well guarded in debate for Douglas, who had rather the worst of it, though his artful dodging and shifiting of front, as occasion required, were performed with a celerity and dexterity that almost excited general admiration.

When Wade called the President "a traitor to one section of the Union," Douglas said he ought to have been called to order, inasmuch as the Senator thereby prejudged the case of the President, who was liable to impeachment before the very body of which the complainant was a member. But the President of the Senate *pro tem.*, (Mr. Bell, of Tenn.) ruled that the Senator was in order, because he had not pronounced Pierce guilty of treason to the whole, but only to a part of the country, and the latter, according to the constitution, is not an impeachable offence.

Douglas having alluded to the "shrieks for freedom" of the Republicans, was taken to task for his ridicule by Trumbull, who said that nothing was more creditable to human nature than the desire for freedom; he should despise a man who was so degraded as not to care about so great a blessing; and he thought ridicule of the sentiment which gave rise to "shrieks for freedom," as they were called, unbecoming an American. One of the most celebrated utterances of the great orator of our Revolution, Patrick Henry, was a "shriek for freedom," when he exclaimed, "Give me liberty or give me death," a sentiment which entitled him to everlasting honor.

It is proper to say that Douglas withdrew the expression, denying that he had used it intentionally.

I believe, however, the phrase has a very respectable origin, none other, in short, than the poet Campbell, who, in his "Pleasures of Hope," tells us that "Freedom shrieked when Kosciuszko fell."

The Daily Democrat.

ROCHESTER, N. Y.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, AUG. 13, 1856.

The Border Ruffian Judge.

The Hon. E. A. Hannegan, of Indiana, having inquired of Judge Lecompte by what Court, and under what proceedings, the order was issued for the destruction of the hotel and printing offices at Lawrence, that sapient worthy has replied that *there was no order* from the court, and therefore the destruction cannot be maintained to have been done legally. This admission is an important one, and takes away the last vestige of pretention to "law and order" in the proceedings of Jones and Donaldson and their posse. The border ruffians have always claimed that they acted under the authority of the court, in the destruction of Lawrence, but they have now no ground for even this flimsy pretext.

Judge Lecompte excuses the act by stating 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. He further says:

"It can but be palliated as a necessity for the future security of the people of the county and of the Territory against the recurrence of outrages similar to those which has made necessary the resort a second time to the calling out of a large posse for the execution of the law. A further palliation may be found in the fact that it was a current impression that an order, such as you mention, had been issued. This impression grew out of these facts, all that occurred in relation to the subject."

Judge Lecompte deserves dismissal from his office for his defense of a mob, if for nothing else; but in the following extract he wallows still deeper in the mire of border ruffianism:

"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 a 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.*"

BORDER RUFFIAN TACTICS.—Buchanan's confidential organ, the *Pennsylvanian*, is now publishing a long list of merchants who are attached to a Republican Association in Philadelphia, and denounces them to the South as unworthy of its patronage. The object of course, is to intimidate the merchants of Philadelphia from sustaining Mr. Fremont, by damaging the business of those who act upon such a conviction of duty.

This attempt to hold the red over Freeman will not avail. Pennsylvania will reject her recreant son.

The Only Issue.

The real and only issue in the present contest is that which was presented by the DOUGLASS, ATCHISON and the PIERCE Administration, in the abrogation of the Missouri Compromise, and the attempt under the Kansas-Nebraska act to introduce Slavery into Kansas, which that act was intended to facilitate, and which was further aided and abetted by the President in his appointments to office under that act. LET NO ONE BE DECEIVED, by the talk about "JACKSON DEMOCRACY," and the thousand Doughface catches, that are designed to beguile the people from their consistency.

The South are not disposed to blind or hide the real aspects of the case. They declare this to be the issue—the right of the Southern slave owner to take his human chattles into *any and all the Territories*, whenever he chooses, and establish the institution of Slavery wherever he may desire, to locate with his gangs of slaves. This question is to be decided *now*—once and forever. If the people of the North declare by their votes for BUCHANAN, or by their diversion of votes for FILLMORE—and the consequent election of a pro-slavery administration, that they have no interest in this momentous question, the slave propagandists will take you at your word, and slavery continues to be the chief concern and the ruling interest of this Government.—Hear what Gen. WM. O. BUTLER, who was defeated with Gen. CASS in 1848, says on this question:

The Slave question in its various bearings, like the rod of the Jewish High Priest, has SWALLOWED UP ALL OTHERS.

On that question and in the very face of the Constitution, the Black Republicans have taken their stand, and thrown down their gage of battle to all gunsnayers. THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY HAS ACCEPTED THE ISSUE, and taken up the gage.

The evil is upon us and must be met and overcome. A mere victory is not what we have to contend for; that would only lead to new and fiercer struggles. What we require, and what we may achieve, if the South is true to herself, is such a victory as will leave behind it a memory and a warning, not to be misunderstood.

There are, fortunately, but two sides of the question, and no neutral ground. "He that is not for us is against us."

Northern Freeman! do you hear that? Shall the crack of the slave-drivers whip be heard in Free Territory, and the free laborer be driven from a soil consecrated to his own use and occupation, in order that the virgin soil may be given up to the black cause that oppresses more than one half the Union? Let your answer be so emphatic, that it shall "LEAVE BEHIND IT A MEMORY AND A WARNING NOT TO BE MISUNDERSTOOD."

Hear Mr. RUFFIN, of North Carolina. In a speech at a meeting in Pennsylvania, which converted some of the Buchanan men to Fremont, so boldly did he talk to Freeman about their duties to uphold and defend slavery—he said:

It was charged that Buchanan is not sound on the Slavery question; but he contended that he had been sound ever since 1819, when he made a speech in Lancaster Pa. When Pierce was a candidate, said the speaker, he was told that he would not approve true, but he has proved to be the

President Buchanan will prove as true to Slavery as Franklin Pierce has done, for he is just as good a man as Pierce ever was.

The oligarchy of 350,000 slave-holders, rule the South, shape its opinions, punish all who speak against Slavery. The Republican party do not design to interfere with Slavery in the States—but merely to keep it from spreading into the Territories, and free the General Government from all responsibility for its support and defence. This is not satisfactory to the propagandists. If that is submitted to as the policy of the country, what avail is the repeal of the Compromise of 1820, and the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska act? The *Mobile Advertiser* is amazed that men entertaining the idea that Slavery is not to be permitted to spread indefinitely, should be found in Southern communities, and permitted to remain there:

"Well might the delegate in the late Black Republican Convention, at Philadelphia, urge that so rapid would be the spread of Republican doctrines that in four years they could, with impunity, hold their Convention in Richmond or Lexington. If he had known how many Black Republicans there were in this State and community, he might have moved to adjourn the Convention to meet in 1860 at Montgomery. There are men here in Alabama, and in this county, who are not ashamed to own a preference to Fremont, or any other Abolitionists, to Buchanan. How can the South ever expect to maintain her self-respect, or obtain her just rights, if she even endures such persons on her soil, much less permits them to occupy influential positions within her borders?"

The letters of Senators PRATT and PEARCE, who have abandoned the native, anti-Catholic dodge, and gone in for BUCHANAN in the first instance, demonstrate the fact still more explicitly, that the question of Slavery—not its extinction, but its restriction—is THE ISSUE, AND THE ONLY ISSUE, in this campaign. Let this be understood and acted upon by all who love and cherish Freedom, and desire to extend its benefits, and to discourage Slavery.

The Evening Press.

HARTFORD:
WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 13.

The "Topeka Constitution."

When the bogus legislature of Kansas, chosen by the border ruffians at the invasion of the 30th of March, 1855, had enacted those laws which General CASS has declared to be a "disgrace to the age," the decision of the actual settlers of the territory was that submission to them was impossible. The only feasible way of relieving themselves, and retrieving the rights of which they had been outraged and despoiled, seemed to be to hold a convention, form a State constitution, and apply for admission into the Union. A call was accordingly issued, addressed to all the bona fide citizens, to consult together and choose delegates for a convention to consider and determine the matter. The delegates were chosen, (all the actual settlers having full opportunity of a voice in their election,) the convention assembled on the 19th of September, 1855, and an executive committee of seven were appointed, to whom was assigned the duty of taking steps for an election of "members for a convention to form a constitution, adopt a bill of rights for the people of Kansas, and take all needful measures for organizing a State government, preparatory to the admission of Kansas into the Union as a State." This Executive Committee accepted their appointment, and issued a proclamation requesting all the legal voters of the Territory to meet at their several precincts, and make choice of their members for the proposed constitutional convention. Meetings were accordingly held and delegates chosen in nearly every precinct, and the movement was the subject of very general discussion.—The convention met at Topeka on the 23d of October, 1855, prepared a memorial to Congress praying for admission into the Union, and formed a State Constitution, which was submitted to the people on the 15th of December. There were 1731 votes in its favor, and 46 against its adoption. It being thus accepted a government was organized under it, and a General Assembly chosen, which met in the fol-

lowing March. The acts of this popular government, and the laws passed by this legislature, were all conditional upon the admission of Kansas into the Union as a State. It is the opinion of the majority of the Kansas Committee of Investigation, that the "Constitution thus adopted fairly expresses the will of the majority of the settlers."

The necessity of this Topeka movement has been abundantly justified upon the floor of the Senate, and by the recent succumbing of the Administration to the strong voice of public sentiment. Gen: CASS has pronounced the bogus laws which forced the settlers to their course of procedure, "a disgrace to the age in which we live;" and Senator CLAYTON of Delaware has denounced them as "infamous, tyrannical and worthy of revolutionary resistance." And now the President has decapitated SHANNON, LECOMTE, CATO and DONALDSON, the ruffian minions under whom and by whom the people of Kansas have been oppressed, maltreated, and ground to the very dust,—the men who have been foremost in carrying out the "regular Territorial government" which the *Hartford Times* says was in existence when the Topeka movement was initiated,—a government thrust upon the actual settlers of the Territory by some ten thousand armed ruffians who crossed over from Missouri, and took the polls into their own lawless control. This is what the funkeys of the *Hartford Times* call a regular Territorial government. Of course "the delegates to the convention were selected without any regulation of law" under this usurped government, for the settlers denied its authority, and in its bogus and fraudulent nature being found the necessity for the movement which they instituted, they were compelled to fall back upon that power to govern themselves which is inherent in the people and of which they can not be divested,—the great principle of popular sovereignty.

The constitution was therefore "submitted to the people without authority of law" from the bogus legislature. The settlers no more looked to that for authority; than they did to its horde of ruffian constituents who had returned to their dens in Missouri. But as to the absence of "ordinary rules which govern matters of that kind," of which the *Times* makes complaint, it sadly misrepresents. At all the so-called Free State elections such regulations were observed as usually govern elections in most of the States of the Union. They refused to allow non-residents to vote, had regular judges of election, and conducted all their proceedings with fairness and regularity.

But the *Times* asserts:

REEDER and company said that some votes—all "yes"—were returned to them. It may have been so and it may not have been so. They may have written the votes themselves, or made a record in some memorandum book, of their return. They may have written more or less, or entered as returned, more or less votes—just as any other county or district political party committee might have done."

This is but another willful misrepresentation of the *Times*. An overwhelming answer to it is upon record. The name of each man voting at the election for delegates to the constitutional convention, and upon the adoption of the Topeka Constitution, is down in black and white. In the evidence attached to the majority report of the House Committee of Investigation in Kansas, will be found the following documents. 1. Poll books of voters participating in the election of delegates to the convention to form a constitution. The names in each district are given, with the tally-lists and number of votes cast. 2. Poll books of voters who cast their ballots at an election held on the 15th day of December, 1855, on the adoption or rejection of a constitution for the State of Kansas, and upon the general banking law clause, and black law proposition. These are followed by the tally-lists also. They are well authenticated, being each certified and sworn to by three judges and two clerks. No more need be said in answer to this falsehood of the *Times*. The people can see how much reliance may be placed upon its assertions. "To such desperate ends are a bad and desperate party driven."

But the great hobby of the *Times* is to assert that only a small part of the people of Kansas had any

hand in forming the Topeka constitution, and that it was the work of the Free State men alone. The *Times* contradicts itself. It has frequently before, when hypocritically professing a desire that Kansas should be a Free State, said that a majority of the people are Free State men; but now, for another purpose, it says that they form only a small part of the population. Thus it dodges and flunks at every turn. The Topeka proceedings were not unlawful, for if on the one hand they were without authority from the Border Ruffian Legislature, there was on the other, no law, whether of that sham body or of Congress, forbidding them. They were demanded by the pressing exigencies of the case, and the bogus Legislature had no power either to sanction or forbid them. The proceedings were in the regular and proper form of popular elections, and were open to all the legal voters of the Territory. Those who did not participate have no more cause of complaint, than have the citizens of Connecticut who did not vote last spring, to carp at the present State government.

There is a close parallel between the position of matters in Kansas, and those in Michigan when she was admitted into the Union. BUCHANAN, PIERCE and TOUCEY voted for the admission of Michigan, although there had been a greater disregard of forms than even in Kansas. To be consistent they should urge the recognition of the Topeka constitution, the only objection to which is that it will make Kansas a Free State at once. The flunkey objection which the *Times* urges, that in such a case it would at once be broken down, and "the chances for a Slave State would be much greater," will not amount to much with discerning people among its readers. It is shallow hypocrisy, and is not the reason for the mendacity and opposition of the *Times*.

The Removal of the Kansas Officials.

It is announced that the President has finally removed LECOMTE, CATO and DONALDSON. We trust it may be true, and shall rejoice to acknowledge the fact. It was his duty to do it, and we shall be most happy to learn that he has discharged it.

Totally unfit for the places and incompetent to discharge the duties, these petty tyrants, clothed with authority by the administration, have abused their positions and their trusts by cruelty, oppression and outrage, such as in modern civilization has never been inflicted on any people. Many generous and gallant spirits have groaned under the tyranny and wrong inflicted upon them without cause, but for merely asserting their rights, and advocating Liberty, a sound once delightful to every American ear—many have been arraigned and imprisoned without law—and not a few have attested with their lives their heroic patriotism, and the vindictive malice of the officers appointed by the Administration.

For months the free and independent presses of the country have called attention to the enormities that were committed in Kansas. The victims have appealed to the Administration and to Congress for relief from sufferings such as no people could endure. ROBINSON and his associates have been illegally arrested and confined during the long and weary months, and the administration has failed to relieve them or do them justice. They were opposed to the enslavement of Kansas; and the advocates of slavery rejoiced in their suffering, and stimulated the administration to prolong and increase their afflictions.

The Cincinnati Convention approved the conduct of the Administration, and had no sympathy, no feeling, no sense of justice for their injured and abused countrymen in Kansas. Mr. BUCHANAN was nominated to carry out the line of policy marked out by those who insisted on extending and nationalizing slavery.

But truth is mighty and public justice certain.—The people of this county will not tolerate long continued persecution and injustice, and their slumbering energies have been aroused. The Centralists at Washington have heard the muttering thunders of

an indignant people, and are beginning to quail before the storm.

SHANNON, the drunken Governor and tool of the border ruffians has been removed; next come the judges LECOMPTÉ and CATO, and with them Marshal DONALDSON. Are these men removed without cause? Is the administration turning out honest, faithful public officers? What have the flunkey presses and leaders to say on this subject?

The *Hartford Times* and the BUCHANAN men have sustained these wretches through all their outrages and abuses. They were perfectly satisfied with SHANNON, LECOMPTÉ, CATO and DONALDSON.

These expelled officials have had no firmer friends than the *Hartford Times* and *New Haven Register*, both of which have denounced as abolitionists and Black Republicans all who censured their conduct. Are PIERCE and BUCHANAN turning to be Black Republicans, that they should do what the freemen of the free States have so long demanded?

When the *Times* gets through with publishing OLIVER's report, will it devote a little space to do justice to the people of Kansas? Why not let its readers be informed of some few of the long series of wrongs that have been inflicted upon their suffering countrymen "hundreds of miles away."—Whether they do or not, the people are rising in their might to redress these wrongs. FREMONT leads the way.

NEW HAVEN DAILY PALLADIUM

NEW HAVEN:

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 13, 1856.

THEY QUAILE BEFORE THE PEOPLE.

The administration at Washington is quailing before the aroused sentiment of the North. It has already removed the infamous Judge Lecompte of Kansas, who declared the Herald of Freedom office at Lawrence, a nuisance,—and Marshal Donaldson, the brutal executor of the "laws" of the bogus legislature. This and some other signs would give evidence that they were disposed to prevent the commission of more outrages—a thing they might always have easily done—were it not that the fact has come out that these removals have been ordered, to induce the new Governor, Col Geary, to take his office—that gentleman refusing to do so; unless these shameless and cowardly promoters and agents of tyranny were decapitated. This fact robs the President of all merit in the action.

If indeed there is a faint hope in the President's mind that by these removals he will better the fortunes of his party, the acts come too late. The crime against Kansas was too foully begotten, has been attended with too much wickedness and cruelty, and has been persisted in too long, for Mr. Pierce, or Mr. Douglas, or any of the locofoco magnates, to make any capital by trying to retrace their steps. The people have marked them. They have transferred their allegiance to other men and better principles. The confidence they reposed in them in '52, has been betrayed.—They will not forget it. And now they gather heart and hand around JOHN C. FREMONT, the advocate of Freedom and the opponent of Slavery extension. They will put him in the White House in November. Meanwhile, such manifestations as these removals, on the part of the administration, are interesting only as signs of their terror in view of the defeat before them.

The news of the nomination of Fremont and Dayton reached Topeka, K. T., on the afternoon of June 22. In the evening a meeting was held, at which a number of eloquent speeches were made and a series of resolutions passed indorsing the platform and nominees. The Topeka, Kansas, Tribune says:

"The meeting, previous to adjourning, gave three deafening cheers for Fremont and Dayton, and three times three for the free State of Kansas. Bonfires were burning in the streets—houses were illuminated, and a wild, joyful enthusiasm seemed to pervade every breast. While passing down Kansas avenue we saw an effigy of Frank Pierce lowered into the flames and felt the earth shake beneath our feet, with the stamps and cries that filled the air. Every one seemed to be pleased with themselves and perfectly satisfied with the nomination."

The Republican.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.
WEDNESDAY MORNING, AUGUST 13, 1856.

THE NATIONAL KANSAS COMMITTEE.—There have been some changes in this committee, which is now constituted as follows:

J. D. Webster, chairman, H. B. Hurd, secretary, George W. Dole, treasurer, and J. G. Scammon, all of Chicago, Ill.; Dr S. G. Howe, Dr Samuel Cabot, Jr., Boston; W. H. Bassell, New Haven, Ct.; Gov W. W. Hoppin, Providence, R. I.; Thaddeus Hyatt, New York city; Alexander Gordon, Pittsburg, Pa.; S. S. Barnard, Detroit, Mich.; J. A. Tweedy, Milwaukee, Wis.; W. Penn Clark, Iowa City, Iowa; William H. Stanley, Cleveland, Ohio; John W. Wright, Lozanoport, Ia.; W. F. M. Amy, Bloomington, Ill.; F. A. Hunt, St. Louis, Mo.; S. W. Eldridge, Lawrence, Kansas.

Chicago is the center of operations, and for the present Dr Howe of Boston and Mr Hyatt of New York will remain there, to assist in the active operations of the committee. We are assured that the committee is vigorously at work, forwarding new emigrants and affording relief to the needy in Kansas. They wisely refrain from publishing the details of their operations. They need liberal contributions, and they appeal to all the local associations and to all individuals interested in their efforts, to do all they can, and do it immediately, that a large emigration may be secured before the season closes. The South is renewing its efforts. Let not the North and West hold back. The destiny of Kansas is very soon to be decided.

GOOD NEWS FROM KANSAS.—The Worcester Spy learns by letters from Chicago, that the Worcester company of emigrants, under Martin Stowell, has made its way into Kansas, in spite of all obstacles, and was when last heard from within forty miles of Topeka. We believe that this is the first party of emigrants which has actually arrived in Kansas, since the sacking of Lawrence. Dr Cutter also was on his way in, and the three hundred Western emigrants were behind him.

This is better news than we had expected, as the latest account from the territory represented that Gen Richardson, of the bogus territorial militia, had gone towards Iowa, with three or four hundred Missourians, to prevent the entrance of the emigrants. The other parties may not have so good luck in eluding the ruffians as the Worcester party did. It is now currently reported throughout the territory that Gen Smith will not attempt to prevent the entry of Lane; neither will he interfere to prevent a fight with the ruffians. If a conflict ensues, he will proclaim martial law, and allow the parties to fight it out.

THE KANSAS PRISONERS AND JUDGE MCLEAN.—The report that Judge McLean had issued a writ of habeas corpus in the case of one of the treason prisoners in Kansas, is contradicted from Washington. He refused it, because the writ for treason had been issued by a competent court. Before the Philadelphia convention it was understood Judge McLean expressed his readiness to grant such a writ.

Boston Daily Courier.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, AUG. 13, 1856.

Whig State Convention.

In accordance with a vote of the Whig State Central Committee, a Whig State Convention will be held in BOSTON, on WEDNESDAY, the third day of September next, at eleven o'clock, A. M. for the purpose of nominating candidates for the ensuing election, and of transacting such other business as may be deemed necessary at this time. The several towns and cities in this Commonwealth are requested to elect a number of Delegates equal to three times the number of representatives to which they are entitled in the General Court in any one year to attend said Convention. It is requested that the names of Delegates may be communicated to the Secretary of the Committee immediately after their election.

WILLIAM ASPINWALL, Chairman.

FREDERICK O. PRINCE, Secretary.

July 8, 1856.

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THE KANSAS TERRITORIAL BILLS. The telegraphic report of yesterday's Congress stated that the House bill relating to Kansas was laid on the table in the Senate by a vote of 34 to 12, Mr. Douglas of the majority and Mr. Collamer of the minority of the Senate Committee on Territories making their reports. The Washington correspondent of the New York Herald, writing August 11, places the report of Mr. Douglas in this wise:—

Senator Douglas, from the Territorial Committee, to whom had been referred the bill passed by the Republican majority of the House of Representatives, providing for the admission of Kansas as a state under the Topeka Constitution, made an elaborate report thereon to-day, rejecting the same. His objections to the House bill in substance were:

First, It incorporates into Kansas a portion of the Cherokee country which the United States has by treaty pledged the faith of the nation should never be incorporated in any state or territory.

Second, It also incorporates into Kansas about twenty thousand square miles of Mexico, establishes slavery therein until 1858, and prohibits it thereafter, in violation of the compact purchasing the country from Texas, and of the compromise measures of 1850, which guaranteed that said territory should come into the Union with or without slavery, as the people should determine.

Third, It legalizes and establishes slavery in Kansas, and over a portion of New Mexico, until 1858, and provides that children heretofore born shall be slaves for life, and their posterity after them, provided they are removed into a slave state or territory prior to 1858.

Fourth, It recognizes the validity of the existing laws in Kansas, and provides for the faithful execution of them, except those punishing murder, robbery, larceny and other crimes.

Fifth, It provides no guarantees against illegal voting, frauds in conducting the elections, or violence at the polls, but legalizes all such outrages, by declaring that the law under which they could be punished shall not be enforced.

The report recommends the passage of the bill, which has twice passed the Senate, declaring all the obnoxious laws null and void, and allowing the people to form a constitution.

We really do not understand some provisions of the Illinois Senator's abjuration, and should like a little more light upon it, though there is little room for that now.

Boston Journal.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, AUG. 13.

—Assembling of the Missourians—Complicity of Gov. Shannon—Aid for the Northern Emigrants.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 13. (N. Y. Tribune correspondence.) Mr. Coates, counsel of Gov. Robinson, has just arrived here from Kansas, and reports that a collision between the advancing emigrants through Iowa, and the Missourians, is probable. He confirms the previous reports that the Missourians are assembling in large numbers at Iowa point, near the line of Kansas and Nebraska, under command of Gen. Richardson, of Wakarusa war notoriety. This attempt to drive off free emigrants is done with the concurrence of Gov. Shannon, who had not then heard of his removal. Companies of the Free State soldiers from Topeka, Lawrence, the Beecher settlement, and other free State places, have gone to aid the emigrants in reaching the Territory.

Kansas Affairs.

ST. LOUIS, Aug. 11. A letter in the *Republican*, dated Whitehead, Kansas, Aug. 4, says that the U. S. District Court, Judge Leecompte presiding, began its summer term on that day. The cases for decision were numerous, chiefly criminal and political, and it was reported that 600 of Lane's troops were in readiness to rescue those convicted by the Court. On the strength of this rumor, Gen. Smith had sent fifty dragoons, under Capt. Wood, to protect the Court and enforce its decrees.

Judge Leecompte, in his charge to the Grand Jury, reviewed the most glaring offenses, and suggested remedies for the present and prospective good of the country. He admonished them to be cool, calm, and unbiased in their actions, and to do nothing having the appearance of sectional or personal inclination.

The writer says Kansas never enjoyed such peace as now; and if let alone by foreign agitators, there would be universal harmony and prosperity.

DAILY CHRONICLE.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 13, 1856.

BORDER RUFFIANISM IN NEBRASKA. The pro-slavery hordes have arrived in Nebraska, and the residents of that peaceful Territory are much excited. The Council Bluffs Chronotype of July 30 says:

"We have startling intelligence from Southern Nebraska. The Border Ruffians from Missouri have invaded the territory, and up to Sunday, had arrived within twenty 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 one hundred and fifty 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 eighty 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."

Daily Evening Traveller.

BOSTON:
WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 13, 1856.Correspondence of the Traveller.
LETTER FROM KANSAS.KANSAS EMIGRANT CAMP,
15 Miles from Nebraska City, N.T.
August 1st, 1856.

To the Editor of the Traveller:

Upon the ground and in sight of the spot from which I am writing are encamped some three hundred persons, men, women and children, emigrants to Kansas, assembled here for mutual protection and assistance from all parts of the North. The scene is quite an animated one, and presents a strange and unique appearance to those who, like myself, have never seen Western life in any of its forms before.

There are quite a number of companies here, some of them independent and others sent out by aid of the friends of Free Kansas. The wealthiest and most reliable party on the ground is the Milwaukee train, consisting of ten or twelve families, comprising some sixty individuals, who, with their wagons, trains, household furniture, agricultural implements, &c., have now been ten weeks on their route from Wisconsin. These families give quite a home-like and comfortable aspect to the encampment, and do much to add weight and character to the enterprise. The Fremont Company, from Chicago, in point of numbers come next, but in character and appearance seem to be below the average of the emigrants. This company was under the immediate direction of Col. Lane, till they reached the Missouri river, when he left for the East, and has not since had any charge or direction whatever. A late issue of the St. Louis Republican states positively "that Lane is marching into Kansas with several hundred men, well armed, and is determined to drive out every pro-slavery man." This statement may gain some credence with stupid people at the North, therefore a denial may

not be out of place. The men whom Col. Lane had the direction of in Iowa, mostly intend to settle; they go as peaceable men, and not more than two-thirds possess any arms at all. Col. Lane has left the camp and the general direction is under the control of a committee of the conductors of the various companies. In addition to the above named companies, there are quite a number of small parties from Indiana, Iowa, Illinois, Ohio, Massachusetts, and other States, who are known by the name of the town, city or county that provided means for them to come on. The material means that will be added to the wealth of Kansas, and the moral importance of these companies to the Free State cause cannot be too highly estimated. The number of wagons, horses, oxen, agricultural implements, &c. will be quite an important item in the amount of property taken in by these pioneer companies. At a rough estimate of the value of the material now upon this ground, it cannot be placed under thirty thousand dollars, and probably is much above that sum. In the Massachusetts company alone the amount of general and individual wealth cannot be less than six thousand dollars. We have represented here, all the various professions, trades and occupations that find a place in the crowded cities of the older States, clergymen, lawyers, doctors, editors, reporters, are scattered profusely among us, but their friends would have some difficulty in recognizing men, who once shone in the drawing room, in the fannel-shirted, bearded, rough, sunburnt individuals who stroll about the camp.

Since we have been camped we have had several additions to our numbers, by the arrival of parties from Kansas, who have been driven from their claims by pro-slavery men. Yesterday a very respectable, intelligent-looking German, came in. He had been driven from his claim six miles from Topeka, some five weeks since. He went to Kansas early in the spring, took up his claim, and after getting his crops in, worked among the neighbors for hire. The only reason he supposes they had for driving him off, was the fact of his refusal to work for a pro-slavery man by the name of Crown, when he had a choice between him and a free State farmer. One night he came home late from work, and about ten minutes after entering the house, he was followed by a party of between forty and fifty. One in front of them, who seemed to be the leader, commenced questioning him as to which party he belonged. His reply was that "he did not belong to either; that he was a neutral man, and did not care about their difficulties." The man replied, "that was not sufficient answer for him; that he must tell whether he was an abolitionist." The German's reply was "that he did not know what he meant," adding, at the same time, "he was not an American."

The leader of the ruffians, finding he could not make him commit himself, briefly asked, "Which ticket he would vote, 'Pro-Slavery or Free State?'" which elicited the reply of "Free State Ticket," from the settler. He was then told that he must leave his claim and the neighborhood immediately, and if seen again, he would be shot. They compelled him to deliver his arms, and he was allowed to take a portion only of his clothing, driving him out at night, and robbing him of his tools, part of his clothing, and other articles. He stopped two days in the vicinity, hidden in the neighbors' cabin. He then went to Lawrence, to a friend residing there, who advised him to proceed to Iowa City and join one of the companies then on their way to Kansas. He had no chance of getting his claim back by peaceable means, for the courts of justice being under the entire control of Missourians, it was useless to appeal to them. He came up the river as far as St. Joseph, Mo., where he heard of the emigrants being at Sydney, Iowa. He walked the remaining portion of the distance and joined the emigrants encamped here. I give the details of this affair as I heard it from the party's lips, and this is but a sample of scores of such cases that we have heard well authenticated since we have been in this Territory.

Mr. Jamison, a delegate to the Topeka Legislature, has arrived in camp, and reports quite a number of cases of outrage and robbery. Eight Free State men, residing on the Big Blue, have been murdered by a party of Missourians who endeavored to jump their claims. Scenes like these are constantly being enacted, and we are in continual expectation of an attack from these border men. That parties are hovering round us, we know; for bodies of horsemen have been seen by

scouts from our camp. We are waiting here for the arrival of the Chicago, Massachusetts and New York parties, who were disarmed on the river, and who afterwards came through Iowa and are now crossing the Missouri at Nebraska City. Upon their arrival we shall proceed on our route to Kansas, and a few days will determine whether we shall be allowed to enter peaceably or not.

Our camp was enlivened on Wednesday (July 30th) by the presence of Dr. Howe of Boston, and Mr. Hyatt of New York, members of the Executive Committee chosen by the Buffalo Convention, and Col. Eldridge, of Lawrence, K.T., now acting as Superintendent of the route between Iowa city and Kansas. They brought late papers and news from the East, and their presence was very acceptable and encouraging. I should like to give you some description of the country and of the details of camp life, but time and space forbids, so I will have to leave it for a more favorable opportunity.

T. P.

Fitchburg Reville.

Wednesday Morning, August 13, 1856.

Letter from Gov. Robinson.

We have the pleasure of giving to our readers a letter from Governor Robinson to a gentleman of this town. It is long since we have heard directly from him, and we trust that the appeal of this brave man, and martyr in the cause of liberty, soon about to be tried for his life for the crime of preparing to defend the women and children of Lawrence against a horde of Missouri ruffians and murderers, will not be made in vain to his townsmen, and the citizens of Massachusetts:

CAMP SACKETT,
Kansas, July 28th, 1856.

FRIEND SAFFORD:—

For the gratification of Frank Pierce I am spending the season in the open prairie, under a guard of U. S. Soldiers; having been indicted by direction of his tools for treason. The overt act, according to Leecompte, consisted in preparing to defend Lawrence last November and December, against an armed mob of Missourians collected by Shannon. This same Wilson Shannon after visiting the town and learning the facts, acknowledged that the people of Lawrence were justified in defending themselves, asked their pardon, and promised to do all in his power to repair the injury he had inflicted upon an unoffending community. He even authorized us, over his own signature, to use all the force in Lawrence against the mob threatening our destruction; out now, for want of a better pretext, and for keeping a few men in confinement, they charge us with treason. Until quite recently we have been kept from intercourse with our friends, and all correspondence cut off or examined by our keepers. It is not enough to keep us in confinement, but so far as possible we are to be punished before trial. Shannon has given orders to prevent all private interviews and correspondence with us, but Captain Sackett having a heart of his own, and having orders from Col. Sumner to act his discretion in the matter, refuses to comply with Shannon's demands. But Shannon swears Captain Sackett shall obey him, and has sent to General Smith for orders to that effect. Whether the petty tyrant will be allowed to interfere and subject us to additional punishment remains to be seen.—Shannon talks very freely with his cronies about our being convicted and hung. Some he says are to be hung and others discharged. Among those to be hung are myself and one or two others. It seems that although several hundred

persons are as guilty as any of us, if there be guilt, only two or three are to be hung. The old doctrine of "scape-goats" is to be revived and the mass of the people spared from suffering the penalty due for their crimes. Another thing is a little unusual, Gov. Reeder, Gen. Lane, and S. N. Wood were indicted in the same bill with us, for treason, yet they are allowed to stomp the country unmolested, while we are not even allowed to give bail. What does it mean? Is this all a farce, or is the government so imbecile that it cannot arrest and bring to punishment the greatest criminals known to the law?

Those of us arrested for treason are far better off than many others, for we are well kept and now have an excellent captain for a jailor, who allows us all the comforts consistent with our safety, while many of our friends, less fortunate, fall into the hands of Pierce and Shannon's militia, who amuse themselves by robbing, gagging, torturing, and hanging or shooting their prisoners, to gratify their cruel propensities. This militia business, however, seems likely soon to have an end, as the real settlers have taken it in hand and the leaders begin to cry for quarter. They have at length found that horse pressing and robbing can be practiced by Yankees as well as Mi o rans, and the odds are likely to turn against them. Even Gov. Shannon can't keep a horse, and has to go on foot or stay at home. Also a pro-slavery man's life is worth no more than a free state man's, and they now propose a vigilance committee, independent of all governments, to settle the troubles in Kansas. The result is in the future, but one thing is certain, the exterminating process is about to fail, as it seems likely to result in the extermination of the exterminators.

If, however, the free state men keep their heads above water, and get the advantage of their enemies, it is not due to any favors of this administration, but in spite of both the President and Missouri. History gives no parallel to the infamous course of the officials in Kansas. It is useless to enumerate their villainous deeds, as no American citizen will believe that such infernal acts are done till they experience them. The recording angel has a dark page for Frank Pierce and his tools and supporters to peruse at their leisure when the intoxication of office-seeking shall have passed off. "Infamy" will be branded upon their foreheads and be thrown at them till they find concealment in their graves, and then, if they are of sufficient importance to be noticed by devils, they will be hurled to the "bottom of the bottomless pit," while all hell will shout "Infamy! Eternal Infamy!" as they descend.

Incredible as it may seem, this same President and his conduct was endorsed by the Cincinnati Convention, and made one of the planks of the platform upon which James Buchanan now stands, and of which he is the personation. And can it be that any man can be found, so lost to all sense of freedom and Americanism—another name for freedom—as to countenance such a man by the least notice, to say nothing of voting for him. Certainly no national man can vote for Buchanan, as this party and administration are both the most infamously sectional of any on record, prostrating completely the Constitution of the country, and crushing out the inalienable rights of the people, for the purpose of extending a sectional institution in opposition to the laws of God and the will of the people.

No American can vote for him, as freedom is the birthright of every American citizen, and this platform and candidate are pledged to slavery.

No foreigner that hates tyranny and loves constitutional liberty can vote for him, for in Buchanan's platform he finds the essence of tyranny and the subversion of all laws and Constitution.

Fillmore is no better, as he also is mounted on a sectional platform, pledged to slavery rather than freedom.

FREMONT, God bless him, is the only national candidate in the field. If he is not elected this Union will not last four years. Nothing but a return to the constitution and laws of the country, by the Chief Executive, can save us from shipwreck, and it is vain to hope for such a return if either Buchanan or Fillmore are elected.

But politics aside, Fremont is of all others just the man for the times. A man who could say "if slavery is introduced into California I will leave the state," and that too, when he knew that speech would cost him a seat in the Senate of the United States, can never be corrupted to sacrifice Liberty on the shrine of Slavery; and the man who dared to take the responsibility of traversing unknown regions, of scaling the Rocky and Sierra Nevada Mountains, in midwinter; of waging war and conquering California, before the Government knew what he was about; and finally the man who dared to take the responsibility of captivating and running away with Jessie Benton, in defiance of "Old Bullion"—such a man will not hesitate to take the responsibility to wipe out the policy and corruptions of Frank Pierce from the White House, and inaugurate an administration of peace and good will to the whole country.

If I have a friend left in old Fitchburg who desires to rebuke the man who keeps us here in confinement against all law and justice, who will cause us to be hung by the neck till we are dead, because we differ from him in politics, and if that friend would do me a personal favor, and secure freedom to Kansas, let him vote for John C. Fremont for President, for this is our only hope, either for life or freedom, so far as we can see at present.

Very Respectfully,
C. ROBINSON.

North Daily Tribune.

WEDNESDAY MORN., AUG. 13, 1856.

The republican papers in the state are distributing to their subscribers the majority report of the Kansas committee. This action of theirs virtually concedes that the only plank in their platform is Kansas. Let the report go; it doubtless contains a good deal of truth, with but a few much errors we cannot say, and can do no more harm than the reports which are daily published by parties interested to keep up the excitement on the Kansas question. People will read this report, and every intelligent man will thus for himself weigh the testimony presented. If there is but one side to the question, and if there is but one issue before the country,—let us understand this matter at once. If the affairs are as bad as represented in the majority report of the Kansas committee, how is it we would ask, that Congress, the House of Representatives—does not take steps to remedy the evils under which the people groan? Is it not clear that in the distribution of this document and in the inaction of the republican majority in the House, that Kansas is to be nursed for the Presidential contest? We think so.

Middlebury Register.

MIDDLEBURY:

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 13, 1856.

We copy the following defence of Rev. Mr. Webster, against the attacks of the Vermont Patriot.

"Strangely Infatuated."

The above is the heading of an article referring to myself in the Vermont Patriot, of the 25th inst. In this article, the editor represents me, "As deeming it my duty, as a minister of the gospel of peace, to stir up strife and contention; and civil war, all to aid the disunionists to elect Fremont. Selling my services to a political party, mistaking facts and traducing democrats for pay, and belonging to a class of men of few brains, indisposed to work, who preach only when they cannot get a living at swapping horses and making patent whiffletrees!"

The above extracts contain only some of the rare gems of the Major's article, in which, he exhibits the spirit of candor and courtesy with which he is trying to serve his country and develop the glory and purity of the present administration. He accuses me of hard things, but I defy him to show in any particular wherein I have misstated facts, and traduced democrats for pay or without it. I defy him also to give the name of any respectable republican who heard my remarks in the State House on the 4th inst., who made that remark about my being taken for a "greenhorn," which he seems so anxious now, to father upon some anonymous person of that party!

The Major ought not to suppose, that because he is paid for serving the present administration, and for the same reason could serve a certain Literary Institution, which before, it had been his pleasure to oppose, that, therefore, all other persons in serving a good cause, do it from motives equally sordid.

But what have I in reality done to merit such treatment from the Patriot? When I returned from Kansas I continued my correspondence for the Messenger, by giving an account of my tour in the Territory, and the abuse I received from the pro-Slavery party, for the crime of being a Vermonter. Some of my friends of this village, without distinction of sect or party, wished me to give in a public lecture, an account of my Kansas experience, and I complied with their request. When in attendance at the session of the Vt. Conference, my brethren there desired me to do the same, and I consented. I did it, in the first instances to gratify personal friends who wished to hear from one on whose statements they thought they might rely, in relation to the actual state of affairs in Kansas. I have since continued to lecture on that subject, when I could find leisure from my other business, with the hope that I might serve the cause of freedom in Kansas, by raising material aid, to assist the company that now propose to go from Vermont, to become actual settlers in that beautiful Territory, and as yet, I have done this work without fee or reward.

While in Kansas, I was frequently requested by those whose lives and property were then in peril, to do something for them if my life was spared to reach the States. I shall not soon forget the

request of Dr. Graham and his wife, whom I saw at Prairie City. But a few days before the Dr. was going, quietly and unarmed, to Palmyra, and some of the agents of H. C. Pate's party took him a prisoner. As his captors were soon expecting an attack from the free state party, they threatened to shoot him. The Dr. watched his opportunity, and made an attempt to escape, but he was discovered, and they shouted after him, "d—d abolitionist, shoot him! shoot him!" and some half dozen men shot at him, and three of the shots took effect. I had conversation with the Dr. and his wife, who with tearful anxiety was bonding over his mangled body, stretched upon the couch of pain, and perhaps of death. The Dr. said to me, "If you go back to the States, I hope you will say something for Kansas, for I am afraid we shall all be massacred here."

While the image of those horrid men who took me a prisoner, and brandished weapons of death about my person, and threatened my life, lives in my imagination—while I recollect that my own brother was harassed into insanity, by the dogs of war which the South have been letting loose on the Free State party of Kansas—and while I think of those bleeding and dying, from wounds inflicted upon them, for no other crime, but their love of freedom, *so long will I speak for Kansas*, if there is a prospect that my feeble utterance may help to vindicate the right, and save so fair a portion of our country from the blight of slavery. I will do this, although Northern men, with Southern principles call me a politician, and seek to blast that reputation, which is only earthly treasure I have garnered from twenty-years of untiring devotion to the labors of the Christian ministry.

It is a telling circumstance that ought not to be overlooked, that a person cannot give a simple statement of what we know to be facts, in relation to the affairs of Kansas, without becoming obnoxious to certain mad throwing politicians, who, through the medium of the press, will seek to hold him up to public contempt.

I did not originate those facts which I cannot conscientiously conceal, and if the simple statement of them is an injury to a certain clique of paid politicians, the responsibility rests on those who belie democracy and assume those outrages, which cause them more to dread facts, than fiction. Why is it, that a certain class of men have their moral sensibilities so alarmingly shocked, at the idea that good men, especially clergymen, should have anything to do with politics.

A word more. I am glad the Major took so much pains to tell us, that every year since his remembrance, he has contributed something for the aid of the Bible Society, but for his article, the fact might not have been known, as our annual report, which is designed to contain the names of all persons contributing a dollar, or more to this object, fails to give him credit for any contribution. There must be some mistake, the Major has failed to pay a dollar at any one time for this object, or the printers must have overlooked his name!

I am thankful that the Editor of the *Patriot* feels such an interest for the Bible cause, and I wish to relieve his anxiety, by here giving him the assur-

ance that I am not neglecting its interests, but working my "few brains" still in the advocacy of its claims. Why may not a free gospel and a free Kansas be united in harmony, as well as profanity and pro-slavery. A. WEBSTER.

Montpelier, July 31, 1856.

The A. S. Patriot.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 13, 1856.

Speech of Hon. William Burns,

Of Lancaster, in the Senate of New Hampshire, July 9th, 1856, on the question of the passage of the resolutions on the subject of outrages in Kansas and at the National Capital.

Reported for the Patriot, by H. E. ROCKWELL.

MR. PRESIDENT: I do not think it desirable, at the present time, to detain the Senate at any great length in the discussion of these resolutions. Under certain circumstances, I might think it desirable to offer amendments to a portion of them; but I suppose they have been carefully considered by the committee, and they have been very fully discussed in the other branch of the Legislature, and are, undoubtedly, satisfactory to a majority of this body. For that reason, sir, I have no disposition to do any thing, were it in my power, to prevent the action of this body upon these resolutions; and I have, consequently, concluded merely to express my views in as brief a manner as possible, and to propose no amendments whatever.

Mr. President, I would say, in the first place, that I object to these resolutions, in part and in whole. I believe that so far as they claim to make a statement of facts, they misrepresent. I also object to the title of these resolutions. What is it? They purport to be resolutions of the Legislature of New Hampshire, in relation to the late acts of violence and bloodshed by the slave power in the Territory of Kansas and at the National Capital. That there have been acts of violence and bloodshed in the Territory of Kansas, there is no doubt, and we all regret that such acts of violence should have taken place. But when you undertake to charge these acts of violence and bloodshed wholly upon the slave power, I then object. I believe, and I think I shall be able to show, before I close my remarks, that, to a very considerable extent, these acts of violence and bloodshed have been brought about by those very men who claim that they are the peculiar friends of freedom in Kansas. Of this I shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

I wish now to call the attention of the Senate to the first and ninth of these resolutions, as they relate, substantially, to the same subjects. The first resolution undertakes to arraign the motives of men. It declares "that all subsequent events have demonstrated that the abrogation, in the act organizing the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska, of the prohibition against slavery, which formed a part of the compact long known and respected as the Missouri Compromise, was not, as was alleged by the supporters of the measure, for the purpose of recognizing and enunciating a great political principle, but, as was charged by its opponents at the time, had for its object to strip that great territory of its defences, and to open it to invasion and conquest by that relentless power which, in its onward movement, no concession can appease, and no acquisition can satisfy; and which, for the advancement of its unholy purposes, has long wielded, and virtually claims the right to wield, the whole power of the general government."

Now I do not know but the majority of this body think it useful to arraign the motives of men, and to charge upon the friends of the Kansas-Nebraska bill the design and intention to open that territory, in the language of this resolution, to invasion and to conquest by a relentless power. If they do, all I have to say is, that, in my opinion, it is, to say the least of it, in exceedingly bad taste, and that if they think they can gain any thing by charging upon the friends of that act, that their professions were false and their intentions entirely different from what they claim, they are welcome to it.

The first and the ninth resolutions make declarations in favor of restoring the Missouri Compromise, and of prohibiting slavery in the territories, by the action of Congress. With-

out claiming to present any thing that is wholly new, I propose to state, as briefly as I am able, my views in reference to the propositions contained in those resolutions. I take the broad ground that such legislation as is advocated in them is both unconstitutional and inexpedient. Now, Mr. President, what position do the friends of this legislation take in reference to its constitutionality? They claim, as I understand, that the power is obtained under a certain provision of the Constitution of the United States, which provides that "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." Let us look at the matter for a single moment. It would be singular, indeed, if Congress have power "to dispose of," they have power "to make all needful rules and regulations," so far as the domestic affairs of the people are concerned. You will mark the language. It is "respecting the territory and other property belonging to the United States." Now I claim that this provision of our Constitution relates merely to our territory as territory and as property. It says "territory and other property belonging to the United States." The words, that "Congress shall have power to dispose of," evidently warrants that construction. Now, as I understand, it is claimed by the friends of these resolutions, that Congress may legislate to any extent they choose with reference to the domestic affairs in the territory, and their position, to which I have referred, can be explained on no other grounds.

We have a provision with reference to the admission of new States, which is simply that new States may be admitted by Congress into this Union. There is no other provision that I am aware of. It gives to Congress a general power. We have another clause in the Constitution, which provides that Congress shall have power to make all laws which may be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by the Constitution in the Congress of the United States. This is where Congress gets the power to legislate in reference to the people of the territories. The provision is express that Congress may admit new States into the Union; and at the same time the Constitution provides that Congress may make all necessary rules and regulations for carrying out that power and others delegated to them. Then we are brought to this conclusion, that Congress may legislate, so far as may be necessary, for the admission of territories as States into this Union, and no further. The power to organize territorial governments is an incident, necessary to carry out the provision that Congress may have power to admit new States; and I undertake to say that this is the only power which Congress has in relation to this matter.

Let us next look at the expediency of this legislation. I undertake to say that even if Congress had the constitutional power to legislate in reference to the domestic affairs of the people of the territories, it would be entirely inexpedient so to do. Would it be desirable for Congress to legislate with regard to all the private concerns of the people in our territories? The bare statement of the question is enough to answer it, and to show that it would be entirely inexpedient. Congress has never undertaken to carry their legislation to such an extent.

Another thing to which I wish to call the attention of the Senate is some authority in reference to this question, such as I believe a majority of this body will consider pretty good authority. My authority, sir, is Mr. William L. Dayton, who was nominated at the Philadelphia Convention for the office of Vice President of the United States. This same Mr. Dayton, whom you are supporting for the second office in our government, by his acts, by his votes, as the record shows, was opposed, no longer ago than 1850, to legislation of this description. In speaking of the Mexican treaty, as it was called, there was one consideration which very much commended the line of this treaty to his favorable regard. "It avoids, practically, all that wretched question of the *Wilmot Proviso*. I think that sober, reflecting, thoughtful men of the North will, on reflection, view the question in that light." That is what he said in 1850. He alluded to the attempt at prohibiting slavery in the territories, on the part of Congress, as a "wretched question;" and he favored the measure which was then before Congress, because that, by so doing, he got rid of this "wretched question;" and he believed the people of the North would sustain him in it. I know not what his views are at this time, but I have seen no evidence that they have changed since 1850.

It is claimed, and we frequently hear and see it stated, that the Democratic party of New Hampshire have changed upon this subject; that they are now contending for a principle different from that advocated by them in the past. I would say, in the first place, that such a charge comes with ill grace from the abolition-republican party of the present day. How do they stand? No longer ago than 1850 and 1852, the great mass of them made up from the whig party, contended for the same principle for which we now contend.

But they say we have changed. I deny that the Democratic party have changed upon this question. I am perfectly well aware that, a

few years ago, a portion of the Democratic party of New Hampshire believed in the constitutionality of these restrictions. There was a difference of opinion in reference to that matter. We all know that in 1850 there was as much agitation in reference to the subject of slavery as there has ever been in the whole history of our country. We know that the Congress of 1850 agreed upon certain Compromise Measures, and I do not contend that there was not then some yielding of opinion in every section of our country. The very name "Compromise" implies that. The leading men of both parties united upon that question, and it was understood to be settled by that compromise. And what was the principle supposed to be settled at that time? It was this same principle for which we are now contending, being then applied in the organization of the Territories embraced in the Compromise Measures. The same principle was again applied in the organization of Kansas and Nebraska. I am yet to learn that there is any difference, so far as this question is concerned, between the principle of the Compromise Measures of 1850 and the Kansas-Nebraska bill. You will recollect that the whole whig party, in 1852, recognized this principle, and that their national convention adopted, as part of their platform, these same Compromise Measures.

Then, let me ask, who have changed?—Where do you find the man among the republican party of the present day, who is willing to stand by the Compromise Measures of 1850? He cannot be found; and still they charge us with having changed. I deny it.—We stand where we have ever stood upon this subject; we are contending for a great principle which we believe to be right, which we believe to be sound, and which must prevail.

A few words in reference to the second resolution. It declares that the doctrine of popular sovereignty is "not fitted to the condition of an infant Territory. That is the sum and substance of the resolution. And we are asked, Mr. President, to record our votes in favor of the proposition that popular sovereignty is not fitted to the condition of an infant Territory. Yes, this lies at the foundation of the whole matter. It is no new thing to hear this doctrine maintained by the republican party of the present day; it is precisely the same doctrine that was contended for by the Tories of the revolution. A certain portion of the people of this country have always contended that an infant people were not capable of self-government—that the doctrine of popular sovereignty was not fitted to the condition of an infant territory. This is the doctrine which has always been contended for by tyrants, throughout the history of the world. You cannot find an instance where a people have been struggling for liberty, where they have been trying to throw off the yoke of despotism, that the tyrants who oppressed them did not proclaim the doctrine that the people were incapable of self-government. It has always been so, and I am glad to see this party at the present day, come out boldly and announce it. I do not know but a proposition of this kind may commend itself to a majority of this body; I do not know but that they are willing to declare to the world that they believe the people of our Territories are incapable of self-government.—This is the only doctrine contained in this second resolution. To such a doctrine I can never subscribe. I have yet to learn why men, because they happen to reside in a Territory, are not just as much men, just as well qualified to govern themselves and to regulate their own affairs, as though they had been admitted into the Union as a State.—Why, here is your Legislature declaring that the people of Kansas are not capable of governing themselves, and yet your majority in the House of Representatives at Washington have just passed a bill admitting them into the Union as a State! I would like to know why the people of Kansas will be any more capable of self-government, if admitted as a State, than if they remain as they now are.

Now, a few words in reference to the third resolution. This declares that there has never been any legal government established in Kansas, but that the conduct of the President, in sustaining a pretended government, is unjust, inhuman, and ought to be rebuked, &c. In the first place, I wish to call attention to the resolution as it was originally reported by the House committee. At that time it asserted that there never had been established in Kansas, any government in accordance with the provisions of the territorial or organic law; "and consequently that no legal government now exists in that Territory." Now, for some reason, the chairman of that committee saw fit to strike out the words, "and consequently that no legal government now exists in that Territory." But what is the meaning of the resolution as it now reads—I say it leaves it very indefinite what the opinion of that committee is on the subject. I shall therefore consider that it is admitted that a legal government does now exist in Kansas. As to the good taste of the friends of this resolution, in declaring that the conduct of the President of the United States is unjust and inhuman, I have nothing to say. I will only ask every candid man to reflect on the language used in reference to the President, and then say if it is such as should be used by the Legislature of New Hampshire in speaking of the Chief Magistrate of the United States.

I now propose to examine the present territorial government of Kansas, and to contrast it with the pretended government which is attempted to be sustained by the action of the republican party in the House of Representatives at Washington. I have never heard it suggested that the organization of the territorial government in Kansas was not agreeable to the act of Congress. The government was properly organized in pursuance of the act of Congress providing for such an organization. That act provided for the appointment of certain territorial officers; among others the appointment of a Governor. Mr. Reeder was accordingly appointed Governor of that Territory. I have never heard it contended that he was not properly appointed. Look at the course Gov. Reeder pursued in discharge of his official duties. In November, 1854, he issued his proclamation prescribing the time, place and manner of holding an election of a Delegate to Congress. And in that proclamation he prescribed minutely the mode in which the election was to be conducted. So far everything was done according to the forms of law, and in the latter part of that month, Gen. Whitfield was elected as the Delegate to Congress. Then what was the course pursued by the abolition party throughout the free States, in reference to that matter? Did they not proclaim everywhere that the election of Gen. Whitfield was illegal, that they were controlled by a Missouri mob, that "border ruffians" went into Kansas and controlled the elections? Certainly they did. I do not understand that there is now any question of the legality of Whitfield's first election. He received over two thousand votes, and there were perhaps five hundred against him. Now, notwithstanding all that has been said in reference to that election, the committee of investigation, sent out by Congress, report that Gen. Whitfield was legally elected. They make no question in regard to the matter. I refer to this to show the bearing of what has been said in reference to the course of the President.—You will remember that Gov. Reeder issued his proclamation calling the people together to elect members of the Territorial Legislature, in March, 1855. That election is the one about which so much is said at the present time. Now, it is charged that the President of the United States has not done his duty because he did not interfere and undertake to control the elections in March, 1855. Why is it so charged? It is said by the friends of these resolutions that there had been much complaint in reference to the first election. It was charged that the Missourians went over and controlled that election, and consequently they say the President had knowledge of the matter, and it was his duty to interfere at the March election in 1855. But the congressional investigating committee report that there was no cause of complaint in reference to the first election. Yet the President is denounced as unjust and inhuman, and, it is said, ought to be rebuked, because he did not interfere.—

Let us trace the history of this matter a little farther. The Governor, as you are aware, gave certificates of election to a large majority of that Legislature, so that all the forms of law were fully observed. I do not know that the action of the Governor was ever called in question in this matter. When the Legisla-

ture assembled he recognized it as a legal body, by sending to it his message and otherwise. When the Legislature changed the place of meeting, he contended that they had no authority to do so, and then, for that reason alone, he refused to have anything more to do with them. You see then, that the Territory was properly organized, Reeder properly appointed as Governor, the meetings for the election of members of the Legislature legally called, the certificates of election given, and the Legislature recognized by the Governor, yet it is asserted that the course of the President of the United States in sustaining a pretended government, is unjust, inhuman and ought to be rebuked. I appeal to every candid man to say what course the President could have taken in this matter.—Should he have sent a military force there to

control the action of that Legislature? No man believes the President would have been justified in any such course. The doctrine is monstrous. What could he do, even if he believed that a majority of that Legislature were illegally elected, when all the forms of law had been observed, when the certificates of election had been issued in the usual manner? What power had the President? What would have been said if the President had sent an armed force into Kansas, and by force of arms had declared the legislation void? Every one of your abolition republicans of the present day would have declared his action illegal.—Yes, you might well have passed a resolution then that the course of the President was unjust and inhuman and ought to be rebuked.—No man, then, who looks at the matter candidly, can say that the President of the United States could have taken any other course than he did.

Let us go a step further. This same republican party pretend that they are the law and order party. You recollect that at the Philadelphia Convention which nominated Mr. Fremont, they adopted as a part of their platform the doctrine that Kansas should be admitted into the Union immediately, with the Topeka constitution. The republican members of the House of Representatives in Congress have voted to admit Kansas with that constitution. And yet they pretend that the Legislature of Kansas was an illegal body, that it was controlled by border ruffians. I should say that though a bill of that kind has passed the House, the majority was only three, while the majority opposed to the administration is some seventy or eighty. Look at its fate in the Senate. There it has been defeated; only eleven of that whole body could be found who dared to vote in favor of that measure. A majority of all the northern Senators recorded their votes against it. And this, sir, is part of your Fremont platform; this is what your republican party stand upon in the present campaign. I am glad you have come out and taken this step boldly; and I am glad that in so respectable a body as the Senate of the United States only eleven names are recorded in favor of this measure.

Let us look a moment at the Topeka Convention. You will recollect that convention was originated while the Kansas Legislature was in session. How did it originate? Why, sir, notices were put up about the bar-rooms and on posts in different places, containing a call for a meeting to be held at Lawrence, in August, 1855. These notices were anonymous, no names were appended to them—but there was simply the words, "many voters." The call was for a meeting to take measures to form a constitution and apply for admission into the Union. That is the origin of the whole matter. The people assembled—I say the people—some of them, the "many voters," very likely, assembled on that occasion. What did they do? Our information is that but few assembled at Lawrence in August, but they determined upon a convention to meet at Topeka in September, and form a constitution and apply for admission into the Union.

I wish to call attention here to a convention held previous to the Topeka Convention, at Big Springs, at which resolutions were adopted by these same men who elected the Topeka delegates. Here is one of the resolutions:—

"Resolved, That we will endure and submit to these laws no longer than the best interests of the Territory require, as the least of two evils, and will resist them to a bloody issue as soon as we ascertain that peaceable remedies shall fail, and forcible resistance shall furnish any reasonable prospect of success; and that in the mean time we recommend to our friends throughout the Territory the organization and discipline of volunteer companies, and the procurement and preparation of arms."

Now this is a resolution passed by delegates

to the Topeka Convention. Their purposes were evident, that in case they could not succeed in carrying out their treasonable acts, they would resist to a bloody issue." This was the doctrine of the great mass of the people who composed that convention. What did they do? These volunteer companies were organized throughout the Territory, and I wish to call your attention to the oath which all belonging to them were obliged to take. It is as follows:—

"Obligation.

"I, ———, in the most solemn manner, here, in the presence of Heaven, and these witnesses, bind myself that I will never reveal, nor cause to be revealed, either by word, look, or sign, by writing, printing, engraving, painting, or in any manner whatsoever, anything pertaining to this institution, save to persons duly qualified to receive the same. I will never reveal the nature of the organization, the place of meeting, the fact that any person is a member of the same, or even the existence of the organization, except to persons legally qualified to receive the same. Should I at any time withdraw or be suspended, or expelled, from this organization, I will keep this obligation to the end of life. If any books, papers, or moneys belonging to this organization be intrusted to my care or keeping, I will faithfully and completely deliver up the same to my successor in office, or any one legally authorized to receive them. I will never knowingly propose a person for membership in this order who is not in favor of making *Kansas a free State*, and who I feel satisfied will exert his entire influence to bring about this result. I will support, maintain, and abide by any honorable movement made by the organization to secure this great end, which will not conflict with the laws of the country and the constitution of the United States. I will unflinchingly vote for and support the candidates nominated by this organization in preference to any and all others.

"To all of this obligation I do most solemnly promise and affirm, binding myself under the penalty of being expelled from this organization, of having my name published to the several territorial encampments as a perjurer before Heaven and a traitor to my country, of passing through life scorned and reviled by man, frowned on by devils, forsaken by angels, and abandoned by God."

Such were the men who composed this Topeka Convention; and, as I said before, a majority of the House of Representatives have voted to admit Kansas with a constitution framed by that convention. And yet they tell us, about the illegality of the Kansas Legislature; they tell us the conduct of the President is inhuman because he did not interfere to put down that Legislature! I refer to these things to show the gross inconsistency of those who condemn the President.

Another matter: you have doubtless read the bill recently introduced into the Senate of the United States, by Mr. Douglas. So far as I can discover, this bill, providing for the admission of Kansas as a State, meets every objection which I have ever heard made by any candid man who is a member of the republican party. I know it has been said the President should interfere to protect the ballot-box, and that otherwise there can be no fair expression of opinion. And the test oaths have been alluded to. This bill provides for cases of that kind. It provides that commissioners shall be appointed and sent out there to take charge of the election, and prevent illegal voting. And I am glad that only twelve Senators could be found who were willing to record their names against it. Who were they? Hale, Wilson, Seward, and men of that kind. They are men who have for a long time been leaders in the abolition party. And these are your Fremont men, your leading republicans at the present time. What can be the object of these men? I can see no earthly reason for their opposition to that bill, excepting that they have now entered upon a Presidential campaign, and they know that if that bill passes Congress and becomes a law, it would settle all the difficulties in Kansas. It would destroy all their thunder; they would have nothing left for the present campaign.— I can see no reason for opposing it, except to keep up this agitation till the Presidential campaign is settled. I have read the bill carefully, and would like to have any senator point out, if he has observed or knows of any ground taken by the opponents of the administration, which is not met by this bill. It was designed to meet all reasonable objections which could be brought by the opponents of the administration.

I will now pass to consider the fourth resolution, which declares that the President is re-

sponsible "for the depredations, burnings," &c., in Kansas, as well as "the inflamed and misguided men who have been the actors in the perpetration of these crimes, and those who have stimulated and instigated their commission." I have alluded to the first part of the resolution sufficiently, perhaps, in my remarks on the third of the series. It is said that the responsibility rests upon the "misguided men," &c., and "upon those who have stimulated and instigated their commission." I can give no other interpretation to this, than that those inflamed and misguided men who have been sent out from Massachusetts, are responsible, and that the Emigrant Aid Society, which stimulated these acts, are responsible also. If I am allowed this interpretation to the last part of the resolution, I can support it heartily, and I believe I should be justified in so doing. I ask you if, the first difficulties in Kansas did not directly arise from sending large numbers of men by this society in Massachusetts, and kindred associations, long before there was any attempt at controlling the elections by men from the Southern States? This is a matter of history. I am aware that the friends of this Emigrant Aid Society pretend that they were proceeding legally. If it were so, it makes it, to my mind, none the less wrong. But I doubt very much the legality of these proceedings. I have yet to learn that an association of individuals may be incorporated by an act of a State Legislature, with the avowed purpose of furnishing means and arms for men to go into another State or Territory, for the purpose of controlling elections, and accomplishing some purpose in reference to their local affairs. I have yet to learn that such an institution is a legal one. But, however that may be, whether legal or illegal, it makes no difference, because this association was organized for the avowed purpose of controlling the domestic affairs of Kansas. They had a capital of \$5,000,000, and men were sent into that territory by hundreds and thousands. I do not wish to be understood as justifying the Missourians in taking a similar course; but I do say that I like their course better than that of this Emigrant Aid Society. Why? Because they come out openly and boldly, and avow their purpose, while your Emigrant Aid Society, professing hypocritically all the time that they have no such object in view, and attempting to act under the color of a legal act, have precisely the same object in view as the Missourians.

A word or two as to the next four resolutions, which relate particularly to the assaults committed upon Mr. Greeley, editor of the Tribune, and Mr. Sumner. When they were first introduced, it seemed singular to me that they were so drawn, evidently with the design that no Democratic member of the Legislature could possibly vote for them. I assert that no man can be found, and no press in New England, that justifies such acts. Yet these resolutions are so framed that, notwithstanding we should be perfectly willing to express our condemnation of these assaults, no one of our party can consistently vote for these resolutions. It is a little singular that these two outrages should be singled out from many that have occurred, and the Legislature asked to express an opinion upon them, while others are passed by. It shows the design of the framers of these resolutions. There is no expression of opinion as to an equally aggravated assault, made under similar circumstances, upon a Democratic editor. These republicans pretend to have a peculiar horror, above all other men, of violence of this description. Is it not a little singular that they have no horror to express at the attack upon the editor of the Democratic Review? Their horror is all reserved for those who have assaulted Messrs. Greeley and Sumner. These same republicans, these peculiar friends of order and law, can engage in hanging your most distinguished men in effigy from your flag poles; they can engage in matters of this kind, and you can scarcely find the individual among them willing to express any condemnation of acts of that description. No, sir; but you can see your republican leaders gazing upon such images, and chuckling at the sight; and you can see your clergymen take their families out to gaze upon them, and express their enjoyment with the exhibition. I said I had not heard of an individual of that party who spoke against these occurrences; but I do not wish to misrepresent, and I will state that there is one paper that professed to speak against it.— You can judge. Here is what the Statesman of this city said:—

"It is sad to know that our country and its institutions have been so wronged by men in power as to produce that state of feeling

amongst an injured people, which vents itself in such displays as the one here recorded."

Yes, sir, here is your condemnation of such outrages, on the part of the republican press. It is a complete justification of the whole matter. When you ask me to single out particular outrages, and pass upon them by a vote of the Legislature, I ask you to free your skirts from outrages of this description. I say that so long as this same party justify occurrences of this kind, so long they come with a very ill grace before a Legislature and ask for a condemnation of other acts of a similar character. I am aware that this is no new thing in the history of this party. I am aware that in the time of Thomas Jefferson, he was hung in effigy in different parts of the country, by this same party, or their ancestors. So it was with Andrew Jackson, the man for whom these republicans have a peculiar reverence just now. I was somewhat amused, at the meeting of that party here the other day, to see among the crowd who were applauding remarks complimentary of Jackson, men who, to my certain knowledge, in the time of Andrew Jackson, were reviling him as a traitor, and were circulating their coffin handbills and things of that description. But now it is all "Hurrah for Jackson." (Laughter.) Why, they went still further. I heard one of their speakers eulogizing to the very skies the immortal Silas Wright, as he called him. Yes, sir, the crowd cheered this allusion also. Let me say, Mr. President, that when I see such men as Jefferson, Jackson and Silas Wright, who were willing to sacrifice their all in behalf of the country, and who, notwithstanding this, were reviled and slandered, now applauded by their revilers and slanderers, the history of the past will justify me in saying that in the same manner Franklin Pierce, whom your republican leaders are now reviling and treating in the same way in which Jefferson, Jackson and Wright were treated, will be spoken of and eulogized in connection with these same patriots of the past.

I have considered briefly these nine resolutions, and I shall make but a few remarks in conclusion. I wish to allude very briefly to the condition of the parties at the present time, because I think it appropriate in connection with these resolutions. As I before suggested, much has been said in reference to the alleged change of position in the Democratic party, and I have alluded to the Whig party as it formerly existed. I wish now, particularly, to call attention to your republican Fremont platform, adopted at Philadelphia, to the resolutions passed upon that occasion. Let me ask if you find one single word in that platform in relation to more slave States into this Union? A great deal has been said about that. Do you find any allusion to it? Do you find any allusion to the fugitive slave bill? Does it allude to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia? I allude to these questions, because your Legislature, last year, took action upon these matters, and you are committed here in New Hampshire upon them. Why is your convention, that nominated Fremont, silent upon these subjects? The reason to my mind is evident. They knew what the record would say in reference to the action of Mr. Fremont, upon some of these questions.— I undertake to say that the whole history of the past life of Mr. Fremont, shows that he is totally opposed to those different measures that, at your last session of the Legislature, were announced to be the great measures of the abolition republican party. I know that he has been, in political life but a short time, and I know that you have been fortunate in selecting a candidate about whom little is known. That was undoubtedly your true policy. But, fortunately, we know something of Mr. Fremont as a member of the U. S. Senate. I find that in the U. S. Senate, on the 18th day of September, 1850, the bill to prevent persons from enticing away slaves from the District of Columbia was under consideration, and John P. Hale "moved that it be committed to the Committee of the District of Columbia, with instructions to so amend it as to ABOLISH SLAVERY IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA." On the vote being taken, FREMONT'S name was recorded in the NEGATIVE. [See Congressional Globe, Thirty-First Congress, part 2d, p. 1819.]

So you see that Mr. Fremont's name is recorded in the negative upon this important item of your creed, and, upon Mr. Hale's own motion, who is now a great Fremont man. I don't wonder, Mr. President, that in your Philadelphia Convention, you said nothing in relation to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. But I can readily see that this party care nothing about the antecedents of their candidates for the Presidency and Vice Presidency. In the language of a Northern

man, they did not care a straw what Mr. Fremont's opinions were or what he will do; they simply wanted to defeat the Democratic party." All their acts show that this is their only object, and that they care nothing about the opinions of their candidates. What have we to meet in this campaign? I know these republican leaders profess to be great friends of the Constitution and the Union; yet they are every day—the leading men—advocating doctrines and measures which are in direct conflict with this same constitution, and which necessarily tend directly to a dissolution of the Union for which they profess so much reverence. I believe, from the very bottom of my heart, that the great question which the Democrats have to meet in the present campaign is the question of union or disunion. I believe that all the measures and doctrines of this republican party have a direct tendency to tear in pieces this Union. I say this not unadvisedly; I believe it, and I believe I have authority for saying it. I do not propose to take up the time in reading extracts, but I have a copy of a petition now being circulated at the North, in which these doctrines are openly avowed. There are some republican papers that distinctly declare "that they will do as our fathers did before us"—alluding to certain matters connected with slavery, "and drive back with arms those who dare trample upon them." This is announced in your leading republican papers. It was charged, the other day, that it was false, but it can be proved that petitions are now in circulation in your midst and they are being thrown broad cast through out New England, asking Congress to dissolve

every the outraged fields of Kansas. What ever the cause, it is now too late, for Pierce or any of those creatures who have driven him for their own base ends, to moral and political destruction, to do any good in their position. The public looks for none. Whatever bills they propose, whatever work they do, the public knows, the country knows that it all drives directly to one end, to help the slave-power in its slavery-march.

We say then, an executive is wanted, an able, firm, conscientious man, who can put the public affairs once more in the right train, and by adhering to one invariable, just and liberal policy, of value to the whole country, supported by able advisers, and by a Congress who will protect right and justice, against fraud and evil, once more enable the people of the west, and of all sections, to place their confidence in the general government. The result in Iowa, now believed to be established, that the party of liberal ideas and common-sense has prevailed there, must be at least, one fact which President Pierce cannot, however blind he may be overlook. This, he must respect.

It was the Kansas-Nebraska wrong, which awoke the people of Iowa, up to the time this enormous and perfectly unparalleled fraud was committed, on a solemn guarantee of popular freedom,—to the truth, that the west,—the great west could not, for an instant,—repose its least faith in the perfidious and corrupt democracy. Douglas is an Illinois man, but that fertile and magnificent State crimsoned at the sound of his hated name. If by any possibility Stey Hen A. Douglas should ever be sent to the United States Senate again, it will not be by the people of Illinois. To them, he is the ominous raven, the bird of terror,—his acts have made all Kansas one great field of misery and rapine.

We say then, an executive is wanted; there is none now, if James Buchanan is sent to Washington, there will be none then. Up to the time he accepted the Cincinnati platform, hopes were entertained that this old man, who certainly knows better, would not abet the Kansas fraud. But he has. The people will not send him to the White House. They demand a free man; they ask for Fremont, who is now the only rallying point for the popular voice. Every one should put his shoulder to the wheel. It is no time to say, as some do,—“we never meddle with politics;”—you are not wanted for meddling, but to act, speak, think and vote for the good and right cause of Freemen and Fremont. Will you not do it?

The Mercury.

NEW BEDFORD.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, AUGUST 13, 1856.

Executive Wanted.

Month after month goes by, events continually occur which demand imperatively the sternest and most impressive action on the part of the general government,—a state of things does now exist, and has for months existed on the borders of Kansas and in Kansas itself,—which is civil war,—and yet, the executive, the supreme national head of the confederated States, is lost to all appearance, as much as if he did not exist. From the last accounts, it would appear that the misled, ignorant and degraded Missouri borderers assisted by as degraded and worthless confederates from Georgia and South Carolina, menace Nebraska, that free and prosperous territory, and will endeavor to convert her peaceful plains into the fields of rapine, to render life unsafe there, and property worthless, and the well-recognized social laws a contemptible mockery.

Do not say, that in this state of things, the pusillanimous creature at the head of the government, halts!—he does not halt; he has vanished, gone down into the rubbish of political mis-calculations, the abyss of disappointed hopes, and the unhappy lesson which his conscience must whisper. Here was a man, who might have distinguished himself, who might have made his brief reign truly glorious; who might have contributed to the safety of republican institutions and the advance of freedom over the great North-western territory.

The unfortunate executive is more to be pitied than blamed. Stronger heads than his, have ruled him,—potent spells led him from the right. His secretary of war, his attorney-general, both desperate in their venial service to the South, have obliterated from the unhappy son of New Hampshire, who perhaps was meant to be a free man, all hope. Each hour brings him news from the west, from Kansas, of dark and bloody outrages, women and children abused, husbands and fathers killed, the Missouri blockaded, and now even the noble territory of Nebraska threatened with the pollution of the slave-owners lash.

Possibly, the unfortunate and timid President, has been persuaded these things are not so; possibly, his only reading consists of those democratic prints which affect to laugh and ridicule every tale of horror, and monstrous story of wrong that is

From the *Edgefield (S. C.) Advertiser*, Aug. 12.
The Brooks and BURLINGAME difficulty has recently absorbed so much of public attention that matters in Kansas have been comparatively lost sight of for the nonce. But the recent election of Gen. WHITFIELD from his seat in Congress, and the fact that the Fall elections are rapidly approaching, must speedily result in lifting the Kansas question to a higher prominence before the country than it has yet occupied. The statement, as given by Atchison himself, is, that the Pro-Slavery Party in that Territory, with the exercise of reasonable energy and activity, will predominate for the present at least. Without a change, the decision at the ballot-box in October next, will be highly favorable to the hope that Kansas is to add another name to the Slave States of the Union. But great efforts are making in the hiring latitudes to defeat this anticipation; and there is no telling how far the present condition of things may be modified in the course of the next two months. It is certainly no effort for the Southern people to slacken their efforts in the cause. "A strong pull and a pull together," should now especially be their motto. With what an amount of carelessness and indifference should we have to reproach ourselves, if after gaining a strong foothold for Southern men and Southern principles in that beautiful Territory, we fall supinely back and yield the victory to Black Republicanism! And of this denouement there seems to be some real ground of apprehension. Letters from Col. BURTON, Gen. JONES, and others, hint complacently at the slender contributions which have gone up from the South to sustain their respective commands. A large portion of Burton's three hundred and fifty men, it is said, have quit the Territory entirely; but this we doubt. Still, the indications are sufficiently strong to startle our people into renewed action in this all-important matter. It is too much our habit to make one gallant rush for the maintenance of our peculiar rights, and then suffer the prospect of success to lull us into a fancied but false security. There is imminent danger of this in the present condition of the Kansas issue. Let it not be so. Let us awake again, shake off this languor of indifference, buckle to the work with redoubled vigor, open our purses more liberally, and make a good fight of it to the last. Otherwise, we may lose Kansas and all present hope of Slavery extension.



NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, AUG. 13, 1856.

VIEWS OF A SOUTHERN WHIG-AMERICAN.

The annexed letter from a gentleman of Louisiana, who is passing a few weeks in this vicinity, to his political friends at home, stating the reasons why he cannot aid them in promoting the election of Fillmore, will be read with interest and pleasure by many into whose hands this sheet will fall. It is not that he loves Fillmore less, but his country more. He sees that Fillmore cannot possibly be elected, and therefore that every conservative vote given for him, is in effect given against Buchanan, and in favor of Fremont. It is this consideration principally, which induces him thus publicly to declare his determination. We have no doubt that his forcible and convincing letter will induce many of his fellow Americans, in Louisiana and elsewhere, to join him in a purpose so disinterested and patriotic.

Communicated for the Journal of Commerce.
 BROOKLYN, August 11th, 1856.

TO THE HON. JOSEPH W. WALKER,
 PARISH OF ST. MARY, LA.

In the "Franklin Journal" of the 24th ult., which chance has just thrown in my way, I have read the proceedings of a large and enthusiastic meeting of the friends of Fillmore, which was held for the appointment of Committees and for a general organization of the "American Party" throughout the Parish of St. Mary. My name having been used in connection with the object of that meeting, I feel called upon to say a few words, which shall declare my fitness or unfitness, for the duties assigned me in this Presidential campaign by the Fillmore party.

However much I might have rejoiced, at another time and under other circumstances, in any expression of enthusiastic admiration for and confidence in that noble man, who "would rather be right than President," I must say, in view of the condition and prospects of our common country, as growing out of the issues involved in this campaign, that the true lover of his country (more especially the slave-holder of the South) has devolving upon him a higher, more serious duty than that of electioneering for the Candidate of his own selection.

In differing from those who constituted the meeting alluded to, from men whose eloquence and intelligence and patriotism, have made them objects of pride to every resident of our beautiful parish, I do so with regret, could not fall to regret any position of things which would separate me in opinion from those who, in opinions and tastes, political and personal, have been

DAILY JOURNAL.

For the Journal.
Dedication of the "Mountain Hut" of the Sixth Ward.

(TUNE—Bruce's Address.)
 In Freedom's name, to Freedom's cause,
 To Union, Liberty, and Laws,
 Framed to secure the world's applause,
 Our "Mountain Hut" we raise.
 Here freemen shall in council meet,
 With joyful news each other greet,
 And join in harmony complete,
 To sing their leader's praise.

From hill to vale, from sea to sea,
 Bright banners everywhere we see,
 The people shout for liberty,
 Demanding what they want;
 And from the heart bath warmly gush'd
 That cry that never can be hush'd,—
 The feeling that can ne'er be crush'd,—
 For "Freedom and Fremont."

Here little Rhody stands elate,
 Of body small, but soul as great
 As Keystone, or as Empire State;
 As deeds have proved that's past.
 She claims the freedom of the soil,
 The "Border Ruffians" would despoil,
 As the fair field for honest toil,
 Unscathed by Slavery's blast.

Our "Cabin" to the sunlight's glow,
 Our banner to the breeze we throw,
 Its bearer—earnest of the foe—
 Free leader of the free.
 Then send the watchword briskly round,
 Let it from heart to heart rebound,
 Till mountain echoes catch the sound,—
FREMONT and VICTORY.

J. U. U.

...ed as my brothers. Most especially would I regret
In this eventful crisis, brothers of the South should
be *materially* divided in opinion, or in sense of duty, as
to the course to be pursued by them. It is against any
division of *our own* strength, energies and opinions,
that, as a humble member of that noble brotherhood, I
lift my voice. Were the writer of this one to whom pa-
rochial or district offices were charms, selfishness would
dictate that he should hide any differences of opinion
from those at whose hands alone he could receive the hon-
ors or emoluments of office; but a *graceless sneak* would
he consider himself if he failed, for any cause, *loyally*
and *fearlessly* to speak his own convictions of the dan-
ger which threatens his country, and his opinions as to
the means of averting it. Nay more!! With however
much regret he might oppose those whose aims and op-
inions had been identical with his own, he would do so,
regardless of the consequences to personal friendship and
relations, so long as *personal sacrifices* alone should weigh
in the scale against the harmony and perpetuity of the glo-
rious American Republic. Seated, as he is at this moment,
almost in the heart of the camp of the enemies of the
Union, he will not fail to report the numerical strength
of those enemies, nor will he shrink from the responsi-
bility of suggestions as to the means to be adopted for
their utter defeat. He tells you, unqualifiedly, that the
enemy is organized in such numbers and with such a
plan of battle, in the trilateral fight which is to ensue,
that victory may "perch upon their banners," which
bear their watchwords, "Disunion and Confusion to the
South." To the Union, to us, brothers of the South, they
are an *unrelenting, sleepless* enemy. Between them and
us the issue, entirely of their own seeking, is made. We
have tried to avoid it until now, when we find them in
full battle array, proclaiming that no overtures from us
will avert the destruction and disgrace which they meditate
for us; we must cringe and lick the hand so long as
it chooses to smite us, or arise, with undivided front and
purpose, and leave the result to God and justice. Cringe
and cower, ye who are willing to be driven from every
position which honor has dictated; but I for one accept
the issue, and shall fight these assailants *over every inch*
of ground with their own fire. I love the Union, much;
but the South, land of my birth, home of my children,
more. And never, until I prove recreant to every
principle which ennobles man, will I cease to side with
her, when her rights and her honor are involved in the
contest. No! In this, the darkest hour through which
constitutional liberty and Southern rights have been
called to pass, my soul swells with undying hate to the
enemies of both. Buchanan accepts the issue which the
enemies of the South have made; and without dodging
or equivocation, leads us square up to the mark, and
boldly avows his determination to "toe it," and I, for
one, am willing to follow his lead, whether it be to vic-
tory or death. To many present, I am known as a Whig,
having advocated, in private life and on the stump, un-
mitigated opposition to the manifest destiny doctrines
of a party who, in spite of the admonitions of our Clay
and Webster, by one miserable blunder and reckless
policy after another, have involved our loved Union in
the perils which threaten it. You and I, and thousands
of others, must deplore the existing state of things with
as much sincerity as that with which we battled against
the *illusions* which led us into it. But, overruled and
defeated in our noble purpose, the only question left us
is, how can we most safely act, when it is too late to
look back. Like the ill-fated victims of a
land slide, who cling to the side of the precipice,
over which they were precipitated, we seek
in vain to regain the summit from which we
fell, and we know that any commotion, or hurry,
or change of position, may plunge us into the abyss which
yawns beneath us. Prudence, discretion tells us to pause
and reconnoitre our position and, no matter how dis-
taste ul it may be, maintain it rather than hastily leave
it for one *unknown*, and therefore more dangerous. To my
ears the voices of our old guides, which warned us
against the dangers of our present position, are still au-
dible, crying to us, "Stay where you are, if you value
life."

I am one of those who labored shoulder to shoulder
with you, against the party who brought about the
"Mexican war." We deplored the necessity for a collision,
the results of which our guides and preceptors
foretold with trumpet tongue. But, notwithstanding
our opposition to the grasping policy of the party
which involved our country in war, we followed her
colors through the thickest of the fight, and, by our
blood and treasure, sustained the position of the party
in power. We did so as patriots, recognising the fact
that loyal citizens who had consented to be governed
by the will of the majority, could not shrink from a con-
test which that majority had thought national honor de-
manded. Dreading the annexation of territory, as the
result of that war, and dreading it as a *bone of contention*
amongst ourselves in after times, we did all
that prudent men could do to prevent the ac-
quisition of property which would be the source
of endless dispute amongst its possessors—and
when, in spite of war, it had been acquired,
we were willing that its distribution amongst
those, whose joint blood and treasure had bought it,
should be in accordance with the teaching that Compromise.
We dreaded the effect of touching that Compromise,
which our fathers had sanctioned, and celebrated with
bonfires and rejoicing, and we heartily sustained those
who were unwilling to disturb old land-marks and bound-
aries. We urged the justice of running out the bound-
ary line which our fathers had commenced; and when,
as predicted by Clay and Webster, Douglas and others
sought the destruction of that old line of compromise,
our party (the *Whig* party), almost to a man, opposed
any interference with it. We were overruled, and the
"Kansas-Nebraska Act" stands upon the record, in lieu
of the Act of 1820, and has become a law of the land.
Now, then, what is to be done? I say that the same
spirit which animated our opposition to the repeal of the
Missouri Compromise, and has led us, as a party, to op-
pose any sudden changes in our policy, should compel
us to oppose any further change, the result of which
might be more disastrous than any which have preceded

it. Now, having done *our duty as a party*—having
done all that prudence and love of order could do in op-
position to present results, let us look at things as they
are—not as Whigs, nor as Democrats, but as Americans;
let us look at them, *straight in the face!* I, for one, op-
posed the "Douglas' bill," for several reasons, the prin-
cipal of which was its interference with an old
agreement, which, up to that time, had apparently
answered the expectations of the people. I opposed it,
moreover, because it could not be passed without drag-
ging into it a clause intended to have the effect
of placing paupers and criminals of foreign birth, as
settlers of Kansas, upon an equality with Americans.
As an American, jealous of rights, which cannot be too
highly prized, or too closely guarded, I was loath to see
any attempt to make the renegades of Europe my equals
in political influence. But, I never have seen, so far as
the North and South were contestants, any injustice in
the plan proposed for the occupation and settlement of
those Territories. I looked upon it then, and still re-
gard it, on that score, as establishing a principle sound
and just, and one in which the North and South should
acquiesce, *without involving a question of honor between*
them and I was the more ready to advocate it as a set-
tlement of our disputes, because I believed that the
South could promote such a final settlement, from which
she could scarcely hope to be the gainer, in point of
power and influence, without being accused of selfish
purposes. I believe now, that the most the South hoped
for, from the passage of that act, was rest from dispute,
and a chance, for the future, to have appropriations
made for her absolute and existing necessities, without
having a slavery Compromise attached to any bill intro-
duced into Congress for such appropriation. Such I
honestly believe to have been the *only* hope and desire of
the South, when it advocated the passage of the "Kan-
sas Nebraska bill." She knew that the climate, soil,
and position of Kansas were opposed to the existence
of slavery in that quarter, and she knew
when she supported the bill as a law, that under its op-
eration the Free Soil party, with its extensive railroads
and canals, would be able to empty upon the soil of Kan-
sas tools enough of their own making to manufacture
an anti-slavery constitution, before the elements of slave-
ry extension could be brought to bear upon the destinies
of that Territory. Nevertheless, the motives of the
South have been impugned, her integrity and honor have
been impeached, and she is held up before the world to be
publicly branded as an *impator*, an encroaching prosecu-
tor of the North. Oh, Southern! American! does not
your heart sicken at the sight of men who thus slander
and vituperate you in the face of the record of your devotion
to the American Union, which your brothers have written
with their blood and bones, on the battle-fields of Mon-
tevey, of Buena Vista, of Chermubus, of Molino del Rey,
and in the halls of the Montezumas?

I contend—and I trust that I do so as an American,
ready to do justice "though the Heavens fall,"—that
the party professing to represent the North, have made
a *new issue since the passage of the Kansas bill*, and
have placed themselves in a position of defiance and
usurpation towards the South, which that portion of the
body politic cannot and will not submit to, until it shall
consent to enslave its energies, resources, and indepen-
dence, to the will of fanatics and demagogues. When the
South, which I love as my birthplace, which I love as a
portion of the American Union, shall humiliate herself
by tame submission to the *bullies* and *braggarts*
of "Free Soilism," I, for one, shall be ashamed of her.
There has not been one position taken by the South,
however just to themselves, however conciliatory to the
North, which the representatives of the North have not
repeatedly or sought to drive the South from. When
Southern men, National men, worried by the constant
abuse of the Free Soil party, offered to carry out the spirit
of the Missouri Compromise, in fact, to extend that
line to the Pacific, the outward boundary of our posses-
sions, and that too, when by such extension of the line,
the North would have received two-thirds of the territory,
(in fact, all but a fraction, as you will see by looking
at the map.) the unjust, dictatorial, domineering spirit
of Free Soilism rejected the proposition, and said, in ef-
fect, "we will have all of it, if we have to whip you to
get it." When the Kansas bill, (which emanated from
Free Soilism, and received the support of Northern men,
became a law, the same ever-rebellious, dictatorial, dom-
ineering, Free Soil party said to the South, "law or no
law, you shall not go into Kansas," and immediately
commenced raising regiments ("emigration societies")
and Sharp's rifles with which to frighten the South into
eternal silence as to the character of the constitution to
be provided for Kansas. They were mad enough to sup-
pose that a few regiments of New England bigots,
carrying the Bible behind them and Colt's revolv-
ers before them, could drive the South into ignomi-
nious retirement. They sought to do it, and, from
the Senate Chamber and pulpit proclaimed their in-
tention of carrying the war into Missouri, if not
Africa. Is it to be wondered at, then, that turbu-
lent, excitable spirits in Missouri were found, ready
to meet the issue and make Kansas a battle field? Do not
understand me to uphold all the acts of Missourians, in
the war which waged in Kansas, nor to say that those
acts were justifiable or politic. The whole South, Con-
servative men every where, must deplore the extent to
which some Missourians carried their resentment; but,
when we reflect that the armies raised by Seward and
Sumner and Beecher and Giddings were marching to-
wards Missouri, with the avowed intention of war upon
her peculiar institutions, which her geographical rela-
tion to Kansas gave them such facilities for waging, some
allowance must be made for the rashness of men who
considered their homes in danger. What man, possess-
ing a soul as big as a mustard seed, will not fight, and
that *revengefully*, when he considers the peace of his
own fire-side invaded?

And what, now, is the position of these boastful war-
riors whose onslaught upon the domestic institutions of
Missouri terminated in inglorious flight, after the first
smell of Missouri gunpowder? They have fallen back
upon Washington, where, sneaking, cowering at the foot

of authority, they are whining out pitiful complaints
against what they, falsely and villainously, call "South-
ern persecution."
It is not my intention to discuss the merits of the Kan-
sas bill as a basis of settlement between the North and
South; but, until one more just, legitimate and satisfac-
tory, shall have been devised, I shall support it. I regard
it as the *best* which can be provided for all parties; and
whether best or not, I shall sustain it, rather than advo-
cate any changes which *might* launch us upon a wide
sea of *possibilities*. I contend that the unswerving main-
tenance of that bill is the only safeguard of the South,
unless she has deliberately made up her mind to fight
first, and then secede. Give up the principles which
that bill establishes, and you beg the question. What
can the South hope for from legislation in Congress,
when, in direct issues, Free Soil outvotes the friends of
Union and harmony and elects a Speaker. Is she willing
to reopen the question, and run the risk of corrupt or-
ganic law for all future possessions, which an Abolition
President can do so much, in his power of appointment,
to create and assist? Does she suppose that the agita-
tors at the North would be satisfied if the South should,
unanimously, consent to the restoration of the Mis-
souri Compromise? She commits a *fatal* mistake
if she supposes any such thing. Whilst some pretend
that such a restoration would satisfy them, the balance
are proclaiming that "the day for compromise has passed;
henceforth slavery is doomed." The issue before the
American people is simply this: "Free Soil" says, "we
have *wheeled* the South out of the Compromise of 1820,
we have *cheated* them out of the Compromise of 1850,
and now we'll *bully* them out of the Compromise of
1854." Southerner! will you allow Free Soil and Free-
moot to do any such thing? There's the rub. Will you
dodge the question? If you will, I won't. The Cincin-
nati platform answers the question, and I stand on that
platform. Buchanan and the Constitution stand on that
platform. Your fate is in your own hands. Tame sub-
mission to the bullying and encroachments of your enemies,
or come, Southerners, in one body, and sustain the
cardinal points upon which hang the destinies of the
South and the Union. I know that you do not want to
go out of the Union. The *great heart* of the North does
not wish you out of it. By its voice at Cincinnati it has
told you so; but it cannot keep you in the Union if you
allow the tricksters of disunion to divide your strength
and juggle you out of it. I tell you candidly that the
enemies of the Union are organized, and have an array
of forces to be used in the battle of November, which
causes an observer in their camp to think that victory
may be theirs.

I cannot refrain, before closing this (*already too long*)
letter, from reiterating (what you well know) my ar-
dent admiration for Millard Fillmore, to whom the na-
tion owes so large a debt of gratitude; and I say
now that were it in my power to select a man who should
fearlessly and *wisely* execute a *known law*, my heart, my
judgment would point to that tried and honored man; but
his election would not decide the *all important vital*
question as to whether the Kansas-Nebraska law shall
stand. The question before the American people is,
"does or does not the Kansas-Nebraska bill satisfy you?"
and on that question Millard Fillmore does not stand.
Whilst I take pleasure in thus feebly expressing my un-
flinching confidence in one who has been made illustri-
ous by the conservative, independent and national course
which he pursued during his accidental presidency, jus-
tice and candor compel me to say that he represents a
party whose half-way position, at this *crucial moment*,
does not satisfy me. Recollect (you do not require proof
of the fact) that the Abolitionists, the enemies of the
Union, the slanderers of the South, the *mis-representatives*
of the North, have made the issue. *Anything short*
*of undying hostility to them and their measures is a com-
promise which they themselves, do not seek;* and the
Democratic party, who have declared their uncompromis-
ing antagonism to "Free Soilism," are in a position to
say to their countrymen, "Whoso gathereth not with
me scattereth abroad." If I could believe that Free
Soilism would be satisfied with that spirit of con-
cession which often yields a *right* for the sake of
harmony and "cutent cordiale," I would counsel the
South to yield the inch which the Abolitionists demand
in Kansas. Nay, I, for one, would give them six inches
in that quarter, if I thought it would give permanent rest
to the country so long tossed upon the billows of dis-
sension and strife; but knowing that if you "give them
an inch, they'll demand an ell," and knowing that
nothing less than utter annihilation and confusion will
silence them, I, for one, conciliatory as I would be to an
open, fair and honorable antagonist, intend to assist the
Democratic party in engulfing them in the water
which their own meddlesome hands have made to boil. I
will not surely, by word or deed (certainly not by *silence*
and inaction), give aid to such an enemy; and when I
see my Northern brethren laboring day and night to
save the Union, by shaking off the vipers which by un-
just and ungenerous combinations of *isms* is sent to
Washington to misrepresent this great North, who at
heart *cherish* this Union, I am willing to lay aside
"Whig principles," and care not whether I fight as a
Whig or as a Democrat for my country and justice. I
shall fight for the independent sovereignty of States,
bound by honorable concessions and mutual dependence
in one hallowed and inseparable Union.

And now in conclusion, I say, accused be the tongue
which would incite one portion of it against another.
Knowing that out of the fullness of your heart you re-
spond to this sentiment, I subscribe myself, with senti-
ments of great esteem,
Your friend and neighbor,
DAVID KER.

THE DISPERSION OF THE TOPEKA ASSEMBLY.—The published instructions to Col. Sumner are of a general character, not specifying the occasions of his interposition, but requiring him to act pursuant to a requisition of the Governor of Kansas in the contingencies named in the following paragraph:

"If, therefore, the Governor of the Territory, finding the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, and the powers vested in the United States Marshals, inadequate for the suppression of insurrectionary combinations or armed resistance to the execution of the law, should make requisition upon you to furnish a military force to aid him in the performance of that official duty, you are hereby directed to employ for that purpose such part of your command as may, in your judgment, consistently be detached from their ordinary duty."

The communication from which we quote, was addressed to Col. Sumner by the Secretary of War on the 15th Feb. last. On the 26th March, Adjutant General Cooper, in obedience to the Secretary's command, informed Col. Sumner, who had applied to the Department for advice in respect to the course to be pursued towards armed bodies entering Kansas, that it did not devolve upon him to interfere with persons visiting the territory, whether armed or unarmed, or whenever coming; and that he is empowered, to act "only when an armed resistance is offered to the laws and against the peace and quiet of the Territory, and when, under such circumstances, a requisition for military force is made upon him" by the Governor of Kansas for the purpose specified in the instructions above quoted. On the 23d of May the Secretary of War commended Col. Sumner for refusing to interpose at the request of the citizens of Lawrence, in the absence of a requisition from Governor Shannon, regarding such requisition as "an essential preliminary to the employment of the military power of the United States. The following is the language of the despatch:—

"You have justly construed your instructions, and your course is approved. The zeal manifested by you to preserve order, and prevent civil strife between our fellow-citizens in Kansas, receives full commendation; but you have properly refused to interpose the military power of the United States, except under the 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 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 persons and property for the security of which the Government was ordained and established."

The Secretary here reiterates the restriction upon Col. Sumner, to remain inactive till the Government of the Territory shall invoke his aid. Nor was it sufficient that the Territorial governor should demand assistance of the military power. He must ask it for the purpose specified in the instructions addressed to the officer from the War Department. A higher duty is thus devolved upon the officer, than that of merely executing the commands of the civil authority. He is required to judge of the propriety of those commands. This at least is the understanding at the Department. For when Col. Sumner reported to that office his proceedings in connection with the dispersion of the Topeka assembly calling itself a Legislature, the Secretary inscribed upon the report the following indorsement:

"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 made fully to appear that the case was one in which, by his instructions, he was authorized to act, viz: That the Governor had found the ordinary course of judicial proceedings and the powers vested in the United States Marshal inadequate to effect the purpose which was accomplished by the employment of the troops of the United States. Col. Sumner will be called upon to communicate upon this point."

The requisition by the Governor upon Col. Sumner is not considered sufficient to justify that officer in interfering the Governor's inability to execute the laws by the ordinary means; and a discretion not commonly given to a military officer seems to have been accorded in this case, on the determination of which would depend the granting or refusal of the aid demanded. That Col. Sumner did not thus understand his instructions, appears from the summons in which he called upon the assembly to disperse. He said—

"I am called upon to perform the most painful duty of my life. Under the authority of the President, I am here to dissolve this Legislature. In accordance with my orders, I command you to disperse. God knows I have no party feelings in the matter, and will have none while I hold my present position in Kansas. I have just returned from the border, where I have been sending some of the Missourians, and I am now here with instruc-

tions to disperse this Legislature. I again command you to disperse." Judge Schuyler asked if they were to understand that they were driven out at the point of the bayonet? Col. Sumner replied, "I will use the whole force under my command to enforce my orders." The House then dispersed. A similar scene was enacted in the Senate, which also dispersed."

Col. Sumner presumes himself to be acting under authority of the President in obeying the orders of Gov. Shannon. It is obvious that he had received orders from no other quarter in relation to the dispersion of the Topeka assembly; for the Secretary of War, in communicating to Congress the instructions of which we have given an abstract, says that no instructions emanating from the Executive at Washington required the military officer in command in Kansas to disperse any unarmed meeting of the people of that Territory, or to prevent its assemblage; and that no other orders or instructions in relation to this matter have been issued from the War Department, than those whose substance we have set forth. Col. Sumner, therefore, regarding Gov. Shannon's orders as imperative, and having executed them without question of their necessity, is at issue with the Department, which holds that it was incumbent on him to consider their propriety, and to obey or disregard them at his discretion. In view of the exceptional character of such a commission, so repugnant to the military dogma of unquestioning obedience, Col. Sumner may be acquitted of culpable delinquency, even if it should appear that he omitted to inquire into the circumstances under which requisition was made for his assistance. It might well have occurred that he should misconceive the instructions of the Secretary, and give full credence to the assumption of necessity implied in the invocation of his services. Besides, there seems a want of harmony or precision in the instructions themselves. For, as we have seen, while on the 26th of March Col. Sumner is told in a letter from the War Department that he is empowered to act only upon requisition to aid in putting down "armed resistance" to the Territorial government, on the 23d of May the Secretary of War himself tells him—"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;" and that "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 right to protection of persons and property for the security of which the Government was ordained and established."

Had Colonel SUMNER authority for dispersing the Topeka Legislature? The answer of the President and Secretary of War to the resolution of the Senate calling for information in relation to instructions "issued 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 the Territory," attracts general attention and causes universal denunciation of the heartless hypocrites who are now endeavoring to thrust a gallant and faithful officer for performing "the most painful duty of his life," in order that they may escape the unpopular responsibility for the act. The Secretary of War says:

Col. Sumner and the Administration—Who is Responsible for the Dispersion of the Topeka Legislature?

To the Editor of the New-York Daily Times:

Had Colonel SUMNER authority for dispersing the Topeka Legislature? The answer of the President and Secretary of War to the resolution of the Senate calling for information in relation to instructions "issued 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 the Territory," attracts general attention and causes universal denunciation of the heartless hypocrites who are now endeavoring to thrust a gallant and faithful officer for performing "the most painful duty of his life," in order that they may escape the unpopular responsibility for the act. The Secretary of War says:

"That no such orders as those referred to therein have been issued from this Department.

The accompanying papers contain the only orders or instructions in relation to this matter from the War Department to the commanding officers of the military force in Kansas.

The instructions to Col. SUMNER, under date of Feb. 15, 1856, are as follows:

"If, therefore, the Governor of the Territory, finding the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, and the powers vested in the United States Marshals, inadequate for the suppression of insurrectionary combinations or armed resistance to the execution of the law, should make requisition upon you to furnish a military force to aid him in the performance of that official duty, you are hereby directed to employ for that purpose such part of your command as may, in your judgment, consistently be detached from their ordinary duty."

What are we to understand by "the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, and the power vested in the United States Marshal?" Nothing more nor less than the calling out of the Territorial militia by the Governor and the summoning of another posse comitatus similar to the one in May last at Lawrence by the Marshal?

It is well known that for the purpose of dispersing the Topeka Legislature no Territorial troops or Marshal's posse were called out. Had the attempt been made with such a force as assembled at Lawrence, nothing would have been more certain than a bloody collision at Topeka on the Fourth of July. The Free-State men were prepared for such forces, but were unwilling to resist United States troops. If Secretary DAVIS publishes all the instructions that had been issued to any military officer in command in Kansas, by what authority did Colonel

New-York Daily Times.

THE ARMY APPROPRIATION BILL.—The exact form of the amendment adopted by the House on Monday last, in lieu of Mr. Sherman's much more objectionable proviso, which was stricken out by the Senate, is as follows:

Provided, however, and it is hereby declared, That no part of the military force of the United States for the support of which appropriations are made by this act shall be employed in aid of the enforcement of any enactment of the body claiming to be the territorial legislature of Kansas, until such enactments shall have been affirmed and approved by Congress; but this proviso shall not be so construed as to prevent the President from employing an adequate military force, but it shall be his duty to employ such force, to prevent the invasion of said Territory by armed bands of non-residents, or any other body of non-residents acting, or claiming to act, as a posse comitatus of any officer in said Territory in the enforcement of any such enactment, and to protect the persons and property therein and upon the national highways leading to said Territory from all unlawful searches and seizures; and it shall be his further duty to take efficient measures to compel the return of, and withhold, all arms of the United States distributed in or to said Territory, in pursuance of any law of the United States authorizing the distribution of arms to the States and Territories.

Thus amended, the bill was sent back to the Senate for concurrence. The Senate will not concur in this amendment.

disperse and drive out armed parties of Missourians? The latter did not form an "insurrectionary combination," nor offer "armed resistance to the execution of the law!" According to the instructions of Feb. 15 the President's proclamation was not aimed at the Missourians, but only against the Free-State men!

Six: The President has, by proclamation, warned all persons combined for "insurrection or incite aggression against the organized Government of the Territory of Kansas, or associated to resist the due execution of the laws therein, to abstain from such revolutionary and lawless proceedings; and has commanded them to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective abodes."

Why is not the President's dispatch sent by telegraph to Col. SUMNER, and also to Governor SHANNON, immediately after the attack on Lawrence, published in connection with these papers from the War Department? Where is the letter mentioned in that dispatch, from the President to Governor S.? That dispatch gave orders to disperse "armed bodies of men," &c., and, under and in virtue of the authority contained in the letter from the President, instead of from the Secretary of War, United States troops have been used for three months past as posses to enable Sheriffs and Marshals to execute processes issuing under authority of either Territorial or United States Courts. Did not that letter authorize the Governor to call on Col. SUMNER for assistance if necessary? Were not all the troops in the Territory placed under SHANNON'S orders? SHANNON frequently made declarations to that effect, and his promises to send troops to one place and another were several times fulfilled. Were not Colonel Sumner and his command placed under the control of the Governor of Kansas Territory?

The answer to the resolution may be technically and literally correct, but perhaps the resolution did not hit the nail on the head. If it had inquired for instructions to any civil as well as military officer in command in the Territory of Kansas, something more would have been obtained. The Department dare not, during this administration, place Colonel SUMNER on trial before court-martial for the offence intimated in JEFF. DAVIS' last letter. Why are not Colonel SUMNER'S letters of July 7, detailing the particulars of the affair at Topeka, and the documents and papers sent with that letter also published for the information of Congress?

It was well known that the Territorial militia, or a Marshal's posse, could not disperse the Topeka Legislature without sacrificing many lives, and evidence to that effect was furnished to Secretary WOODSON, the acting Governor, and also to Governor SHANNON himself several days before the 4th of July, just before his departure for St. Louis, (about June 20,) said he would not use the Territorial or volunteer forces to disperse the threatened assemblage at Topeka, because he wanted to save life, and quiet matters as peaceably as possible; but he had received orders not to permit the members of that Legislature to meet and transact business, and that he had "ample authority to use the United States troops for that purpose." In the absence of Governor SHANNON, Acting-Governor WOODSON issued a proclamation on the 4th of July, but as it does not recite and admit

"That the Governor had found the ordinary course of judicial proceedings and the powers vested in the United States Marshal inadequate to effect the purpose which was accomplished by the employment of the troops of the United States," the Secretary says: "It is not yet made fully to appear that the case was one in which, by his instructions, he was authorized to act!"

According to the papers returned to Congress by the President and his Secretary of War, the Lawrence posse of May last should have been brought against and used to disperse the Topeka Legislature—the whole force of the Territorial militia should have been exerted for that purpose—before Colonel SUMNER had any right to interfere! Had the Free-State men at Topeka, on the 4th of July last, known the precise character of the instructions under which, according to the Secretary of War, Col. SUMNER was acting, or had such an array of warriors as assembled at Lawrence under the Marshal's command attempted to disperse them, a terrible and bloody battle would have been the result. Let Congress try again and get out all the facts.

LAWRENCE.
BUFFALO, N. Y., Saturday, Aug. 9, 1856.

New-York Daily Tribune

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 13, 1856.

TRIBUNE KANSAS FUND.

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Robert Wilkes.....	2 00	Lewis Zelman.....	1 00
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Mrs. Nancy Hammond.....	1 00	John Sherwood.....	1 00
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Henry Trickey.....	1 00		
Lewis Zelman.....	1 00		
P. S. Rector.....	1 00		
John Sherwood.....	1 00		
Lyman Moon.....	1 00		
Total.....			\$3,263 34

BRUTAL SLAVE WHIPPING IN LEXINGTON, MISSOURI.

Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune.

CLEVELAND, Saturday, Aug 9, 1856.
During the past Winter and Summer I have been traveling through Western Missouri and Kansas, and on the 21st of February, 1856, I was in Lexington, Mo., which I think may be regarded as the great hot-bed of those who pride themselves in that appropriate and significant name, "Border Ruffians." On the morning of that day I was, for the first time in my life, a spectator of the sale of slaves.

Two young men, and a girl about eighteen years of age, were placed upon the block, surrounded by forty or fifty slaveholders. The first put up was a "nigger" of great beauty and fine form. The auctioneer commenced by exhorting the farmers to remember that the heap was all down—hands were scarce—niggers had taken a rise; and told them that there stood one of the best-looking "niggers" in the State; that he was a slave for life, and had no wife to trouble him—was sound—had good teeth and eyes. In short, was an "excellent nigger!" The bidding proceeded until \$1,250 was reached, and the hammer fell upon the "nigger," who was led away by the highest bidder. During the sale the auctioneer, and others, indulged in witticisms and puns upon the boy, which set the crowd to laughing; but the slave did not laugh. Not a smile nor a tear did I notice during the whole time. His expression was that of deep despondency.

Being called away, I did not see the other two sold. Several others were sold in that place during the same week at Sheriff's sale. One gentleman told me that he would almost as soon sell one of his own children as one of his "niggers," but he would be compelled to do it, for if he did not the Sheriff would.

On the afternoon of that same day a large meeting was held in the Court-House for the purpose of forming an "Emigrant Aid Society." A constitution was presented by a Committee previously appointed. The necessity of the movement was enforced by an address from the Rev. Prof. Akers, who is now one of the Fillmore electors. He argued that if Kansas was made a Free State, Missouri, being surrounded on three sides by Free States, must sooner or later give up her cherished "institution." The North would have the majority in Congress, and would abolish Slavery in the District of Columbia, and then it would be hemmed in and confined within its own narrow limits, and would smother out and die. But, oh! with what holy horror that pious man of God raised his hands and his voice against such a terrible result! He urged his friends, in the most passionate strains, to do all they could to make Kansas a Slave State, and if they failed they would at least have the satisfaction of having done their duty. His was a telling speech, for immediately after its delivery about \$9,000 were subscribed to send Pro-Slavery men to Kansas.

On the succeeding Friday a scene was presented in that same Court-House which almost beggars description.

The Sheriff Withers, having a "nigger woman," who on the previous day had been neglectful of her taskwork, sent for a blacksmith to come and chastise her. He came, bolted the doors over the woman's hands together, and lashed them over her head to the ceiling, and commenced whipping. The screams of the woman brought her husband to the rescue. He broke open the door, and with a butcher-knife in his hand rushed forward to cut his wife loose. The slave and blacksmith encountered each other, and in the affray the latter got his arm cut. The slave finally surrendered, and was led away to Jail, while the woman received a double whipping. These are the facts in the case.

News of this "horrible outrage" was soon circulated, and the excitement became intense. One leading man was heard say: "God d—n me if I don't sink my soul to hell if I don't put a stop to this slave rebellion, if I can only get three men to join with me." When asked how he would do it, he said, "I will take this slave and that other one that is in jail, and hang them both upon the same tree, and let them hang there a week." Three men came forward to assist him, and the hour of four o'clock that afternoon was agreed upon for the execution. The excitement grew, waxing wilder and fiercer every hour, until such a storm of passion raged as was fearful to behold. At four o'clock, the mob, numbering two or three hundred, moved toward the Court-house. The "boy," a quadron of about 40 years of age, was brought into the building and placed within the bar. Col. Reed was called to preside, and Col. Walton explained the object of the meeting.

He said: "A great crime has been committed—an outrage upon one of our citizens by a nigger. We have come together not to imbrue our hands in the blood of innocence, but rebellion of slaves is becoming common. Something must be done to put a stop to it, to protect our wives, our children, and our sacred homes."

A member of the Legislature earnestly remonstrated against mob law, and recommended that a day be appointed to whip the boy, and have all the slaves of the county present. He was not heard through, for the speech did not suit the mob. A Committee of twelve was appointed to decide immediately what punishment the boy should receive. That Committee retired, but soon returned, with Col. Reed at their head, who read the following announcement:

"Your Committee have decided that the boy shall receive ONE THOUSAND lashes on his bare back, two hundred to be administered this evening (if he can bear it, and the remaining eight hundred from time to time, as in the judgment of the Committee his physical nature can bear up under it. Also, we advise that a committee of three physicians be appointed to superintend the operation, and three citizens be chosen to whip him. Also, that the person whose arm was cut by the slave have the privilege of giving him the last two hundred lashes."

The report was almost unanimously adopted; those voting nay being in favor of hanging him. The slave was ordered to remove his clothing, and one article after another was taken off until he stood with nothing to cover his nakedness. He was ordered to kneel down in front of Col. Reed, while his hands extending over the top of a bench, were tied to the floor.

Let the reader now imagine Col. Reed upon the bench, cigar in mouth, three honored physicians on the right, and three busy slaveholders, (whips in hand) on the left, of a poor slave who was kneeling before them, with his whole person bared to the chilling atmosphere, the thermometer marking zero. Outside the Bar are two or three hundred Border Ruffians, all eager for blood. Such was the scene presented in the Court-House of Lexington, in the State of Missouri, on the last Friday of February, 1856.

The whipping commenced, Col. Reed sprang to his feet with curiosity; more than a hundred heads were peering in to get a sight of their miserable victim. But before a dozen lashes had been administered, the slave fell to the floor, bleeding and writhing in agony. The slaveholder struck the harder, and ordered him to get up. The physicians interfered and felt his pulse, and declared that he could never stand such lashes.

Some one cried out: "988 yet to come," and the whipping was resumed. Lash upon lash was inflicted, until one hundred had been given, when his whole back, from the top of his shoulders down to his very feet, was a mass of blood and mangled flesh.

The whipping was continued without cessation amid the most piteous and beseeching wails and cries, such as: "O gentlemen, O gentlemen, have

pat. user might be n.

mercy!" "O Lord!" "O Lord, come down in mercy!" "O gentlemen!" "O Lord!" "O Lord!" until they became fainter and died away upon the ear.

When they commenced giving him the second hundred, I left the room in anguish of spirit, exclaiming

to myself: "Oh that I were a dog, that I might not call man my brother!"

He was not permitted to rise until the two hundred were given. He was taken out the next day, but it was decided he was too sore to whip. On the third day he was taken out and whipped again in the presence of a large crowd; but when they had given him twenty, his strength completely failed him.

Whether the whole of the thousand lashes were administered, or whether he gave out before receiving the complete penalty, I have no means of knowing; but I do know that some of the leading slaveholders pledged themselves to each other to carry it through, despite the indignation of a portion of the community and of the entreaties of his master, although at first the master had given him up to the mob heartily, and was even willing they should hang him. He also acquiesced in the judgment of the Committee.

On the next evening (Saturday) after the 200 lashes had been inflicted upon the slave, Gov. Shannon arrived en route for the Territory. A grand reception supper, costing some \$300, was gotten up for him. The Governor was largely toasted, and replied in a speech, boasting of the power he had received from the President, and how he would compel submission to the laws. He largely complimented the Missourians and urged them to come and settle in the Territory, and said that with such citizens as they were, "Kansas, in two years' time, would be one of the loyal 'States of this Union.'"

Col. Reed, who on the previous evening had presided over the naked "bigger" and the mob, presided over this table, with Gov. Shannon on his right.

Look upon this picture, and then on that! JAY ELL

ANOTHER LETTER OF FREDERICK HECKER'S.

Translated for The Chicago Tribune.

An anonymous letter in the New-York Staats Zeitung having addressed an "open letter" to Hecker, in which he presumed to question the course of the latter, and his advice to his German fellow-citizens, but having failed, after all, to sign his full name to the account, Hecker answers in the following characteristic and pungent manner:

In reply to your kind letter in No. 173 of the New-York Staats Zeitung, accept the following reply as corresponding with my nature:

1. You, Mr. W. B. H., may go with the Black Barons; I shall go with the people.
2. You, Sir, may be afraid of the Know-Nothings, and by that very fact give them new courage; we Western men do not fear them.
3. You, Sir, may declare a platform as democratic which preaches Slavery propandism and deceives those of foreign birth with sweet words. I cannot. Perhaps a journey to South Carolina, Louisiana, Mississippi, or Arkansas would benefit you when you would see the condition of non-slaveholding whites, and particularly that of the poorer German emigrant; or please go to Kansas. Nebraska bill before you, Nebraska bill behind you, and the latest Kansas bill on your heart. From there it is not far to Lawrence.
4. You, Sir, may write in the New-York Staats Zeitung, I must prefer another organ, for you will readily perceive that I cannot reply in a paper which has stung Shakespeare's Antony so well, and does not believe that I have carried away (from Baden) the war fund; because too many people know that the only fund which assisted was my own money, which I brought with me from Mannheim! Shame!
5. You, Sir, may go with the gentlemen that seek office, though it may be among publicans and sinners. I, Sir, cannot go with such men, having declined all offices, because I desire fully to preserve my independence.
6. You, Sir, may go for Buchanan and Breckenridge. I shall go for Fremont and Dayton, and I am not afraid of Know Nothings temperance fanatics, Priests, Barons and all the other terrors of the Boo-hoo's which are only fit to frighten German children.
7. The two letters, one to Mr. Esselen and the other to the Belleville Committee, are mine. Are you now Sir satisfied in regard to your curiosity? My name is not F. H., but Frederick Hecker.
- P. S.—As I have too many other useful things to do, which fully occupy my time, it is actually impossible for me to reply to all the unctuously theological, silly, impudent, open and not open epistles. For a sensible man reply No. 6 above is sufficient, for another I have none.

HECKER.

REPORT OF THE BUFFALO CONVENTION COMMITTEE.

To the National Committee for Aid of Kansas.

NIAGARA, Monday, August 11, 1856.

GENTLEMEN: The undersigned respectfully report as follows:

Their mission had the double purpose of ascertaining by personal observation the actual condition and wants of the settlers in Kansas, and also of the several bodies of Free-State emigrants supposed to be on the road thither.

They learned at St. Louis and elsewhere that no Anti-Slavery man who scorned to deny or conceal his name and his sentiments could attempt to enter Kansas by the Missouri River without great risk of being insulted, abused and turned back.

It has been said that men going quietly about their business, and not proclaiming Anti-Slavery sentiments would not be molested. This, however, is not true in any just sense; at least of men having strong convictions and indisposed to deny them when called for. Any traveler toward Kansas is liable to be reported by spies to Vigilance Committees, or bands of bullies, who take law into their own hands (cowering the honest inhabitants of Missouri), who accost strangers, force them to declare their business and their sentiments, and maltreat them and turn them back if such sentiments are displeasing to the inquisitors.

Some travelers, indeed, may escape, but this is because the system of spying is not complete, and the vigilance of the Ruffians is sometimes dulled by whisky or by sleep; but the fact is patent, that Anti-Slavery men are proscribed, hunted for, and their free passage barred by bullies—so patent, indeed, that it has been common for Eastern men (even of Pro-Slavery tendencies) to erase marks from their luggage, and destroy papers, before entering Missouri, lest their place of residence should be known. To a system of espionage which spies the Austrian, is added a system of brigandage which exalts the Neapolitan.

When it is considered that this inquisition and terrorism prevail upon the great thoroughfare of our country, and that men are subjected to it solely because they will not deny their love of Freedom and hatred of Slavery—solely because they cannot pronounce a shibboleth, and be declared "all right on the goose"—then must Americans hang their heads, and confess the existence of a tyranny which puts down free speech in a large part of their boasted Republic.

It is an untruth and a bitter mockery to say that travelers can have redress by appealing to the courts of justice. The peaceful and just citizens of Missouri in the infected district, dare not protect strangers who are denounced by the Border Ruffians as "blue bellied Abolitionists"; and victims who have tried to appeal to court have been subjected to renewed insult, to violence, and some even put to death. These are painful truths. The undersigned therefore preferred to make a tedious journey around Missouri, by Iowa, though it led through three hundred miles of sparsely settled country, unprovided with coaches, hotels, or the ordinary facilities for travel, but where the scattered settlers in their log cabins enjoy and permit free speech.

During this journey the undersigned passed several parties of emigrants from the Free States, toiling slowly along on foot toward Kansas and Nebraska—their families and furniture drawn by oxen. Some were forced to take this circuit because they dared not follow the route through Missouri. Other parties were met returning Eastward, disheartened by the difficulties of the way and by the dangers ahead.

The tendency of Americans to emigrate Westward and fill up new countries is too strong to need any assistance from Emigrant Aid Societies under ordinary circumstances, or to be entirely checked by any common difficulties; but what a comment upon the practical workings of our system is found in the fact that men must dodge and skulk through Missouri, or make this long, roundabout, tedious and costly journey through Iowa to get into Territories which the law declares open to all!

One test of the power and justice of a Government is its ability and disposition to shield its humblest subject. To say "I am a Roman citizen" was once a safe passport the world over; but the American Government cannot, or will not give its citizens the protection at home which the Roman Government, even when administered by tyrants, gave to Romans abroad.

Having passed through Iowa, the undersigned crossed the Upper Missouri at Nebraska City, and entering the Territory found that several parties of emigrants, from various parts of the Free States, had congregated together, and were encamped in tents and wagons upon the open prairie, about forty miles north of the frontier of Kansas.

New difficulties and delays here occurred. The report of the approach of this "emigration" had stirred up commotion in Missouri; and the Ruffians were again upon the border. A large band was posted as far east as Marysville; and smaller parties were scouring the frontier to ascertain at what point the emigrants meant to cross. The undersigned could not enter Kansas, even through this remote pass, except by running a muck over the frontier, and risking encounter with bands of mounted ruffians, who are ever ready to pounce upon parties smaller than their own; or else, by waiting until the whole body of emigrants could move. For the first they had no great inclination not having come out prepared to fight; and for the second, they had no time. They have gathered however much evidence from various sources respecting

the state of things in Kansas. There are in the encampment many noble men who were driven out during the late troubles, or obliged to go to the States on business, and who are now seeking to return. There are individuals, and even whole families, in Nebraska and in Iowa, near the frontier, who were driven out. There are men who have left Kansas within a few weeks. From all these sources the undersigned gathered evidence which will be laid before the Committee; suffice it to say now, that thousands in Kansas are suffering actual privation and want, in consequence of the late outrages, and their prospect for the coming winter are dreary indeed, because the general anxiety and uncertainty about the future paralyzes all business. Many would get away if they had the means. Several thousand dollars, forwarded by the Boston Committee, reached in good time, and their distribution gave great relief and inspired fresh hope. A responsible man writing to one of the undersigned says, "The distribution has saved Kansas for a time."

The undersigned proceed to state what they learned from observation concerning the emigrants upon the road toward Kansas. There are between Iowa City and the encampment in Nebraska about 500. Four-fifths are in and about the encampment, and of these a minute account is subjoined. About 100 more are en route to join them. The advanced party of about 400, including about 40 women and children, is made up of smaller parties from various parts of the country. Some left their homes months ago, upon their own voluntary motion, without any knowledge of the movements of other parties. Most of them started at their own expense; though some received aid and encouragement from committees formed for counteracting the attempt made to stop Free-State emigration.

The various parties naturally tended to a junction at the south-west corner of Iowa, and the foremost there learning that their entrance into Kansas would meet armed opposition, and not being well armed, halted until gradually the encampment grew to its present size.

As only part of them had originally contemplated forcible entrance into Kansas, and were therefore imperfectly armed, and as they wished to exhaust all peaceful means, the leaders of the various parties united in an address to the Commandant at Fort Leavenworth, setting forth that they were peaceful emigrants, that their passage was barred by armed men, and asking for an escort of United States troops. The timely messenger should have been back in a week, but nearly two weeks elapsed and he was not heard of. They then dispatched a copy of the address by a second messenger, the Rev. Mr. Stann, whose return they now await.

The undersigned have visited and sojourned with this party of emigrants, and they can confidently testify to its character.

Many are pious people, and observe the rites of religion, and keep the Sabbath reverently. Beside preaching, they have bible classes, and Sunday schools for the young. This is especially the case with the Wisconsin emigrants, who have their wives and children with them. They are temperance men; intelligent, moral, industrious, and earnest men, who would make good citizens anywhere. They form the most numerous party; and from their numbers, and their earnest character, naturally give a tone to the whole emigration. In their sojourn in the camp, the undersigned did not witness, by night or by day, any drunkenness, or carousing, or disorder of any kind; and they fully believe that the great majority of the emigrants are earnest and honest men, fully impressed with the importance of their position, and determined to do nothing which will dishonor it. Some wild young men have left, and some may still remain, but the natural exuberance of their age is repressed or healthfully modified by the sobriety of those in mature life who feel the great importance of their position, and the critical posture of the expedition.

In a meeting of the leaders, which was attended by the undersigned, the affairs of the emigration were discussed, and resolutions for action adopted, with the most perfect order and decorum. It was held in a grove, with no canopy but leaves, and no carpet but the grass. There was no speaker's desk, and none of the usual insignia of authority; but the lofty bearing and resolute looks of the leaders, as they stood with folded arms around the towering form of their chief, gave imposing interest to the scene, and called to mind pictures which we form of the pilgrim fathers in the olden time.

It will be seen that this large body is composed mainly of men of intelligence and respectability; that their congregating in such numbers is not the result of any previous concerted action; that it naturally

out of the obstacles placed in the way of emigration; that but for such obstacles several of the parties would have gone long ago quietly into Kansas; that even now the party is very imperfectly armed; that it had no previous military organization, and that if now obliged to take measures to arm and organize for their future progress, it will only be because there is armed and organized opposition to their maintaining their clear right of entering and settling in the Territory.

It may be regarded as unfortunate that the party were joined in Iowa by the men raised by Col. Lane, for though his immediate followers were only a fourth of the whole number, yet as he was a man of some notoriety—as he had made his preparations with considerable flourish—as he was, moreover, very active and zealous, and is considered a brave and skillful military leader—he naturally obtained considerable influence over the whole, and the congregated party came to be known to the country as "Lane's Expedition." This placed it in a false position before the North, where men were not prepared for armed and organized emigrations, and gave to its enemies a pretext for calling it a military or filibustering expedition.

There was the further disadvantage that bands of armed Missourians might come up as a Marshal's posse, and arrest Lane on the charge of treason, and disperse the company under pretext of law, for though the most of the men are fearless of open enemies, they are almost superstitious in their dread of anything in the shape of law.

These things were seen by the principal men some time ago, and were admitted by Col. Lane, who, though naturally very desirous of thrashing the Border Ruffians, and believing he could thrash them if they were not more than five to one, yet has the cause of Kansas at heart. He was earnestly solicited to remain behind in the States, and finally consented, most reluctantly to do so; and the emigrants crossed into Nebraska under the guidance of Mr. Dickie of Topeka, who had been chosen leader by general consent.

Col. Lane, however, extended a pledge that if the Missourians should attack the expedition while yet near the frontier of Iowa, a message should be sent instantly to him, that he might join the fray, if it were only as a common soldier.

The undersigned used what influence they could to make sure of the continuance of this arrangement by inducing Col. Lane to go so far into the States that it would be manifestly impossible for him to have anything to do with the expedition under any circumstances; and they can testify to his reluctance to go where he could not have a hand in the fight, if one should be forced upon the emigrants. He took rather a soldier's view, and feared some imputation upon his bravery, forgetful that true courage should make a man brave any opinions for the sake of a righteous cause.

Such was the actual condition of this emigration on the last day of July. They would wait the week out, and if no answer came to their application for escort, or if the answer should be unfavorable, then they would march forward and protect themselves as well as they could.

The resolutions adopted in solemn convocation of the leaders were that, if opposed by Missourians, they would fight their way forward: that, if met by United States troops, they would persist in their clear right of advancing, arms in hand; if opposed by force, they would not use their arms, yet would not yield them but retire upon free soil and wait the action of the several States whose citizens they are, and whose protection they will claim.

If they can cross the frontier, they will immediately enter upon "claims," erect their log houses, and form a line of Free State settlers along the line to Topeka, but near enough for mutual protection. The way will then be opened, and the tide of emigration can pour in; but they must have encouragement and aid sufficient to overcome the obstacles, material and moral, which have been placed in the way, and the effect of which will be felt for a long time.

In either case continued and ample aid will be needed from the Free States; for the emigrants can do little for their own maintenance this year, and will soon lack means of support. Though many of them went out of their own accord, and had no pledge of assistance from home, yet circumstances have arisen which place them in the situation of champions of Free State Rights, and they should be maintained in their position.

Under ordinary circumstances more aid would not be required, and, if given ostentatiously, might be considered as encouraging sectional feeling and strife; but now the Free States cannot refuse it without

abandoning a high principle, and forsaking those who assert it at the peril of their lives and fortunes.

It is no longer a question between Pro-Slavery and Anti-Slavery men in Kansas, but there is an open issue between the Free States and the Slave States. Missourians, countenanced by their State Government and by the Federal Administration, and openly supported by men and munitions from the Southern States, oppose, by a system of terrorism, and by force and arms, the settlement of national territory by emigrants from the Free States. Appeals to courts and to Congress are useless; for, while making them, Pro-Slavery men will continue to rush in, and Kansas will be lost to Freedom.

Those emigrants are testing the question of Free-State rights practically, at their own dear cost and at the peril of their lives. Let them be instantly and ably seconded. Let the Committees pour in funds, and let the National Committee at once forward supplies and fresh settlers; and let everything that is lawful and proper be done at once, and openly and boldly done, to save Kansas and Nebraska, and the vast regions around them, from the blighting curse of Human Slavery.

With due respect,

S. G. HOWE.
THADDEUS HYATT.

In order that the character of this emigration may be understood, we subjoin the following memoranda taken on the spot:

"NEBRASKA TERRITORY, July 30.—Encampment 20 miles S. E. of Nebraska City.—The following companies are on the ground, viz: Milwaukee Company, from Wisconsin; Ross, Conductor; Fremont Independent Company, organized at Iowa City; Deau, Conductor; Illinois Company, organized at Iowa City; Hankins, Conductor; Davenport Company, organized at Davenport; Maxban, Conductor; Wisconsin Pioneer Company, organized at Janesville, reinforced at Iowa City; Hildreth, Conductor; Bloomington Company, from Bloomington Ill.; Weed, Conductor; Ohio Company, from Eaton, Preble County, Ohio; Walker, Conductor; Fremont Company, organized at Iowa City (branch of the Independent Company); Eberhart, Conductor; Richmond Company, from Richmond, Ind.; Shombre, Conductor; Massachusetts Company, from Worcester, Mass.; Stowell, Conductor; Moline Company, from Moline, Ill.; Bell, Conductor."

These made 271 individuals in all. To the above must be added three companies in the rear whom we met on the following day at the ferry, crossing at Nebraska City, viz: The Massachusetts Company of Dr. Cutter, and the Chicago Company, together numbering 110, and with the Rockford Company from Illinois, 15 in number, making 125; which, added to the above 271, give a total of 396 souls. We likewise met en route for Kansas several other companies, so that there were probably together on Nebraska soil during the first week in August over 500 emigrants. Of these the Chicago Company and Cutter's Company, it is well known, had been forcibly driven back from the Missouri River after having been publicly plundered of their arms and privately picked in their pockets by the unchecked ruffians of the border; and now, after a weary journey of over 500 miles, they found themselves upon the northern boundaries of that Territory which they had solemnly determined to enter. We found among the emigrants encamped on the 30th, 38 women and children, a part of the latter being babes at the breast; most of the rest being less than 8 years of age, and none over 13. Of the men and women there were grandfathers and grandmothers journeying with their children and children's children to the promised land. The little encampment above described, which was composed of 25 tents and 23 covered wagons, we found pitched on the prairies of Nebraska by the banks of a winding stream, furnishing water for the cattle and cool groves for their shelter. Some 25 or 30 yoke of oxen, with a few horses and cows, make up the sum of their live stock. The fare of almost the entire company has been of the plainest description—such only as soldiers are accustomed to. Yet, throughout the whole encampment, no discontent at their privations manifested itself. All was cheerful and hopeful. But one complaint seemed universal, and that was the want of arms. The reports of hostile parties on the border, brought in by the scouts, caused the men to feel keenly the absence of proper means of self-defense. "We are willing," said they, "to endure privations. We are not afraid to meet enemies; we are not afraid to meet death; but we would like, for our lives, an even chance at least. We ought to be provided with arms. We ought not to go in with our naked hands to meet foes armed to the teeth, and then, if overpowered and driven back, be charged with cowardice by men at the North, who do all their fighting while sitting in cushioned chairs within the happy shadows of their own comfortable homes."

The following particulars will be read with interest by the friends of the emigration. They show the mate-

rial and moral condition of the men who have been so unjustly stigmatized as "armed adventurers." They also demonstrate the necessity of immediate action on the part of the North, lest what has so far been happily begun should fail for lack of adequate support.

Milwaukee Company—This company started from Wisconsin on the 20th of May, and at the time of our investigation had been consequently *in transitu* some ten weeks. Anticipating a journey of less than thirty days' duration, means and stores which in starting they had supposed ample, were now found to be wholly inadequate. "We had expected," said they, "to find the land journey a safe one; but after getting on our way, we feared to venture in alone on account of the reports which reached us of the mustering of ruffians on the frontier. We delayed at Iowa City three weeks, and at other places along the road, from time to time, so that others who we heard were on their way in the rear might join us. This great loss of time has well nigh exhausted our ready means; our provisions can scarcely last a fortnight longer; in fact, we are on our last breeches and boots!"

Here were a company of noble, intelligent, stalwart men, with their wives and little ones—their household gods—their all—amply provided for ordinary exigencies, but impoverished by the cruel delays necessitated by the present monstrous state of affairs.

The conductor of the Fremont Independent Company answered as follows: "Our means are exhausted; the last of our provisions were used up yesterday. The men are not afraid of danger; they can endure privations, but they are sick of the delay, and they complain only of this and the want of arms! Give us these, and enough to keep us from starving, and let us go in, and we will take care of the rest!"

The conductor of these fine fellows had already learned something of the tender mercies of Border Ruffianism. About 18 months ago he became a citizen of Kansas, with \$350, being all his worldly means. This became exhausted in various ways in the struggles of the times. He was beset in the Territory on one occasion, robbed of a double-barreled gun and all the money about his person, beaten, bathed in his own blood, and left senseless by the roadside to perish. He revived, sought redress at the courts, was informed that the Territorial Courts provided no redress for such "d-d blue-bellied Abolitionists as he was!" He left, impoverished, and with impaired health. He left, but only that he might return again with added strength. We found this brave fellow with one check shirt and pants comprising his entire wardrobe, and rather loose at that, yet cheerful and determined. We will add that he hails originally from "down East."

Illinois Company—A band of fine fellows, whose ages range from 19 to 25; in excellent health and spirits. Some have no money; others are well supplied; tolerably well provided with clothing. Complain only of the delay and want of arms.

Davenport Company—The youngest man in this company is 21, the oldest 27 years of age. Started on their journey with an average of \$14 to the man, a small allowance; have now an average of \$1 50 apiece. Expected to have been in by the 4th of July. Complain of delay and want of arms.

Wisconsin Pioneer Company complain of having lost the best part of the Summer by the unexampled tediousness of the journey; their means sensibly diminished in consequence thereof. Complain likewise of want of arms.

Bloomington Company—This company is well provided for. A brave band of men under a determined leader. When asked his intentions in case their arms were demanded by United States troops, he replied: "Our arms are private property; let them take them if they can." This company numbers one civil engineer and one physician; the rest are mechanics, with one exception. Have with them both agricultural and mechanical implements. Intend to make claims and lay out a town. They pay one of the other companies for transporting their luggage, and have made the journey thus far on foot. All wear a healthy appearance.

Ohio Company started with an average of about \$40 to the man; reduced to about \$5. Have side-arms, but no Sharp's rifles. All are mechanics, but going in to make claims and work their farms. Ages run 20 to 28.

Fremont Company, branch of the Independent Company; age, from 17 to 40; determined and cheerful. Complain only of loss of time and want of arms.

Richmond Company—Means getting low. Provisioned for two days longer. A brave and intelligent Conductor. Accompanied by Dr. Avery, a wise and discreet and accomplished physician. There are three lawyers in this company. Anxious to go in.

Moline Company.—You mechanics. While passing through Nebraska City, N. per day was freed of ferred them to remain and engage in employment there. The fact that such inducements failed to tempt them from the path of duty, shows of what material they are made. All in good spirits, but impatient of the delay.

Massachusetts Company.—Among the thirty two comprising this company there are seven printers. Well provided for at starting but now needing aid. A brave and intelligent set of men under a resolute leader. All anxious to "go in."

We will add, in conclusion, that the emigration represent almost all the mechanical branches; also, that the encampment have been remarkably healthy.

S. G. H.
T. H.

THE EVENING POST.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, AUGUST 13.

THE LAST SHIFT OF THE ADMINISTRATION.

The high-handed proceeding of dispersing the free-state legislature of Kansas, assembled at Topeka—a proceeding like that of Bonaparte breaking up the French Legislative Assembly—is so unpopular that the administration is ashamed of it, and wishes to throw the blame upon Colonel Sumner. The *Journal of Commerce* of this morning labors very strenuously to show that the administration had no part in the matter, quoting the following instructions given to that officer by Mr. Davis, our Secretary of War:

"If, therefore, the governor of the territory, finding the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, and the powers vested in the United States marshals, inadequate for the suppression of insurrectionary combinations or armed resistance to the execution of the law, should make requisition upon you to furnish a military force to aid him in the performance of that official duty, you are hereby directed to employ for that purpose such part of your command as may, in your judgment, consistently be detached from their ordinary duty."

Here, says the *Journal*, no authority is given to Colonel Sumner to employ the military force under his command against the people, unless Governor Shannon should find the ordinary means of suppressing insurrections to be insufficient. But who was to be the judge in this matter? Clearly the Governor of the territory, and not Colonel Sumner. When Governor Shannon had "found the ordinary course of proceedings inadequate to suppress resistance to the execution of the laws," it was then that Colonel Sumner was to obey the Governor's requisitions. Colonel Sumner was not instructed to exercise any discretion. The finding of the necessity for the intervention of the United States army is, by the very letter of these instructions of the War-Department, left to Governor Shannon, and to nobody else. When the Governor supposed that the occasion had arrived, and made the requisition on Col. Sumner, that officer had nothing to do but to obey. The only thing which was left to his "judgment" was the number of men which he should employ.

Yet the Secretary now endeavors to shield himself and Mr. Pierce behind this wretched quibbling respecting the interpretation of Colonel Sumner's instructions. We copy from the *Journal of Commerce* of this morning a passage in which both that print and the Secretary state this point in their own language:

"Nor was it sufficient that the territorial Governor should demand assistance of the military power. He must ask it for the purpose specified in the instructions addressed to the officer from the War Department. A higher duty is thus devolved upon the officer, than that of merely executing the commands of the civil authority. He is required to judge of the propriety of these commands. This at least is the understanding at the department. For when Colonel Sumner reported to that office his proceedings in connection with the dispersion of the Topeka assembly calling itself a legislature, the Secretary inscribed upon the report the following indorsement:

"The communication of Col. Sumner, and the proclamation enclosed, 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 made fully to appear that the case was one in which, by his instructions, he was authorized to act, viz: That the Governor had found the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, and the powers vested in the United States Marshals, inadequate to effect the purpose which was accomplished by the employment of the troops of the United States.

"Col. Sumner will be called upon to communicate upon this point."

The absurdity of the position here taken, that Colonel Sumner, under his instructions, was to judge for Governor Shannon, whether he found it necessary to make a requisition for troops or not, will be evident, if we suppose Colonel Sumner to have taken a fancy to exercise his own discretion in the matter. Governor Shannon applied to that officer, informing him that he found himself obliged to call on him for the aid of the military in putting down resistance to the laws. "No," Col. Sumner would have replied, "you find no such thing. You may fancy that you do; but you are wholly mistaken. I am 'viceroy over you' in this territory; you do not understand the duties of your office, and it is my business to instruct you. I tell you again, that whatever you may think, you do not find the ordinary course of proceedings inadequate for the execution of the laws, and therefore I shall not employ any part of the force under my command for that purpose."

If Colonel Sumner had answered Governor Shannon in this manner, he clearly would not have done what was expected of him; he would have clearly disobeyed his instructions. Col. Sumner appears to be a man of sense; he knows that the civil magistrate and the military officer have different spheres, in which each must judge for himself what his duty requires of him. The Executive officer must decide whether a case exists in which it is necessary to call in the soldiery to enforce the laws; the business of the soldier is to obey that requisition with such a force as he can spare, or as he deems adequate. Colonel Sumner must have seen that if he refused to recognise the requisition of Governor Shannon he would subject himself to the danger of being cashiered for disobedience of orders.

But if it be so clear a case as the *Journal* supposes, of transcending instructions; if there was not, as the Secretary of War himself acknowledges, any necessity of bringing a body of armed men to disperse an unarmed and peaceable multitude; and if, as the Secretary affirms, it was the business of Colonel Sumner, and not of Governor Shannon, to decide whether the army was to be employed in aid of the law, then let Colonel Sumner be brought to trial. Let his conduct be compared with his instructions, and let a Court Martial settle whether he has transgressed them or not. It is a grievous offence, certainly, and something new in this country to break up a public meeting of quiet and orderly citizens at the point of the bayonet, and with the threat of bloodshed if they do not disperse. Colonel Sumner professed to do it most unwillingly. Let the matter be fully investigated, and let us know whether these professions were sincere, or whether the troops were brought out in mere wantonness, without the authority of the Federal Executive, to prevent a peaceful meeting of American citizens. The matter is of sufficient importance to deserve the strictest inquiry. When the court-martial is held we shall need copies of the instructions to Governor Shannon as well as of the instructions to Colonel Sumner.

AFFAIRS IN WASHINGTON.

[FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.]

WASHINGTON, Aug. 11.

In verification of the intelligence sent you yesterday by telegraph, I have information this morning which convinces me that the President has dismissed Judges Lecompte and CATO, and Marshal DONALDSON. LECOMPTE is from Maryland, CATO from Alabama, and DONALDSON from Tennessee. With ostentatious discrimination Gen. PIERCE leaves in office Judge BURRILL, from Pennsylvania. The names of the successors to the judicial puppets thus laid aside have not transpired, but it is believed that they are persons whose views of the Constitution and laws will require them to release the prisoners confined upon spurious indictments for high treason, and Judge DOUGLASS will not have the exquisite satisfaction of the *auto de fe* which he promised to himself and the amiable Democracy. The Government, they think, has yet to test its power by hanging a traitor, the longing for which spectacle is not likely to be gratified until justice can be done upon some of his own party.

Gov. GEARY has demanded the abrogation of the more especially infamous of the pretended territorial laws, and a bill is before the House for that purpose, which he desires to pass.

It is understood that Gen. PIERCE caused an invitation to be served upon Judge LECOMPTE three weeks ago, inviting him to resign. LECOMPTE declined, doubtless because he hoped that the President would not have sufficient nerve to turn him out, and because satisfied that his gigantic speculations would be overthrown with a reform in the Courts, and by the nullification of the so-called laws, passed on his own and border ruffian account.

The object, of course, is to save Pennsylvania, and to that end anything will be done which shall not seriously endanger the establishment of slavery in the Territory to which the party is irrevocably committed. The Southern Democrats, though sufficiently malignant and blood-thirsty, will not insist upon the execution of Topeka prisoners at the cost of FREMONT's certain election. If they can be kept until after the November election, they will be hanged, unless saved from that fate by the fear of retribution on the part of their persecutors.

The House, to-day, received back from the Senate the army appropriation bill, with one amendment, striking out the proviso against an unlawful use of the money for the enlistment of free white men in Kansas. The House, with great good sense concurred in the amendment with an amendment, by which some doubtful provisions in Mr. SHERMAN's amendment were abandoned, and particularly that which makes it the duty of the President to cause the disbandment of territorial militia, and the withdrawal from them of the government arms. This is supposed, by some of the members whose concurrence it is worth some sacrifice to obtain, to conflict with the Constitution, securing the right of the people to bear arms.

Mr. PENNINGTON presented a substitute for the clause which the Senate had struck out, effecting the same results, but avoiding the specific objections to the excluded clause which was adopted after a warm struggle, and the bill sent back to the Senate.

NEWARK DAILY ADVERTISER.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, AUGUST 13, 1856.

Who Began the Aggressions in Kansas?

This question is easily answered now. Months ago it was covered up by such a multitude of inventions by Douglas, Stringfellow, and their numerous adherents, that some good people may have had their doubts, and been not a little mystified. It is on that supposition, that we are about to make a plain statement, which subsequent investigations, especially of the industrious and able Investigating Committee of the House of Representatives, have enabled us to perform.

Previous to the enactment of the law constituting Kansas a territory, a powerful Society was formed in Missouri for the express purpose of making Kansas a Slave State. How they proceeded to carry out the plan as soon as that act passed, was afterwards fully made apparent by the warlike irruption of its members and others into that territory, taking violent possession of the ballot boxes, driving away the real inhabitants

from the polls, and not allowing them to vote at all. They were elected the members of their sham legislative, and their delegates to Congress.

In consequence of these illegal and outrageous transactions, Whitfield has been denied admission as delegate to the House, and the acts of the legislature have been declared to be a disgrace to any country, not only for their base origin, but for their unconstitutional and tyrannical provisions. They have been denounced and repudiated on all sides, and no one, whose opinions on other matters may be, has a word to utter in their defence. We shall not now recite them, they have been published in this paper and throughout the Union. Their object, however, was professedly to make Kansas a slave State, by first making it a slave territory. The slave laws of Missouri, in a body, were consequently made at once the laws of the territory, and the flagitious acts referred to were subsidiary to this great design.

In furtherance of the same object, the judiciary, under the Jeffries of Kansas, Chief Justice Le Compt, was set into motion. Under his direction, some of the principal men of the free State party, who had been already disfranchised, were indicted for treason for peaceably meeting to deliberate on their grievances, and see what could be recommended for a remedy, as they had a right to do by the provisions of the constitution. They were arrested, thrown into prison, where their persecutors have confined them ever since. Not content with this, the Kansas Jeffries sanctioned the indictment of some of the most valuable buildings belonging to the free State men in Lawrence, as well as the women found there barbarously abused. These villains, at the head of whom was Achison, now boast of their villainous exploits, and show in triumph the arms, horses, cattle, furniture, and other property of which they robbed the lawful owners.

Then they prosecuted a settled plan to hunt free State settlers, known to be such, and drive them from the territory. At the same time, associations were formed to operate externally, in order to prevent the arrival of fresh emigrants from the free States, disarming some, turning back others, while those from the slave States were promptly permitted to proceed, and encouraged to come. The Missouri river is a closed river to free emigrants, and obstructions are thrown in their way by land approach to Kansas in every possible direction. In these highhanded measures, troops have come in aid from South Carolina, Georgia and Alabama. Not content with these, Pierce ordered Col. Sumner to march against the inhabitants of Kansas with a large body of U. S. troops, of which Gen. Smith has recently been sent to take the command. The inhabitants of Kansas are, therefore, subdued, or expelled, as Douglas threatened, while the trials for treason of the friends in whom they repose their confidence, are appointed to take place in September. The condition of the country is as deplorable as can be imagined, and the hopes of freedom for its people at the lowest point. We sincerely deplore their great sufferings; they do, indeed, deserve the sympathy of their fellow-citizens every where.

And what can justify such foul, such enormous oppression? Can such things happen in America, the land of the happy and free, we hear men exclaim? Why, what a mockery are our constitution, our boasts of security and equality! Worse things could not happen in Austria or Turkey. Is there not some apology for these infernal outrages? We have never heard but one, and that is a falsehood. It is said by way of excuse for all this violence, that Massachusetts had incorporated an Emigrant Aid Society, for the purpose of converting Kansas into a free State, by force and money. This is now proved to be a shameless falsehood, without the least foundation. That State did incorporate an *Emigrant Aid Company* in February, 1855, long after the passage of the Kansas Territorial act, with a nominal capital of one million, not ten, as asserted; but which capital never, in fact, exceeded a hundred thousand dollars. The object stated was "for the purpose of directing emigration westward, and aiding in providing accommodations for the emigrants after arriving at their places of destination."

This was the object of the Society, and the sole one, and no other assistance was ever rendered them, as sworn by the officers, except in cheapening their tickets in consequence of the discount procured of the transportation companies, by reason of collecting and passing them on in companies. These officers also swore, that no emigrant was asked his opinion respecting slavery before he started, and that no abolitionist, to their knowledge, was a member of the Society. The president was a retired citizen. The Society expected

to make their profit in land purchases, no doubt, and in raising up a population to consume their manufactures. Those who represented the design or the acts of the society as any way contrary to this statement were base and malicious slanderers; and this has at length been fixed upon them by public opinion. Senator Douglas was one of the first to aid the Missouri ruffians in the circulation of the calumny from his place at Washington, which he has more than once prostituted to ignominious uses. How little reason was given for Missouri violence by any thing the Massachusetts Emigrant Society had done, is conclusively shown by the official census of the territory taken the month previous to the invasion, whereby it appears that of all the adult freemen then in the territory, amounting to near 5000, only 100 were from the New England States!

We have now given in few words the gist, we believe, of the Kansas war. From this truthful and plain statement, the answer can readily be given, to the question, with which we commenced, "Who began the aggressions in Kansas?" Atchison and the Missouri Ruffians began it for the slaveholders in the field; but he, Dixon, of Kentucky, and others, made use of Douglas to begin it previously in the Senate Councils. With these conspirators Pierce was an accessory before the fact, and Buchanan is an accessory after the fact.

Lynchburg Virginian.

Wednesday Morning, Aug. 13, 1856.

Our correspondent of the Philadelphia American, (Black Republican) furnishes the following key to the recent movements of the Administration in reference to Kansas:

"It is pretty well decided to recede in the whole Kansas business. The Administration has been importuned from various quarters to retract its steps, recall its agents, and abandon its policy. Without the adoption of some such radical course, defeat is considered inevitable. There is a serious panic, which has reached the west end of Washington. The first plunge was made when Shannon was thrown overboard without even a life-preserver. It is not difficult to take the others. A majority of the Cabinet are inclined to the release of the prisoners in Kansas, and the President is by no means indisposed to such a course. Both have been greatly deceived by the officials in Kansas; and by the agitators in Missouri who confederated with them. But light begins to dawn. Judge Lecompt, and the U. S. District Attorney, Mr. Isaacs, are both doomed. They are accused of being engaged in speculations, and the evidence of this and other charges is said to be sufficient to satisfy the Executive that they should be displaced. As soon as proper successors can be found the changes will doubtless be made, unless the President's mind should undergo a sudden transition. If this course had been taken six months ago, much mischief might have been prevented, and much sectional discord saved. But it is never too late to do good. The remedy, though late, may yet be serviceable."

There has been a very perceptible slackening of tone by the administration in regard to Kansas, since the decapitation of President Pierce at Cincinnati. Prior to that, a bold game was played for Southern support. Gov. Shannon was backed in every thing—the Kansas Legislature was recognized as an authentic body, and its laws were to be enforced at every hazard. Since then, we have seen Gov. Shannon removed, without cause assigned, have seen Buford and his Alabama emigrants driven from the Territory, and have heard precious little about the authority of the Legislature & the obligation of the laws. The proceedings against Reeder, Lane, Robinson and others for high treason have been abandoned.— Whether these things have come about in obedience to the wishes of Mr. Buchanan and his supporters, as a means of conciliating the North, or whether the President, having failed to secure a re-nomination by affected regard for Southern interests, permits now his real sentiments and sympathies to control his official conduct, we can only conjecture. Certain it is, as the correspondent of the North American states, there is a strong tendency manifested by the administration to take the back track in the affairs of Kansas. We hope the people of the South will be on the look-out.

TRUE ACCOUNT OF THE ASSAULT OF LANE'S TRAITORS UPON THE TOWN OF FRANKLIN.

Demand for the County Assessor.

(From the Lecompton Union, August 14)

By a private letter from Franklin to a gentleman in this city, we learn that a party of the Lawrence outlaws aided by some of the notorious Jim Lane's traitors, made an attack on the town of Franklin on Tuesday night, about 10 o'clock. They numbered some 250 strong, and kept up the attack for about four hours. The citizens of Franklin collected in a log house and defended themselves bravely for this length of time against superior numbers. Finding that they could not dislodge them, the outlaws filled a wagon with hay and setting it on fire backed it up to the house, whereupon the inmates had to leave it to escape the flames. The scoundrels then entered the Post Office and robbed it of about \$60 in cash, all the bed blankets and clothing which they could find, and many other things, in fact every thing they could lay their hands on.

The outlaws first went to Franklin and demanded Judge Fain, the county assessor for Douglas county, and another man by the name of Ruggles. It will be remembered that these Lawrenceites held a meeting some time since and declared that the assessor should not make assessments in Lawrence, and if he attempted it, it would be at the peril of his own life, and as soon as Jim Lane's party arrived at Lawrence, they immediately proceeded to Franklin and demanded the assessor. There were only about 15 men in Franklin at the time of the attack, and they fought successfully 250 of their enemies, and when the outlaws left, they had sustained a loss of some sixteen killed and wounded. There were two of the citizens of Franklin wounded, and that very slightly. This is the result of Jim Lane bringing a band of organized traitors into our Territory.

Since writing the above, we have learned from a reliable source that the outlaws have notified Capt. Anderson, of the United States army, who had three prisoners in his custody charged with being implicated in breaking open the Post Office of Franklin, that if he did not give them up immediately he would be attacked with 600 men.

P. S.—Since the above was put in type and as we are about ready to go to press, we have learned from some gentlemen who came through Franklin and Lawrence that sixteen of the outlaws have since died and that about thirty more are wounded.

The Parkville Democrat of the 14th says:— We are glad to learn that the settlers on Big Blue in Kansas Territory, instead of engaging in the turmoils and squabbles that were going on in some parts of the Territory during the winter and spring turned their attention to the improvement of their farms and the prosecution of agricultural pursuits. There is perhaps no part of the Territory in which the citizens have been more quietly and industriously engaged than in the Big Blue settlement, and the prospect now is, instead of reaping want and distress, they will, at the proper season, be enabled to reap an abundant and luxurious crop. We are informed by a gentleman (Mr. Garrett) who has been stopping at our town a few days, that their corn crops at present promise a rich yield, equal, if not superior to that realized in the great Platte country, in the most favorable seasons. In order to accomplish this, they will have to make corn "as is corn," and "shell it out" to the tune of almost an incredible number of bushels to the acre.

We know of no place offering superior advantages to men of moderate means and industrious habits to make money, than the region of country above referred to. It is a great distance from Fort Riley, which at present, is about the best corn and provision market in the country. Corn readily commands a dollar a bushel, and we understand is considered by the settlers a "legal tender," at that price.

THE EVENING NEWS.

Saint Louis:

THURSDAY EVENING, AUGUST 14.

Kansas has become the home of banditti, as will be seen by the following from the *Kansas City Enterprise*:—

On Tuesday last, a wagon loaded by Messrs. Northup & Chick, of this city, was waylaid beyond Westport, and the driver, after an attempt was made to murder him, escape. The wagon, with two yoke of oxen and the entire loading was driven off. Upon receipt of the intelligence, U. S. Deputy Marshal M. B. Hedges, with a posse, started in pursuit, but after two days search were unable to trace out the perpetrators. There is a band of scoundrels infesting the Shawnee Reserve, who, under cover of the late difficulties in the Territory, have been robbing, plundering and murdering, in some

instances, teamsters, wagons and travelers, until trade has been almost entirely stopped, and no man's life or property is safe.

The time has come for prompt and energetic action to put down this banditti, and a rope's end and the nearest tree, is the fate of every one who can be caught. Sufficient information has been obtained to throw dark suspicion upon several, and absolute conviction upon others. The business community of Kansas City have been the chief sufferers, but they are now fully aroused, and a day of reckoning has arrived for every vagabond connected with this system of piracy. A Vigilance Committee, after the fashion of San Francisco, will be fully organized in a few days to rid the country of all suspicious characters, and men who have no visible means of support, other than highway robbery, had better betake themselves to other localities.

Grand Rapids Eagle.

CITY OF GRAND RAPIDS:
THURSDAY MORNING, AUG. 14, 1856

A Voice from Gov. Myers.

The Committee of Arrangements for the great Mass Meeting at Fremont, invited Lieut. ex-Governor MYERS to attend the meeting, and address the people of Ohio on the occasion. He was so situated that he could not attend, but he sent the following letter, heartily approving the movement, and taking the strongest Republican ground. Let none of our political readers fail to give the letter their attention. It is as follows:

TOLEDO, July 30, 1856.

GENTLEMEN: Your invitation to attend and address the great Fremont and Dayton Mass Meeting, to be held at your place on the 6th of August, has been received. I regret that a former engagement, which compels me to leave for the East to-morrow morning, will prevent me from being present on that occasion.

It would be a source of great pleasure to me to be present at your meeting, and contribute any influence that I might have to the cause of Freedom, the great battle for which, is now being fought in this country. The result of the present political contest, I believe, is fraught with the most important consequences to the dearest interests of our common country, and must fix its future destiny, for all time, as to slavery extension.

The people are now called upon to decide whether slavery shall be spread over the fairest portion of our country, and whether the slave power shall control the action of this government for its particular benefit, or whether free men and free labor shall occupy and cultivate our new territories, or whether this government shall be controlled only for the best interests of the whole country. I consider the crisis has arrived when we cannot escape responsibility for our action upon this question. We must choose between slavery and freedom in our territories. For one, I have no second choice in such a contest. I shall be found on the side of freedom. Make Kansas a Slave State, and all is lost to Freedom; make Kansas a Free State, and it will secure freedom to all our present territories.—Kansas is a key to all the wide-extended territories beyond her. Open it to Slavery, and you will curse posterity and the country with an evil for which there will be no remedy, and will deprive free laborers of an inheritance which justly belongs to them. What a contrast would such a course be to that pursued by Jefferson and his patriotic cotemporaries, who consecrated all of the territory belonging to this country, in their day, to freedom! Let the free people of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin and Michigan evince in this contest their gratitude to those disinterested patriots who bequeathed them freedom for an inheritance instead of slavery, by extending to the people who may inhabit Kan-

sas and other territories, like privileges we enjoy. How can a man who has a particle of patriotism burning in his bosom, reflect upon the consequences that must inevitably result from the decision of the great issue now before the people, and yet suffer partizan leaders, who expect to have the aid of the united slave power to give them place and emolument as the reward for their apostasy to the rights and interests of the North, be influenced to cast their votes to blight the interests of his country.

I would appeal to my Democratic friends to cast aside all prejudice, and weigh well the great question now pending in this campaign, before casting their votes for men whose election will give force and effect to the Slave interests, merely because they claim to be the nominees of the Democratic organization—an organization which has, at the bidding of the slave power, repudiated on the subject of slavery, every principle of Thos. Jefferson, the great apostle of Democracy and founder of the Democratic party.

I hope there is sufficient intelligence and independence of party discipline, to decide this question in favor of freedom.

I am, with great respect,

Your obedient servant,

JAMES MYERS.

The Daily Journal.

THURSDAY MORNING, AUGUST 14, 1856

Latest from Kansas.

The St. Louis *Republican* of Tuesday, contains the following letter from a bitter pro-slavery correspondent in Kansas, which is the latest news we have seen from that quarter. The *Republican*, it will be remembered, is the organ of the Atchison Ruffians, and the leading Buchanan paper of the West:

Kansas Affairs—U. S. District Court—Judge Lecompte—U. S. Troops necessary for protection—Lane's Regiment, &c.

WHITEHEAD, K. T. Aug. 4, '56.

This morning the United States District Court, Judge Lecompte, began its summer term. The docket is large and numbers of counsel are in attendance. The cases are chiefly criminal and of a rather a political character—being indictments against those who assumed authority under the election law in violation of the statute. They excite a lively interest in the persons from both Kansas and Missouri. The first case is that against Benjamin H. Brock, for acting as judge of an election; Mr. Grover, United States Circuit Attorney, prosecuting, and Gen. J. M. Bassett and Col. W. Broadus Thompson, of St. Joseph Mo., defending. It is said that five hundred of Lane's troops are in readiness to rescue those who may be convicted and held in judicial dress either by fine or imprisonment. On the strength of such a rumor and impression, Gen. Smith has sent fifty dragoons under Captain Wood, to protect the Court and enforce its processes. They are stationed within a few hundred yards of the the court room, and prepared to obey any order at a moment's notice. It is, the first time in our national history that the precincts of a United States Court have gleamed with the glitter of protecting bayonets. It has a strange appearance and a saddening effect. Instead of awakening in the mind those hilarious and patriotic sentiments incident to martial shows, it shadows the spirit with the mysterious gloom of an indefinable portent. Whether it was a wise or necessary precaution will soon be demonstrated.

I shall not stop here to inquire into the cause of this unprecedented and unhappy state of things. They will be understood by all who take a dispassionate view of our history, and the fault will be placed where it belongs. Suffice it now to say that we have our laws and our courts, under whose protection and jurisdiction we are prospering peacefully and happily as a sovereign people. Our country is invaded by armed forces; our institutions are threatened; our laws are repudiated, and our courts are menaced.

Judge Lecompte delivered an able and eloquent charge to the Grand Jury, in which he reviewed the most glaring offences, and suggested remedies against the present and prospective evils of the country. He admonished

them to be cool and calm and unbiassed in their action, and to do nothing which could have even a seeming sectional, political, or personal inclination.

The members of the Grand Jury are Charles Blakeley, Foreman; Thomas J. Vanderslicer, Robert H. Davis, Dr. Shepherd, S. G. Patterson, Bolivar Beeler, Michael Bird, George Jesse, Joel Ryan, Joseph Crippen, Thomas J. Kerry, James B. O'Toole, Evan Evans, Jesse Brown and James Miller, all good, substantial, sensible and independent citizens, who came from various sections of the Union to make themselves homes on our beautiful prairies, and to share as fellow-countrymen the glorious destiny which awaits our Territory.

On Wednesday last Gen. Richardson sent Bernard L. Wolf and R. J. Boyd to reconnoitre and report the progress of Lane's regiment.—They returned this evening, and state that, just after crossing the Nebraska line they came upon an encampment of two hundred and fifty men. They entered the camp unhesitatingly, and pretended to be ultra free-soilers. They were kindly treated, and remained all night, during which time they learned from the leaders that Lane had returned to Chicago to raise more men and means to send on after them; that he was going thence to Pittsburg and Cincinnati to raise five thousand men, and charter boats to bring them through to Kansas without touching at the Missouri towns; that he would have sufficient artillery to batter down and burn any town that attempted to intercept him; that they were waiting for the forces, then at Nebraska City, to move in a body down to Topeka; that they expected those forces by Wednesday, (day after to-morrow) when they would take up their line of march; that when Lane, with his five thousand men, touched the shores of Kansas, they would move down from Topeka to meet him, and that they would then defy the border ruffians and the United States to boot.

Wolf and Boyd then went on up to Nebraska City, where they saw some two hundred or more of the same regiment, from whom they heard a confirmation of the statement of the vanguard.

They were all thoroughly armed with rifles, pistols, and knives, and have several pieces of cannon.

Gen. Richardson has sent this statement to General Smith, and advised him that if the U. S. troops do not stop and disarm these invaders, he will be compelled to call out the militia for that purpose. I have no doubt that Gen. Smith will take prompt action in the matter.

Kansas has never enjoyed such peace as she knows at present, and if let alone by foreign agitators, there would be universal harmony and prosperity. If the people of the free States choose to come as citizens to till our fertile soil, or to embark in trade, they would find their condition vastly better and happier than it can be under circumstances of excitement and hostility, whether they remain at home or not. At home they will feel chagrin, discontent or regret, as well as painful forebodings for the country; when by coming here antagonistically they will be inevitably worsted, beaten and driven back in disappointment and disgrace.

The Hannibal has just touched from above, and Mr. George M. Haslett, the intelligent clerk, says all is peaceable there, and that numbers of those who started to Kansas under the delusive and false inducements and assurances of Lane, have settled down upon beautiful claims in Nebraska, and have determined to make their homes there. Some purchased lots in St. Stephen, Nebraska City, and other towns, and have engaged in trade and mechanical pursuits. This is sensible. I am glad that there are at least a few who have not wholly lost their reason.

In haste.

T.

Buffalo Commercial Advertiser.

Thursday Evening, August 14, 1856.

BUFFALO, N. Y.

We are still without complete returns of the election in Missouri. There seems to be no reason to doubt, however, that the Atchison, or border ruffian faction has been defeated, and that the Americans and Benton men will have the control of the Legislature. So far as heard from, the opponents of the administration have chosen fifty-six members of the lower house of the Legislature, against thirty-four supporters of Atchison and the Missouri outrages in Kansas. This result is full of significance, and cannot fail to have a salutary influence on the

of the territory. If Missouri has administered a wholesome rebuke to the turbulent and lawless people who have undertaken to force slavery into Kansas at the point of the bayonet, we may look for a speedy and satisfactory adjustment of the troubles that have convulsed the territory ever since it was opened to emigration. If the deliberate judgment of Missouri could be ascertained, we are clear in the opinion that it would be adverse to the further spread of slavery in her neighborhood. There cannot be the least doubt on this point, provided her people were to consider the question intelligently, for her interests are all on the side of freedom. The spasmodic and ill-judged exertions of politicians of the *Tribune* school have so far damaged the cause of free labor in Kansas, and we shall rejoice if the clear perception and sound sense of Missouri have caused an expression of her sentiments on the subject which will tell in the right direction.

The Legislature now elected will have to choose two Senators in Congress. The term of Mr. Geyer expires on the 3d of March next, and Atchison's place has been vacant since 1855. We trust the opponents of the federal administration will be able to unite; and in that event we may expect to see Col. Benton and some good American returned. It is our sincere conviction that the interests of the nation would be subserved by the re-election of Col. Benton. He has many grave imperfections as a public man, but his long experience, his vast knowledge, his lofty independence, his indomitable will and determined courage, all conspire to render him the most valuable legislator in the country. He was out of place in the House of Representatives. He had been accustomed to a smaller and better ordered body, and did not command that influence to which he was entitled. But in the Senate he will be a Triton among the minnows, driving the small fry before him in bodily terror. The plundering crew who have been depreeding upon the public domain for the last few years, almost without hindrance or molestation, will dread his return to the Senate; for although quite advanced in years, he is full of vitality and activity, and will set his face like a flint against stealing of every description.

further in the path which they entered upon in dismissing SHANNON. The statement that the marshal and two judges were to be thrown overboard, was made very positively by the Washington correspondents of the *New York Herald* and the *New York Courier and Enquirer*. That at least some such move was contemplated is highly probable. It will be seen by the proceedings of the House on Wednesday, that Mr. CAMPBELL of Ohio stated that he knew the prosecutions for treason were to be dropped.

There is no doubt that the Buchanier managers at Washington are thoroughly frightened by the immense wave of enthusiasm for FREMONT which is rolling through the North, and that they would give anything to be relieved from the scrape in which they find themselves. It is never too late for them to repent, but a sham repentance at the eleventh hour, as a mere matter of policy, will avail them nothing. The people are determined to hurl this corrupt and wicked dynasty from power, and put in FREMONT, in whom they have confidence.

Senator Foster's Speech.

MR. FOSTER'S Kansas speech, delivered in the Senate on the 25th of June, is worthy of his reputation, and honorable to his State. It is argumentative, forcible and dignified, and remarkable throughout for a spirit of courtesy appropriate to the Senate. While we do not propose to refer to its particular merits, and satisfy ourselves in this respect by a general commendation, we desire, but not censoriously, to advert to what we deem a fault. It is a fault common enough among the less radical part of the Northern party, and arises from too strong a desire to conciliate. In defining his own views of "Slavery as it exists in the States," Mr. FOSTER says:

"The General Government has no power whatever over the subject; it is in no sense responsible for its existence or its continuance and cannot, either lawfully or properly, directly or indirectly, intermeddle at all with it.

"What is thus true of the General Government is equally true of all the State governments within whose limits slavery is not in existence; and is also equally true of all the people of all those States. Being without power, they are relieved from all responsibility; and where there is no power, and no responsibility, there ought to be no intermeddling."

"Of my views, then, Mr. President, on the subject of slavery in the States, this is the sum:

"Neither the General Government, nor the State governments without slavery, nor the people of those States, have any power whatever over the subject, and are therefore free from all responsibility respecting it. They should let it alone; leave it to those States where it exists, who alone have power over it; leave it to them, and to God, who rules over all, who will one day call master and slave alike to answer before him."

To what Mr. FOSTER says in respect to the powers and duties of the *General Government* and of the *State Governments* in relation to Slavery in the States, we take no exception. It is clearly right, but when he goes so far as to say of the *people* of the Free States that "as without power they are relieved from responsibility," that there ought to be no intermeddling by them, and that they ought to leave the subject to the Slave States and to God, who rules over all, we respectfully question the correctness of his views.

If Slavery is an offence against religion and humanity it is a proper subject of rebuke from the pulpit and censure from the press. If one of its incidents is that pulpits and presses are so shackled, where it prevails, that they cannot rebuke and censure it, it is proper that other pulpits and presses should supply the deficiency. If any portion of our race is oppressed by another portion, and are unable to help themselves against their oppressors, it is proper for us to express disapproval of the injury and sympathy for the injured. No political alliance imposes upon our hearts or lips the duty of apathy or silence where great wrongs are done, whether in our neighborhood or at a distance. To see oppression practiced and not to remonstrate, is to acquiesce. If we cannot help the injured party by actual interference, it is at least a human duty towards

him to express disapproval of his wrongs, and to throw the weight of our opinion into the scale for his relief. Cruel and unjust institutions or practices in other countries, though they may not justify forcible intervention to reform them, are proper subjects of censure, and no obligations of comity or neutrality require that we should withhold our opinion respecting them.

Again, if Slavery is not only cruel, but also unwise in that it impairs the material wealth and impedes the social progress of the community where it prevails, its effects are surely a proper subject of discussion. They belong to political economy, which is a science based in great part upon the operation of laws and institutions upon national wealth and prosperity. It may be mortifying to the vanity of the people of Slave States to have their property contrasted with that of other States not so unfortunate in their social arrangements, but certainly there is no breach of moral or political duty in drawing such a contrast. It will not do to narrow the domain of human knowledge to humor the sensibilities of any community, however respectable.

The truth is that there is a distinction not familiar enough between the rights and duties of States, and the rights and duties of individuals.

The duties of States are pretty much confined to the government and protection of their own people. They are political bodies whose organization grows out of social necessity and whose duties and rights are limited very nearly by the extent of that necessity. It is no part of their function to interfere with other communities except so far as self protection requires. They have very little to do with calls of abstract philanthropy, and they go beyond their own sphere when they set about improving the institutions of other States.

But individual citizens are in a very different category. They are not bound up in the States in which they live. They have human relations as well as political relations, and the former are vastly more comprehensive than the latter. All manner of events, whether past or current history; all manner of acts, whether good or bad, whether in their own neighborhood or elsewhere; all manner of institutions, laws, usages, creeds are fair subjects of individual discussion and opinion. If we ought not to discuss the Slavery of South Carolina, we have no right to discuss the despotism of Naples, the aristocracy of England, or the morals of Utah. If foreign institutions are sacred, so that it is an offence against good neighborhood to talk and write what we think about them, we have no occasion to know what they are, and Geography, History and Travels lead us on forbidden grounds.

If Mr. FOSTER had said, as we believe he means, that the discussion of Slavery should be reasonable, decorous, and in a good spirit, he would have said nothing amiss, and only what may be said with propriety of the discussion of every other subject; but we cannot help looking with jealousy upon anything that goes to qualify, however cautiously, the great right of individual freedom of speech and of the press.

Let Slavery in the States enjoy all its rightful immunities; let it be untouched by the Federal Government and the State Governments; but let nobody undertake to deny the right of civilized people every where to canvass with entire freedom all its incidents and consequences.

The Evening Press.

HARTFORD:
THURSDAY, AUGUST 14.

"PEACE IN KANSAS!"—The *Times* endeavors to make capital out of the statement in the *St. Louis Republican*, that every thing is quiet, and peaceful, and happy in Kansas. The *St. Louis Republican* is well known as an unscrupulous pro-slavery sheet, and the people of Connecticut will no sooner believe its assertions than they do those of the unscrupulous pro-slavery *Hartford Times*. Peace reigns in Kansas, as order once reigned in Warsaw. Some of the best and bravest of the Free State men in prison, others in exile, and the settlers overawed by the dragoons of the federal government, the border ruffians and the minions of the slave power, are having their own way. The murderers of BARBOUR, BROWN and their slaughtered brethren, are at large, and in no danger of an arrest. The *Times* shows on which side its sympathies are by its haste to circulate and indorse the unsupported assertions of the *St. Louis Republican*.

THE REMOVAL OF THE KANSAS OFFICIALS.—The rumor that the Administration had removed that eminent trio of scoundrels, LECOMPTÉ, CATO and DONALDSON, upon the express demand of the new governor, GEARY, and that the quashing of the prosecutions for treason against ROBINSON and his associates in confinement, had been decided upon has been denied. It would seem by this that either too much credit has been given to Gov. GEARY, or that the Administration is not yet ready to advance

The Republican.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.
THURSDAY MORNING, AUGUST 14, 1856.

The *New York Journal of Commerce*, in a labored and amusing attempt to clear the administration from the odium of dispersing the Topeka free state legislature by U. S. bayonets, shows by the official instructions, that to Col Sumner was given the somewhat extraordinary duty of judging, when a requisition for aid should be made by Gov Shannon, whether such aid was actually needed. What Col Sumner is

accused of by the president is a failure to exercise sufficient caution in listening to the demands of Shannon; knowing the weaknesses and frequent mistakes of that remarkable governor he should have fully satisfied himself that the violent dispersion was necessary before attempting it. It is evident that Col. Sumner did not understand that he had any such power to veto or set aside Shannon's orders, for when he dispersed the legislature he said that he did it as the most painful duty of his life and in accordance with his orders. And it is not strange that he should have failed to comprehend orders so absurd in themselves, which made him in fact a sort of guardian of the imbecile governor. We are curious to see Col. Sumner's reply to the charges of secretary Davis.



NEW HAVEN:

THURSDAY, AUGUST 14, 1856.

Correspondence of the Palladium.

From Iowa—Gen. Lane's Emigrants—For Kansas—Apprehensions—Safety—Slaves in Nebraska—Feeling for Freedom.

WESTERN IOWA, July 25, 1856.

MESSENGERS:—The past week has been one of deep interest and pleasing excitement to us, on the confines of Iowa—but to-night the pleasing excitement is giving place to that of a painful nature.

A little more than a week since, the company under command of Gen. Lane, began to gather in our little neighborhood, and all who could heartily cry Hurra! for Free Soil, Fremont, and Free Kansas, vied with each other in entertaining those who were bound for Kansas, to aid in making it Free. Owing to the fact that there is a price set upon the head of Gen. Lane, and the rumor well authenticated, that border ruffians lurked in this vicinity—he remained incog, but at a point where he could be continually consulted by the leading men of his party. We found the officers very gentlemanly and pleasing, all of them, and full of zeal in the glorious cause in which they are engaged. There were many choice spirits too, among the private men,—and when we heard them express their confidence in Him, who can make the wrath of man praise Him, and the remainder of wrath He can restrain; we could but feel that with such He went to Kansas, and by such He would bring a glorious Freedom to our country.

But, I said, to-night we are under a painful excitement. It is two days since the company left us and crossed the Missouri, at Nebraska City. My husband has just returned from the city, and brings the report that the company are ten miles from there, fortifying to defend themselves against a party of ruffians, who have come up to attack them. In one division there are quite a number of women and children, which renders it more trying to be attacked while on the plains—but they had anticipated such an event and are no doubt well supplied with "Becher's Bibles," which it is to be hoped they will be enabled to use with faith and prayer, and to as good a purpose as did Christian's sword when Apollyon met him.

Should they be attacked while still on Nebraska soil, they will receive material aid from the military company under Brigadier General Downs of Nebraska, who has for sometime desired the privilege of giving the border ruffians a taste of his "blue pills." Even those who care nothing for the quarrel in Kansas, say they will fight for a peaceful passage of emigrants through their Territory.

I have written in great haste, to-night, and may possibly hear something farther from the camp before the closing of the mail in the morning.

Tuesday, 23th.—As this is a special office, there was a failure in the mail, and until this morning there has been no opportunity to forward this. I am able to say that reliable intelligence from the emigrant's camp denies the report of the other night, though there was an alarm. Gen. Lane is now in our immediate vicinity, where he can have daily communication with the emigrants. We last evening had the pleasure of an interview with him, and also with Dr. Howe of Boston, Mr. Hyatt of New York, Col. Dickey, and others, which was very cheering to us, who have so long been on the confines society. To-day, Dr. Howe visits Nebraska City, to see, as he says, slaves on Nebraska soil, with his own eyes. There are those East, as well as in Iowa, who will tell him there are slaves in Nebraska, but to say "I have seen them," will be reliable evidence to his friends.

But for all the fact that there slave holders in Nebraska, there are true hearts there, ready and waiting to strike for Freedom. In Iowa, too, there are men in almost every settlement, only waiting to know the time has come to strike, and then leave all, if need be, to offer themselves on the altar of Liberty. But the carrier waits and you will no doubt hear from other sources of the progress of Gen. Lane's company. Yours, E. G. G.

Heating and Filling.

The statement, now denied, that Col. Geary only accepted the Governorship of Kansas, on the conditions that Judges Lecompte and Cato and Marshal Donaldson should be removed, and the State prisoners released, and that these conditions had been or would be complied with, was made in the most direct manner by the correspondents of the New York Courier and Enquirer and Herald. I would seem that there must have been some good foundation for it. Perhaps it is another case of promise not performed by the Executive. The debate in the House on Wednesday indicates very clearly, however, that the administration has or had determined to withdraw its prosecutions for treason in Kansas. The Washington correspondent of the N. Y. Times says, in giving an account of the House debate: Mr. Campbell stated significantly that he "knew," confidentially, that the prosecutions were not to be pressed. Many Republicans insisted on more particulars. The other side of the House speedily expressed their own knowledge, with Campbell's intimation. Orr and others proceeded to admit that it had been doubtful whether these prosecutions for treason ought to be pressed. Craige wanted to introduce a resolution asking the President if he intended to discontinue, and what for. The truth is, the administration has backed down, and to-day has decided in Cabinet to order a discontinuance of the Kansas prosecutions.

THE CABINET:

E. D. BOYLSTON Editor & Proprietor.

Amherst, --- August 14th, 1856.

Speech of Hon. M. W. Tappan.

In the debate in the House of Representatives on Thursday night, Mr. Tappan of New Hampshire made an eloquent and able speech in which he clearly exposed the discrepancy between the slavery policy of Jefferson and the slavery policy of the Buchanan party. The speech is characterized by the Washington correspondent of the New York 'Post' as one of the best and strongest of the session. The following extract from Mr. Tappan's remarks, mentions a fact which has not been brought out in any of the previous speeches on the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, and which will be new to many of our readers:

"Therefore, when we assert our intention to adhere to this time honored policy, and say to slavery, 'Thus far shalt thou come and no farther,' we intend neither to dissolve the Union ourselves, nor suffer it be dissolved by others.—Sir,

what is the history of slavery in the Territories? I can barely glance at its rise and progress, as I pass on to other matters. Mr. Jefferson himself is the author of this legislation, and if the doctrine we now contend for be treason, then was Mr. Jefferson a traitor! On the first day of March 1784, a committee consisting of Mr. Jefferson of Virginia, Mr. Chase of Maryland, and Mr. Howe of Rhode Island, submitted to Congress a plan for the government of the "territory ceded or to be ceded by individual States to the United States," embracing all the territory between the 31st degree of north latitude, which was then the southern boundary of the United States, extending westerly to the Mississippi. This plan provided, among other things, that the territory should be divided into nine States, designating them by name, and defining the particular boundaries of each. It also contained the following provision, which has been the basis of all the subsequent anti-slavery legislation in regard to the territories:

"That after the year 1800 of the Christian era there shall be neither slavery nor in voluntary servitude in any of the said States otherwise than in the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted to have been personally guilty.

On motion to strike out this provision, sixteen among whom was Mr. Jefferson, voted to retain it, and seven voted against it. It lacked one vote of the requisite number—the full vote of seven States being required to sustain it.

Three years later, however, it was incorporated into the celebrated Ordinance of '87, which applied to the territories northwest of the Ohio. It is a remarkable fact, Mr. Chairman, as will be seen by a glance at the map, that if the far seeing and sagacious policy of Mr. Jefferson, contained in this provision had prevailed in 1784, under its operation the States of Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee and Kentucky would now have been Free States.

That the policy thus initiated would have been advantageous to the States just named, a comparison between the thrift, enterprise and prosperity of those States and the great free States of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, formed out of the northwestern territory, under the anti-slavery ordinance of 1787, will conclusively establish. That it would have been much better for the destiny of the republic, let the fierce struggle between the antagonistic principles of liberty and slavery which now convulse the country, bear witness.

Mr. Chairman, the Fremont party to-day are only contending for the application of the same principle to Kansas which Mr. Jefferson proposed for all the territories of the United States in 1784!"

Weekly Transcript.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 14, 1856.

Letter from Michigan.

ROMEO, Mich., August 1, 1856.

Editors of Transcript:

The nomination of Fremont and Dayton is received in this section with quiet enthusiasm, which widens and deepens as we have leisure to reflect on the action of the Convention. It is considered the very best that could have been made, in point of availability and qualification of candidates for their responsible offices. Their conservative character and practical efficiency, as well as their advocacy of time-honored principles, entitle them to the respect of all liberal-minded men, and will command for them a suffrage that is never accorded to the time-serving politician.

Romeo rejoiced at the nomination, even though it did not celebrate it as most of the neighboring villages have done, with firing of cannon, ringing of bells or kindling of bonfires, as we prefer to wait and have a general jubilee after election. Besides we have thought best to leave the celebrating of nominations in the hands of the "fierce Democracy," as this may be the only opportunity they will have to celebrate, since they will undoubtedly be too far "up Salt River" in November to think of anything but codfish, fish-stores, crocodile tears and "River and Harbor Improvements." And though their lugubrious faces lengthen as they think of the "spoils of office," of "the leaves

and **49** of which they were once possessed, and their hearts and voices fail them from constantly chanting a "carry me back to Pennsylvania" air, or a mournful farewell to the "old Kentucky Home, far away," yet we trust that "circumstances" will delay their return till the friends of free-navigation have had time to test the practicability of "River and Harbor Improvements." What we want in the present campaign is men of principle, men of talent, men of nerve, of sinew of backbone, of truthful honor, of undeviating circumspection, of undimmed integrity: men of strong intellect, men of wisdom, with skill and ability to direct, command or restrain.—men who will stand up at Washington as firm and unyielding in their advocacy of freedom as they would in Faneuil Hall,—men who are not to be bought and sold by the bids of Southern politicians, and whose voices are not to be silenced, and their votes controlled by the minions of pro slavery.—men who know the right, and knowing, dare maintain it,—who believe that all men were created "free and equal," the Missouri Border Ruffians to the contrary, notwithstanding. We want men for office in whose fidelity and patriotism we can rely with unbounded confidence.—we want to place men at the helm of government that we are not afraid to trust out of sight, so that we can go to sleep without danger of waking in the morning and finding the Union dissolved, or Kansas "invaded," or Cuba, Canada and South America annexed, or the government involved in war with England, Spain or France, or the country on the verge of an "alarming crisis."

And that party whose principles are most distinctly avowed, and whose candidates are the most honest, safe and reliable, will receive the sympathy and support of the masses, of the nerve and sinew, the bone and muscle, the head and heart of the people; and will be triumphantly sustained by all the earnest workers for freedom, free men, free speech, and free navigation.

Who that voted for Fillmore in '48 expected he would ignobly immortalize his administration by approving the Fugitive Slave Bill?—Fillmore! a northern man, and a resident of the Empire State, a man denounced by Southern Whigs and Democrats on account of his free soil affinities, while he was lauded by Northern Whigs and Abolitionists and aided by their votes to reach the second office in their gift, and to take possession of the Presidential chair, when the angel of Death clasped in his relentless embrace the lamented Taylor. Poorly indeed, did he requite the services of the people who elected him! And Pierce, the next incumbent, who came from the extreme North, and ought to have been as immovable as the mountains of his own Granite State, soon starts the whole country by sanctioning the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the passage of the Kansas Nebraska bill, and for the consequence look at Kansas and the strife raging in its borders, behold how Southerners have had their dearest rights attacked, in defense of which they seem anxious to sacrifice their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor—see how her free men have been pillaged, robbed, murdered and expelled from the country—how bitterness and litigation have been engendered in the halls of justice—how free speech has been stricken down by national legislators.

See how arrogant the slave power has become! how insatiate its grasping demands.—How unblushingly it holds up its head, crying give, give, give more territory. And shall we continue to submit to its encroachments? Do we mean to submit without even a protest, against yielding up our conceded rights, Lith-

erto deemed inalienable. Shall the soil of Kansas be polluted with Slavery? Shall the halls of Legislation be the arena where it shall come off more than conqueror? Shall its heavy incubus be the adjusting weight to poise the scale of justice? Shall free speech be throttled through its influence? and free presses be destroyed unless they pander to its aggrandizement? and free soil and free men, and freedom exist only in name? or as an obsolete idea in the records of the past? And shall Fremont fail of being elected because he is the exponent of free principles? I trust the freemen of Michigan and of the Union will record at the polls in November their detestation of the aggressive evil of slavery, their enduring love for Liberty and its representatives, and their respect for the tried champions whose honored names are to be our battle-cry in the coming struggle.—May they be true to themselves, true to their country! May they be brave and generous, meet their opponents in a fair field, and treat them with a gentlemanly courtesy that shall induce them to listen to the argument of reason; and truth, which has been slow, "will be mighty to prevail."

Much is expected of Michigan. She was the first State to organize a Republican party. She should give, and she can give, and she will give, the largest majority for Fremont, relatively to her population.

Yours, D. B. B.

The Daily Spy.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 14, 1856.

FOR KANZAS.—South Carolina is still unflagging 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 the 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. Merrit and Swift who 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.—*Charleston News of Wednesday.*

This goes far to confirm our impression, that the Slave States are at this moment putting more men into Kansas, (and better armed men) than the Free States. While South Carolina has sent four such companies, all New England, we believe, has sent but three. Two of these started from Worcester, fitted out by Worcester funds; while the third was organized and arranged in Worcester, though the funds came from various quarters, and the party started from Boston.

DAILY ADVERTISER.

BOSTON:

THURSDAY MORNING, AUG. 14, 1856.

Our correspondent at Washington, telegraphs us a large amount of interesting information respecting the action of the Senate in executive session yesterday. He denies the report of the dismissal of the Kansas judges. It appears certain, however, that the prosecutions for treason will be discontinued.

We give a variety of intelligence from Washington, a part of it covers the same ground as the telegraphic despatches which we have already printed, but the farther details, we think, will be read with interest. Little doubt is now entertained that the session will be closed on the appointed day, the 18th.

A report of the proceedings in Congress yesterday will be found in our telegraphic summary. The proceedings in the Senate were not specially interesting.

In the House, the bill extending the Adams printing-press patent was passed. The legislative, judicial and executive appropriation bill was then taken up in Committee of the Whole, the question being on agreeing to the Senate's amendment to strike out the provision relative to the Kansas indictments. Mr. Pennington offered an amendment to the Senate's amendment, providing that nothing in the bill should be so construed as to prevent the indictment or prosecution of any person violating any provision of any act of Congress, or committing any offence against person or property. A long discussion ensued, during which the opinion was confidently expressed on both sides of the House that there would be no prosecutions for treason in Kansas. Mr. Pennington's amendment was finally agreed to 91 to 72. The question on concurring in the amendment will be taken today.

There was a great time in the House today. The discussion on Mr. Pennington's amendment to the judicial, legislative and executive appropriation bill was brief, spirited and effective. Its purpose is to compel the President to abandon the prosecutions against the free State men in Kansas for treason. Mr. Campbell stated significantly that he knew confidentially that they were not to be pressed. Many republicans insisted upon more particulars. The other side of the House speedily expressed their own knowledge with Campbell's intimation. Mr. Orr and others proceeded to admit that they had been doubtful whether the prosecutions for treason ought to be pressed. Mr. Craig wanted to introduce a resolution asking the President if he intended to discontinue them, and his reasons therefor. The truth is the administration has backed down, and today decided in Cabinet to order the discontinuance of the Kansas prosecutions.

The story that the Kansas Judges had removed is certainly erroneous.

BOSTON DAILY TIMES.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 14, 1856.

"MONSIEUR TONGSON COMING AGAIN!"—The abolition telegraph operators announce the prospect of another collision between the "Kansas emigrants and Missourians," or, in other words, a free fight between the drinking rowdies on both sides. The latest reliable accounts assure us that the industrious, sensible, mind-your-own-business emigrants into Kansas, both from the North and the South, were at work on their farms, preparing to enjoy themselves next winter, after Buck and Breck have been triumphantly elected, and the noisy tongues of our abolition demagogues have become silent. The Kansas bun bug has had its day, like every other black dog. It is not "a good enough Morgan until after the election," (as Thurlow Weed once said of Anti-Masonry,) because it was started a little too early. Won't some southerner shoot Henry Wilson, to help our abolitionists; or else follow Senator Sumner into the Pennsylvania mountains, and "soften his brain" a little more? At the last accounts, Burlingame was safe in Illinois—somewhere among the prairie hens, where there was not even a post office, through which to receive a letter from the immaculate Brooks. So it will be worse than useless to undertake to make any more abolition capital out of him. By the way, we would like to take a trip out to Illinois ourselves, with Uncle Sam to foot up the \$5 per day, and a chance at that \$100,000 "Kansas aid money," said to have been raised hereabouts in a single week, to meet travelling expenses and incidentals.

DAILY CHRONICLE.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 14, 1856.

We venture to add to what the *Post* has said of this air—of which we don't think much except for lady-songs in the drawing room, with good instrumental accompaniments—that, like India rubber, it can stretch or contract a little. Here is a verse which accommodates it so far as metre is concerned, quite as well as that given by the *Post*. We give it gratis, just to show how ridiculous a song becomes when the air is rather tender and pathetic while the words are savage as a meat axe—the only style which our muse ever allows us—at least in the present state of politics.

Come now with all your might, boys,
The battle's for the right, boys,
Lay on in Freedom's fight, boys,
And Kansas shall be free.
Come face the ruffian foe, boys,
We'll lay the Douglas low, boys;—
A hole or something worse boys,
Is all that's left of Pierce, boys,
Buchanan is a hearse, boys,—
So down with slavery!

Though we have clearly run the thing into the ground, we will try again to show how easy one can stay there:—

I tell you what is true, boys,
We've got the man for you, boys;
For Freedom never knew, boys,
A braver than Fremont.
And he has got a wife, boys,
I'll lay it on my life, boys,
No slaveocrat can face, boys,
And not feel awful base, boys,—
The White House is her place, boys,
You may depend upon it.

All this is too coarse for the opera music. It don't do to sing, at all. Your born songster has a delicate felicity of softening down and tempering his passions, so that every expression has a tone of melancholy in it, like a Cremona fiddle.

We thought we wouldn't try another verse, but on the whole we will, to illustrate the fatal facility there is in this business.

Come, men who are not cattle,
Come gather to the battle,
The crisis calls for mettle;
Let crayons keep aloof.
Upon the plains of Kansas
The ruffian horde advances,
With blood the prairie staining,
The right of wrong maintaining,
The limbs of freemen chaining
In slavery's behalf.

There is nothing in this but good matter-of-fact logic led helter-skelter after a parcel of luckless rhymes. We will only give one more verse to *Suoni la Tromba*, to show that unutterable contempt, however well deserved, don't fit to civilized music.

While Freedom's homes are burning,
It's holy duty spurning,
The blame on others turning,
There sits the perjured Pierce.
And, by a mighty riddle,
Transformed into a fiddle,
There sits the Wheatland Nero!
All heirs, not chilled to zero,
Will blaze around our hero,
And charge upon the curse.

We mean of course the curse these miserable doughfaces have brought upon a country which God has taken the utmost pains to bless. Now the whole moral we wish to deduce from these nasty specimens is this, that rhyme, metre, logic, politics, &c., may be all right, and yet you don't have a Republican song. There must be a charm of sentiment that matches that of the music. You must not only have the correct mould, but the true metal to pour into it.

The Atlas.

THURSDAY MORNING, AUGUST 14, 1856.

Kansas Correspondence of the Atlas.
LAWRENCE, July 27, 1856.

OUTRAGES IN THE TERRITORY.

At Franklin, some twenty or thirty Georgians are looting. A young man who went there, on Wednesday, and asked to see a young friend of his whom they had in confinement, was asked where he was from—From Lawrence, was his reply. He was immediately ordered out of town, and his movements hastened by the thrusting of some United States bayonets towards him. That same evening, Mr. Perkins, a young daguerrean, of Lawrence, a quiet, intelligent, respected citizen, went to Franklin, and on his return, between Franklin and Lawrence, he was attacked by three men, robbed of \$40, and very seriously injured—he fired two shots, wounding one of the party. He arrived in town, after a great effort, and has since been lying quite low. The physicians think that he is improving, and will recover.

DRAGOONS FILLIBUSTERING.

I saw Capt. Mewhinney, from Ottawa Creek, (he is a member of the Legislature); he said that some of the troops who were stationed there, had entered and robbed several of the houses near Prairie City, 15 miles south of Lawrence, among which was that of Mr. Shores. The people there were waiting the return of a portion of the mob, and had determined to drive them out at once. They have little time to attend to their crops, on account of the disturbances.

GENERAL SMITH.

Gen. Smith is yet *incomprehensible*. On his arrival at Delaware, on the Missouri, the mob, as it is customary, came on board to make searches and seizures. Gen. Smith made his appearance, made himself known, and sternly rebuked them. They slunk away. A few days after his arrival at the Fort, happening to be down to the town, (Leavenworth,) he witnessed the operations of the mob, who had collected on the levee to "overhaul" a boat just coming. He went at once to the Fort, brought down two companies of dragoons, and charging upon the Levee, cleared it instantly. The mob curse him most bitterly. Mr. Currier, of Leavenworth, who had a very complimentary letter of introduction from Col. Sumner, called upon the General. He inquired of the General what his mission was, to Kansas. The only satisfactory answer given was, that he should enforce the laws: Other Free State men, of the highest respectability, have been treated by Gen. Smith with the greatest incivility. His conduct is yet a mystery. He has done little yet. The territory is as open as ever before to incursions, and accounts come in daily from every quarter, showing that there must be some system of harassment and extermination for the basis of all the operations.

THE MISSOURI RIVER.

The extent of the system of piracy practised upon the Missouri river, cannot be generally understood in the North. At every town a mob is ready to prevent the ingress of Free State emigrants and arms into Kansas; so that travelling upon the river is hardly thought of by Free State men. I say that this matter is not fully understood in the North—for I cannot believe that Illinois, Wisconsin, Indiana and Ohio could allow this great national thoroughfare to be shut up to her citizens, simply because they were known to be emigrating from those States into Kansas. They would demand in thunder tones, in a manner that Pierce would understand, the opening of that highway.

OVERLAND EMIGRATION, AND MOVEMENTS OF THE MOB.

We learn by a few persons who have come overland from Iowa, that large parties are now on the way overland. Our scouts also bring intelligence that the mob is collecting near the supposed route. Camps can be seen in different places. It is thought by Gov. Robinson and other leading men, that there is a probability of a fight more serious than any that has yet taken place, if an attempt is made to cut off the emigrants on this route.

THE MOB.

The mob, as a body, is now comparatively quiet. They are distributed in the territory more remote from settlements than before. A gentleman from Ossawatimie says there are three hundred encamped near town. Some of them occasionally come into town. Their object is not known; they live in camp on a common fund.

On the Big Blue there is a camp of 150; they are living in much the same way. There are other smaller camps in different localities, and the camp I have spoken of in the northern part of the territory, whose object doubtless is to cut off free State emigrants.

48 **THE EXPLANATION**
All these movements cannot be made. One thing is certain—that a skillful master hand is directing them. The statement of the pro-slavery man which I think I sent in my last communication—made in confidence to a supposed S. G. Q. man, that the men were coming in to meet such an emergency as the passage of the Douglas-Toombs bill—may throw some light on the matter.

SECRET DIPLOMACY.
I wrote you, a few weeks since, that Atchison, Buford and others were holding a secret meeting at Wyandot, and that Hannegan, of Indiana, was present. I gave—as the opinions of many—that a more systematic and effectual plan of operation was being concocted by the oligarchy. It is now believed that Hannegan was sent out by President Pierce to effect some arrangement with the inflexible Atchison, by which Kansas difficulties could be quelled, at least temporarily.

AN INCIDENT.
There is an old gentleman here from Indiana 80 years of age—Mr. White; he came to see the troubles for himself, and to carry back word to his neighbors. He was in the war of 1812 and in the Black Hawk war. Yesterday (Sunday) morning, four wagons with families, who had been driven out from the vicinity of Willow Springs, passed through town and crossed the river here. One of their houses had been burned, and they had large families of children. The old gentleman said that he had seen people butchered by Indians, but nothing ever moved him as the sight of those little ones, banished from their homes by ruffians.

TAXES.
Is it customary to lay burdensome taxes or any taxes upon a territory while it is being fostered (?) by the General Government? At Topeka and Lawrence, I have seen assessors' notices that the assessors will be in town such a day, and all persons are ordered to step up and be assessed; an abstract of the law posted with it says, that in case of a failure to appear, rendering it necessary for the assessor to call—a dollar extra will be added. If there is a free State man that will pay any attention to this notice, I have a great curiosity to see him. Pro-slavery residents who have not before repudiated the laws, will be represented very poorly at the assessor's office. If the assessor or collector don't go out of Topeka and most of the towns in the territory faster than he goes in, it will be because his presence will be needed at a tarring and feathering, or some similar scene—or else I mistake the character of our people. I don't think his being a U. S. Marshal could save him now.

A present to the State of Kansas has been received from Washington, consisting of a beautiful carving of a spread eagle, a clock and two large portraits of Washington and Gov. Reeder, for Constitution Hall.

THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION
is a subject of much interest to us. If Congress is not hoodwinked by the Douglas bill—if we are not admitted this session by Congress—and the question must be left open for us, to buffet the trying circumstances around us during another winter, our hope is that John C. Fremont will be elected.

THE PRISONERS.
I paid a visit to the prisoners on Saturday, and found them all comfortable and as contented as could be expected—Gov. Robinson and Judge Smith in their usual vein of good spirits. They find the detention very irksome.

There are now seven of them:—Gov. Robinson, Judge G. W. Smith, Col. G. Jenkins, G. W. Deitzler, Esq., Geo. W. Brown, editor of the Herald of Freedom, John Brown, Jr., and Mr. Williams, members of the Legislature.

The wives of Governor Robinson, Col. Jenkins and John Brown are with them. The prisoners are allowed a certain sum per week and board themselves. Mrs. Jenkins superintends this department. Mrs. Robinson is a daughter of the late Hon. Myron Lawrence, of Belchertown, well known as a member of the Massachusetts Senate. She is a very estimable lady, worthy of the noble man whose trials she is sharing.

There is a report in an Eastern paper that Colone Topliff had been killed. I saw him yesterday morning and he was anxious that the statement should be correct. He has had some narrow escapes, but still is a living proof that "a miss is as good as mile."

THERMOPYLEAN.

The House then took up the Appropriation bill. The question stated was on agreeing to the Senate amendment to strike out the provision that no money be expended until the persons under indictment in Kansas shall be discharged, and the prosecutions dismissed, etc.

Mr. Pennington moved an amendment to the Senate amendment, making a similar provision that nothing therein should be so construed as to prevent the indictment, arrest, prosecution, punishment, or detention in or by any Court of the United States in Kansas, of any person who shall have violated any pro-

vision of any law or Congress in the commission of any offence against person, property, etc. He (Pennington) would never vote a dollar to sustain those indictments for treason, or uphold the bogus Legislature.

Mr. Letcher said the Courts only could determine whether those individuals were guilty or innocent. He thought the House was poorly employed in seeking to nullify judicial proceedings by legal enactment. He should like to know whether Mr. Pennington and his friends were afraid of the Courts.

Mr. Pennington—I am afraid of the Courts of Kansas. Does the gentleman from Virginia (Letcher) believe any parties guilty of treason in the territory?

Mr. Letcher replied in the affirmative, saying they had solemnly sworn to support the Government.

Mr. Campbell, of Ohio, was satisfied that no person now in prison or under arrest in Kansas for treason, would be prosecuted or punished.

Mr. Kunkel wished to know how Mr. Campbell became the recipient of information denied to other gentlemen.

Mr. Pennington's amendment was agreed to by yeas 91, nays 72.

Various ineffectual efforts were made to farther amend.

During the proceedings, Mr. Grow spoke of the events in Kansas in connection with its courts, as disgraceful to humanity, and insisted that the limitation of the appropriation could be made without revolution.

Mr. Davis, of Md., said if Judge Lecompte was properly reported, there was not a shadow of reason for the charge of treason. The House had not reached a point when a revolutionary remedy was justifiable. It was childish in the extreme to withhold the appropriation for the Kansas Courts, when the machinery by which the Government carries on its business is not arrested.

Mr. Kunkel said he had a right to know whence Mr. Campbell derived his information that there would be no prosecution in Kansas.

Mr. Campbell replied it was well known he had no sympathy with the present administration, nor with the party that brot these wrongs on the country by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. He repeated he knew and believed that those men arrested in Kansas on the charge of treason for violation of the laws of what is termed the bogus Legislature would not be prosecuted to punishment. He then said to Mr. Kunkel he never should violate the confidence reposed in him by giving the source of his information.

Mr. Letcher said the President had no more right to discharge the indicted parties in Kansas, than if they were detained in Virginia.

Mr. Campbell remarked that he had received no official communication, but believed the prosecutions would not be carried on to the extent of treason.

Mr. Stanton put no faith in the Executive promise, and would not, therefore, so legislate. For one, he should adhere to the proviso, disregarding all consequences.

Mr. Orr said he had no official information to communicate to the House, but he had no doubt but that the supposition of Mr. Campbell was correct. He did not concur with Mr. Letcher, that the President had no right to control the prosecutions in Kansas. He thought the Executive could order a *nolle prosequi*, and did not believe the accused had gone far enough in what they had done to constitute treason.

Mr. Galloway advocated the limitation of the appropriation, and said they were reduced by stern necessity to that sad alternative.

Humphrey Marshall thought the House ought to breathe freer and deeper than they had done for months past. He was gratified that President Pierce had made a confidential communication to this House.

Mr. Campbell of Ohio—The gentleman from Kentucky has no authority for using that language.

Mr. H. Marshall—I have a right to draw such an inference. Those who have been kicking up such a fuss in Kansas are now to be let off. He wanted the country to know this, so that those from the North and South, who have been defending "sovereign rights" may cry Eureka.

Mr. Giddings congratulated the country on the auspicious fact that the representative voice had at last been heard at the other end of the Avenue. He thanked God he had been permitted to see this day.

Mr. Campbell wished to speak, but Mr. Giddings refused to yield the floor.

Much confusion prevailed throughout the proceedings, during which Mr. Campbell said in reply to a remark of Mr. Giddings, that if the conflict must be met, he and his colleague would meet on equal terms, here or elsewhere.

Mr. Giddings, smiling—Please don't talk about meeting me elsewhere.

Mr. Campbell, earnestly—I mean in debate—in debate!

Mr. Craig made an ineffectual motion for the Committee to rise, that he might offer a resolution requesting the President to furnish the House with the information in his possession relative to the dismissal

Mr. Smith, of Va. did not believe the President would either undertake to prejudice the action of the competent authorities of Kansas or step in officially to

influence the action of the House with reference to the duties confided to him.

Mr. Cumback thought the President had taken a long time to find out that the persons imprisoned in Kansas were not guilty of treason.

Mr. Seward always doubted whether treason had been committed or not; but this is a question which belongs to the Courts. If the proviso is to be engraffed in the Appropriation bill, let it go. If the President truckles to it, be it so. He would not swallow that which he did not approve.

The Committee then disagreed to the Senate amendment, striking out another proviso, viz: that withholding appropriations for prosecuting or detaining persons charged with treason, and other political offences.

The Committee rose, and the House, with the understanding that the question on concurring in the amendment should be taken tomorrow,

Adjourned.

EVENING TELEGRAPH.

BOSTON, THURSDAY, AUG. 14.
LETTER FROM IOWA.

IOWA CITY—THE ELECTION—THE ROUTE TO KANSAS

IOWA CITY, Aug. 8, 1856.

To the Editor of the Telegraph:

This is the capital of the young State of Iowa, which has just fired the first gun for Fremont and Dayton, by choosing Republican State officers and Congressmen, last Monday, by large majorities. It is a town of five or six thousand inhabitants, about fifty miles west of the Mississippi, and derives considerable importance just now from the fact that it is a railroad terminus on one of the routes to Kansas through Iowa. From Chicago its distance by railroad is about two hundred and thirty-five miles, which is traveled in about 12 hours. You ride from Chicago to Rock Island, and there cross the Mississippi to Davenport in a steam ferryboat; and from Davenport you ride fifty-four miles on the Mississippi and Missouri Railroad, which, as yet, goes no farther than Iowa City. There is a bridge across the River at Davenport, and for a while the cars crossed on it, but a part of it has been burnt and is not yet re-built. When it is, so the time from Chicago to Iowa City will not be more than ten hours for express trains. This bridge is the only one ever built across the Mississippi, I am told, and excites great jealousy at St. Louis and other places below, as it gives Chicago a great advantage over St. Louis and benefits Davenport at the expense of Burlington. Some even suppose that the bridge was sent on fire.

The distance from Iowa City to the Missouri river, by the stage road, is something less than 300 miles. Coaches run regularly over the road, but emigrants usually travel it in wagons, drawn by either a horse or oxen. With a horse team they go 25 miles a day—with oxen about 20, thus making the journey in 12 days in the former case, and 15 in the latter. The point for which they steer is the town of Labor, in Fremont county, at the southwest corner of the State. Stages run this same distance in from 4 to 6 days, and the stage fare is \$18, or 6 cents a mile. From the river the distance to Kansas is about 100 miles, and the road is said to be good on both sides of the river. I am told that the southern route through Burlington, Mt. Pleasant and the southern part of the State is shorter and easier than this, and I shall go there to-morrow to make inquiries.

Emigrants going by either of these routes should be provided with tents and camp utensils, as they will camp out all the way unless they take the quicker and more expensive stage coach. The cost per man to go in parties with wagons, is less than \$10, including provisions, while by stage it must be \$25 at least.

I shall write you more fully from Mt. Pleasant about these two routes and their comparative advantages.

Your readers probably know ere this the views brought by Dr. Howe from the Free State camp in Nebraska. A few days will decide the question whether peaceful emigrants can enter Kansas through Nebraska. Should Northern blood be shed either by Border Ruffians or U. S. soldiers, I hope Massachusetts will not forget its—certainly Iowa will not. I am told that Lane might have raised men here by the thousand instead of the hundred had he wanted soldiers instead of settlers. He is personally popular here, and in case of a conflict he may become a very important person.

The National Committee have an agent here, besides a resident member, Gen. Clark. They are taking prompt action in aid of Kansas, and our Eastern friends cannot do better than to send their money to G. W. Dole, Esq., Chicago, Treasurer of the Committee.

Boston Journal.

THURSDAY EVENING, AUG. 14, '56.

KANSAS. We were favored with a call yesterday from Mr. Bird of Dorchester, recently from Kansas, where he has resided for some two years past, and been an eye witness of many of the memorable events which have been enacted in that territory. Mr. Bird was clerk of the election at Easton on the 17th of January of this year, when the polls were attacked by the Border Ruffians. He says that the two judges of election at that place, although both Missourians, were yet Free State men, and disposed to deal honorably in their capacities. With respect to the Border Ruffians, not one in a hundred of them owned slaves, and many of them freely confessed that they had no personal wishes either one way or the other in regard to slavery in Kansas. They were paid for coming to Kansas, and plundered and murdered to gratify their depraved and brutal passions.

Mr. Bird's personal experiences have been of a somewhat eventful character, and his clear and modest style of narration is calculated to fix the attention and enlist the interest of the most apathetic. He was a personal friend and associate of the murdered Brown, and speaks in the warmest terms of his bravery. He was present and an unwilling witness of that atrocious massacre, with its attendant scenes of horror, shocking even to a Border Ruffian. On this occasion he received a shot which penetrated and lodged in his scalp, and several others whistled past his head. By the interposition of a friendly Missourian, he was enabled to escape from this place, and attempted to go to Lawrence, but losing his way, and the weather being very cold, he had a narrow escape from death by freezing. Being found by some travelers in a nearly insensible condition, he was taken to a lodge of the Delaware Indians, where he was obliged to remain several months before he recovered the use of his frost-bitten feet.

Mr. Bird's statement of the outrages in Kansas is only another confirmation of the remark that "the half has not been told," and that the instruments of the slave propagandists in Kansas have been guilty of deeds immeasurably more shocking than even pen has written.

Mr. Bird speaks somewhat discouragingly of the present prospects in Kansas, every branch of industry having been checked by a sense of insecurity, and the fear of robbery, while provisions and clothing are as a consequence exorbitantly high.

Many Free State men have left Kansas, disgusted with the apathy of the United States authorities and the notorious servility of the territorial officers to the Border Ruffians, and disheartened by the constant succession of outrages to which they were subjected. The Missouri river was completely closed against Northern emigrants, but Mr. Bird thinks the route through Iowa, although rough and tedious, will soon be improved. But few are going into Kansas, however, and if Douglas's miscalled pacification bill is passed, the struggle for supremacy will be more severe and bloody than ever before. Mr. Bird is sanguine in the belief, notwithstanding all these discouraging circumstances, that Kansas will be a free State.

The Border Ruffians continue to search every boat coming up the Missouri, and to break open boxes of freight, appropriating their contents without scruple. It is throwing away money to send rifles to Kansas by the river route, for they never reach their destination, and indeed are turned against the Free State men.

When Gen. Smith was on his way up the river, an attempt was made to search his baggage at three several times. But the ruffians desisted when they learned who he was. On one occasion, however, he was forced to draw a pistol to defend his property.

Mr. Choate and the "Straight Whig" of Maine.

It will be observed that Mr. Choate, like every past Whig who has arrayed himself against the people's movement, sets up the bugbear of a dissolution of the Union. This is the topic of all the letters which have been published by apostates from Whig principles to justify their anomalous position. It is the staple of most of the political articles in the Democratic newspapers, personal abuse of Colonel Fremont spicing the

remainder. Now this sectional and disunion argument has been run into the ground. It is, in its present form, a sheer and unmitigated humbug, invented to unstring the nerves of men who ignore principle, and make their monied interests the moving spring of their politics. Practically this hacknied argument amounts to just this. Unless we let the slave power have full control over the government—unless we allow them to rule Kansas with a rod of iron, and to carry their slaves into that and every other territory of the United States without restriction—unless we suffer them to shape the foreign policy of the government so that new territory can be annexed to strengthen the political power of slavery—unless we concede to them the right they have assumed to mould the tariff so as to favor the products of slave labor—unless, in short, we allow an oligarchy which is made up of a very small majority of the people to make this Republic, established on the basis of liberty and the natural rights of man, the stronghold of slavery—then the Union will be dissolved! This is the dissolution of the Union argument separated from all its sophistries, and stripped of the tinsel of patriotism with which it is gilded. We have no fear that we shall be compelled to make a choice between these alternatives. The union of the States is founded upon a rock, and not all the efforts of the crazy disciples of Calhoun, and of the blatant demagogues who signalize their devotion to Southern rights by opposing a reform in the government, can shake its solid pillars.

Mr. Choate disposes very flippantly of the great principles which are at stake in this Presidential contest—principles in which the Whig party has taken a deep interest in years past, and to which Mr. Choate himself has contributed to give weight and prominence. There is no danger, he tells us, of slavery being established in any territory but Kansas, and "let that abused and profaned soil have calm within its borders; deliver it over to the natural law of peaceful and spontaneous immigration; take off the ruffian hands; strike down the rifle and the bowie knife; guard its strenuous infancy and youth till it comes of age to choose for itself—and it will choose freedom for itself, and it will have forever what it chooses." True, but how, we ask, is all this to be done? Mr. Choate prudently stops here, and while informing the public that he shall vote for Buchanan, ignores what the merest tyro in politics can understand, that by such a course he is sanctioning all the outrages in Kansas and contributing to sustain the policy which has made that Territory the dark and bloody ground of freedom. We say let Kansas have calm within its borders—take off the ruffian hands! Rescue it from the deadly embrace of Democratic principles, and undo the work of Democratic men who glory in the name of "border ruffians."

FROM KANSAS. The Chicago *Tribune* has advices from Kansas to the 5th inst. The emigrants who crossed Nebraska into Kansas entered the Territory in squads, without military organization, but armed to repel an attack. They looked dangerous enough to be let alone. The *Tribune* says:

"At Leavenworth, the pro-slavery party were as usual dominating over the Free State men. They are considerably alarmed at the demonstrations made in the North, and the emigration going forward across the river. They begin to think that they are playing a losing game. The mercenaries from the South are getting poorer and poorer every day, as the opportunities for plunder are less frequent. Now-a-days they not infrequently turn their arms upon each other. The approach of the Northern emigration was giving quiet to the interior of the Territory. The cry of all the friends of free Kansas, is for more men."

SALEM REGISTER.

THURSDAY MORNING, AUGUST 14.

Correspondence of the Register.

STEAMER EDINBURG,
August 4, 1856.

Messrs. Editors:

Burns has told us that
"The best laid schemes o' mice an' men
Gang aft a-gley,
An' lea'e us naught but grief and pain
For promised joy;"

and your correspondent can fully endorse its truthfulness. Two weeks illness have fully convinced me of the fact that travelling in a new country when one's bodily health demands the comforts of home, is not agreeable, and I find myself turning on my course and rapidly nearing St. Louis, thus giving up my promised trip to the West.

Since my last I have been living among "Border Ruffians," have hardly heard a familiar word, or seen any thing to remind me that Kansas and Missouri were not the whole world; and but for the arrival of the Register of the 7th of July—the latest date from the East—I should have sat down and sighed after the flesh pots of Egypt, mourning with a sincere sorrow.

I have gathered some little information in regard to the feeling existing among pro-slavery men.—The more fanatical of them regard Free State men as "black-hearted villains," wholly unfit to live in the refined presence of a follower of the ex-Vice President. They denounce the "Aid Society," and yet will not believe the statement of its officers; they glory in the "courage and heroic daring" (!) of Brooks, and when the assault is denounced as "brutal, cowardly and murderous," they exhaust Webster in the use of superlatives, and consign Sumner, and all who dare sympathize with him, to endless woe. They have been abused, they have endured too much, their rights have been infringed, and they are bound to assert their dignity; they have proved that "the citizens of Missouri are the citizens of Kansas, by the sharp logic of the revolver and the bowie knife," and they will maintain it; they mourn over the wrongs they have endured, and seem to feel so keenly that I would suggest the establishment of a new order of Saints, and give to Atchison a cardinal's hat. Their humility deserves some such reward. Or, if I could wield the pen of a Burns, I would write an address to the "Unco Guid," and give them the benefit of it. I do not speak thus of all pro-slavery men, but of the mass; for I have found very many high minded men who do not countenance the wrongs done by their brethren, and even admit that it is possible for a Free State man to be an "honorable man."

Gen. Lane has arrived in Nebraska, and his men are encamped on the Nemaha, while he has gone back for more men. If these men carry out their avowed purpose of fighting, I fear that Kansas troubles have but just begun. At present there is no trouble in the territory, except some horse stealing, all of which is charged to "Abolitionists," when it is known that there are hundreds of men in the territory who have no other business.

To-day the people of Missouri hold their State election. "The Senator of Thirty Years" has stumped the State, but will be the third in the race, as the contest is between Ewing and Polk. In St. Louis county the vote will be very close between Kennett and Blair, with about an equal chance.—The State election is of so great interest that the Presidential election is lost sight of; but it will be before us soon, and the question will be decided.—The contest lies between Fremont and Buchanan. Mr. Fillmore will get a good popular vote, but can not carry any, or at best but a few States. "Plain James Buchanan" is merged into the Cincinnati Platform, and any man who opposes the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and the further extension of slavery, can not vote for him.

But politics are out of my line and form no part of my business; and yet I venture to "define my position," so far as Buchanan is concerned.

It was my intention to have visited Lawrence and the southern portion of Kansas, but my illness has prevented, and I must content myself with what I have seen, hoping that, when I again visit Kansas, I shall find all things harmonious, and the stars and stripes proudly waving over a Free State.

On the 29th ult. I listened to some pro-slavery speeches from the candidates to the Legislature from Doniphan county. Major O'Driscoll led off and announced himself a pro slavery man. He would prove slavery a blessing to any and all countries; he would prove that slavery must of necessity be the substrata of Republics, even as it was of the Roman Republic; that slavery was ordained of God before the flood; after the flood, to Abraham and his descendants, and proclaimed by Jesus Christ. All of these things he would prove; but, while I listened for the arguments, the speaker introduced Col. Johnson, and forgot to prove his statements! hence I concluded that he couldn't do it; and I also noticed that he and Mr. Bancroft differed in regard to the Roman Republic. Mr. B. says that slavery caused its overthrow; but Mr. O'Driscoll is an "honorable man," and perhaps he knows.

Pol. Johnson stood by "facts and figures," and tried to prove that slavery was a blessing because free negroes never built railroads! When did slaves build them? He also went into a labored statement to prove farms in the South of the most value, but said nothing about their size. He then brought forward "figures" to prove the Southern States the best educated and with better educational systems. "Facts and figures" caved in, in my judgment, but his auditory were delighted, and went home to worship slavery as a household god.

I give the above as a specimen of the "arguments" brought before the enlightened people of Kansas. And now, Messrs. Editors, I must make my bow and say *Vale*.

H. C. L.

The Age.

AUGUSTA, ME.

Thursday.....Aug. 14, 1856.

Bound for Nine Years.

The following clause is found in the Topeka Constitution, under which the House seek to bring Kansas into the Union, notwithstanding the people have never ratified or confirmed it. A party formed it, a party voted on it, and after it was voted upon, the leaders of a party changed it to suit themselves. But they left in it this clause:

Art. 16. Sect. 3. "No CONVENTION for the formation of a new constitution shall be called, and NO AMENDMENT to the constitution shall be, by the general assembly made before the year 1865, nor more than once in five years thereafter."

Call you this republican freedom? Is it consistent with the spirit of our institutions? Is it right for a party of to-day to throw around the people such fetters of law as they may choose for nine years to come? Can a State be a free State, when its citizens for nine years cannot amend their organic law? If these men can impose a law like that of the Medes and Persians, unalterable for nine years, can they not do so for ninety and nine years? Think of these things, and see if true, republican freedom is found even in this so called free state constitution.

KANSAS. We find in the Iowa State Gazette the following news from Kansas: "A gentleman just from Kansas is now in our office. He is a Free-State man, and was a Sunday school teacher in the Methodist church in Doniphan county. He states that there is no danger incurred in the part of the territory where he resided by a perfectly free expression of political opinion, and that the only risk to be incurred on that head is from the advocacy of pro-slavery sentiments in and about Lawrence—the head quarters of abolitionism there. In Doniphan county, he says, where there is a large majority of Free-State men, they looked upon the Topeka convention as a perfect humbug, and refused to take any part in the election of delegates. That the majority of the Free-State party are law and order men, and entirely opposed to the conduct of such men as Reeder, Lane, Robinson, &c. That it is the general opinion in Kansas, even among the Free-State men, that if Lane and Reeder, and such characters, were out of the territory, they would have peace and quietness. That the Free-State men and pro-slavery men get along very well together in Doniphan Co., and that they have clubbed together to start a neutral paper to be printed at Palermo, in that county, and a printer has gone on to St. Louis to procure the materials. We believe this to be a true and impartial statement."

Kansas Report.

As the State is now flooded with the Report of the Kansas Investigating Committee, it may be well to remind our readers of one or two facts. Remember that that committee with all the power and money of Government at command have utterly failed to find the first man to testify that he was prevented from voting. This is a remarkable fact, yet Mr. Stephens of Georgia, who examined the whole testimony, stated it in his seat in Congress and the Committee could not and did not deny its truth.

Remember also that that Committee overruled Mr. Oliver who objected to going into evidence of matters which had transpired since the election of delegate to Congress as not within their province, and that when Mr. O. afterwards asked the investigation into certain outrages upon pro-slavery men, this Committee reconsidered their former decision, and voted to strike it all out, yet that the testimony thus taken was nevertheless inserted and appears in the report, the other side being shut out.

Remember further that that Committee declare that the election of Reeder was without law, and yet recommend that he be admitted to a seat in Congress, and that the House manifested its want of confidence in that Committee by refusing to admit him.

Remember also that not one of the laws which are published in connection with this report, was ever attempted to be enforced in Kansas.

Remember that by the deposition of Mr. Mace of Indiana, it is conclusively shown that the first attempt to control the freedom of the people of that territory was made by an Aid Society formed by the "Republican" members of Congress in March 1854, which was soon followed by the Society incorporated in Massachusetts. In his deposition Mr. Mace says:—"I do not remember all who became members of that Society, but quite a number of members who were opposed to slavery in Kansas, of the lower House and of the Senate became members of it and subscribed various sums of money. I think I subscribed \$50 or \$100.

We sent a great many circulars to various parts of the United States with that object, and also communications of various kinds. The object was to have persons induced to go to Kansas who would make that their home and who would at all elections vote against the institution of slavery."

Remember that the Free State men claim and undoubtedly have a majority of voters, and yet the "republican" members of Congress vote AGAINST allowing them the privilege of forming a Constitution to admit them into the Union and to vote upon it protected by the whole power of the United States Government.

[From the State of Maine.] NEW ENGLAND'S RALLY: A SONG FOR THE TIMES.

BY REV. FREDERIC H. REDGE, D. D.

Hear, O! New England, arouse thee and rally
Tyranny threatens, and foemen invade;
Call from Mars Hill to Connecticut valley,
All thy six nations to counsel and aid
First on the State-roll, from river to river,
Sound the alarm-cry, ocean-bound Maine!
Bid thy brave children make haste and deliver
Soil yet unshilled by Slavery's stain.
Rock-ribbed New Hampshire, withhold not thy thunder,
Swift be thine echo to Liberty's call!
Prop of misrule, take thy white peaks from under,
Let the dark dynasty crumble and fall.
Thou of thy charge needest none to remind thee—
Thou, O! Vermont, needest none to incite!
Danger and trial unshaken shall find thee,
Firm as thy hills in defense of the right.
Old Massachusetts, back-bone of the nation!
Liberty's cradle, be true to thy fame
Think of thy sires, till the new generation
Rival in lustre each time-honored name.

Canny Connecticut, calmly comparing
Freedom and bondage as sources of gain,
Know that true wisdom consists in wise daring,
Know that true valor hath profit in train,
Sister Rhode Island, we claim thy alliance,
Little in stature but mighty in soul,
Worthily coopeer in this holy alliance,
Crown and complete the invincible whole.
So: ye six nations, stand shoulder to shoulder!
Freedom and Justice rely upon you!
Freedom is safe while your strong arms unfold her,
Justice shall live while New England is true.

Wing and Courier.

Wheeler & Lynde, Proprietors.

THURSDAY, AUG. 14, 1856.

A Treasonable Flag.

The Democracy Threatening a New Republic.

It will be remembered that the sham democracy papers have rung with the cry of treason, because a flag with 15 stars upon it was hung across the street of some country village in this State. The most direful consequences were predicted so result from this disunion act.

We beg our Democratic brethren to recover their scattered senses. Yesterday at the "great gathering of the People" at Deering Hall, two flags were hung in the arch-way over the Speaker's stand, and on each were only 15 stars! We were at a loss at first to account for this; but Mr. John S. Wells' sublime idea of a Southern republic satisfied our minds, and dissipated our doubts. Probably the new Republic, symbolized by the 18 starred flags, will consist of 15 slave States, Pennsylvania, whose spokesman at the Cincinnati Convention promised to join the slave States in case of a dissolution, Kansas, subjugated to slavery, and Utah, with its foul polygamy—that relic of barbarism, twin to slavery.—State of Maine.

A FALSEHOOD NAILED. About the whole stock-in-trade of the black republicans is the assertion that the President and administration desired to make Kansas a slave State;—that the south have the aid of the federal government in such a work. Senator Toombs thus nailed this falsehood to the counter in his great speech on his bill. Alluding to Seward, Wade and Fessenden, he said:—Bangor Journal.

"When you say that we intend to make Kansas a slave State, by the aid of the federal government, you say what every man of us has stated is not true, and what is known to everybody not to be true. We said we would leave the people free to act for themselves, and if they made it a slave State I should demand admission as such; and if they made it free, I should stand by them. The Kansas bill meant nothing else."

That this is a lying and deceptive subterfuge may be very clearly seen by looking at the Cincinnati platform, which "leaves the people of the Territories free to act for themselves" on the subject of Slavery, ONLY WHEN THEY COME IN AS A STATE. IT DOES NOT (and Mr. Toombs does not) give them the slightest power to exclude slavery from the TERRITORY. IT PERMITS SLAVERY TO GO INTO THE TERRITORY and get established there—and prevents any prohibition until the State applies for admission into the Union. It is an entire mockery of popular sovereignty. The people of the Territories, would have no right under the Cincinnati platform, to exclude slavery; and the Southern orators and slaveholders who were imported here, and talked to the Democratic Convention which nominated Abraham Sanborn, know this fact well. They know that such only is "popular sovereignty" in Kansas.



NEW YORK, THURSDAY, AUG. 14, 1856.

Correspondence of the Journal of Commerce. WASHINGTON, Tuesday, Aug. 12.

Mr. Campbell's Report, bill, and resolutions, concerning a proposed modification of the Tariff, are rather voluminous, and will, together with a minority report and project, be printed for general distribution. Fifty thousand copies are to be ordered by the House. The idea of attaching any portion of Mr. Campbell's bill to any one of the appropriation bills, at this session, has been abandoned.

The Sherman proviso to the Army bill, after having been stricken out by the Senate, was restored by the House in a new form, in which, however, it loses none of its force. It simply avoids, in the present form, the objection that it violates the Constitution by providing for disarming the organized militia. The proviso, in the new form, received a decided majority in the House. I can hardly believe, however, that the final determination of the majority will be to insist upon this proviso, and thus sacrifice the Army appropriation bill. The consequence of its failure would be much embarrassment to the military operations, and a vast increase of their expense.

The same force would be retained under existing laws, and it would be impossible to make it effectual for any purpose. Purchases for the supply of the army would be made, and the contracts would be made at enhanced prices; and at the next session, or as soon as the House should be restored to its senses, a heavy deficiency bill would be the consequence of the delay of the appropriations. By such a course, too, they may render it necessary for the President or other Executive officers to assume extraordinary powers. Any disorganizing movement on the part of the legislative body necessarily invites an exercise of unconstitutional power by the Executive.

The Legislative, Executive, and Judicial Appropriation Bill, has also been stripped by the Senate of its Kansas provisos. The bill contains the appropriation for the pay, mileage, and contingent expenses of Congress.

If the House recede from their provisos to this bill, and insist upon the proviso to the army bill, and thus kill the latter, while they relieve themselves from all inconvenience by passing the former, they will be exposed to the scorn and derision of the whole country. Let them try the experiment on their own pay, mileage, book distribution, &c.

From the New Haven Register. KANSAS.

An intelligent citizen from one of the neighboring towns, was in New Haven on Saturday, direct from Kansas, where he has been for several months traveling and trading, in all parts of the territory, and is probably as well informed as to Kansas matters, as any one who has ever come from there. He says, that every thing was as quiet and well ordered throughout the territory, as in any new country that he ever traveled through; and men who mind their own business, are as well off here as here, and are no more likely to be disturbed. On being asked as to the raw head and bony bones stories that have been so rife in this region—he says, that he heard nothing about them, nor of any disturbances at all, while in the territory; but that after he left the country, and got about two hundred miles on his way home, the "shrieks for freedom" were in full blast all around him—and the further he traveled east, the more the "shrieks" increased. We have no doubt this gives the true state of things. We have been satisfied all along, from what could be heard of, or from, the New Haven company, (who have never yet been molested in their settlement,) that most of the information they got about the terrible doings in Kansas, reached them via New Haven—and we have never seen any reason to doubt the statement made by Mr. Luce in one of his early letters, in which he says:—

"One thing is now settled in the minds of every man in our company, that no fear of molestation need deter any person from coming here, if they come as they ought; and that plows and Bibles will be more useful than rifles and revolvers."

That declaration was gall and wormwood to the freedom shriekers in this vicinity, and they have been trying ever since to get something to neutralize it, or weaken its force. But there it stands in black and white, vouched for by the President of the company, and the information since derived from other reliable persons, like that of the gentleman who is now so recently from the territory, to whom we first referred, shows that there was, and is, no mistake about it. We have no doubt, that as soon as the Presidential election is discussed, of

and the "shrieks" are no longer wanted for political capital, it will be universally admitted that the most monstrous and wicked humbug ever played off since the world was made, are those which relate to the Kansas excitement.

New-York.

PRINCIPLES, NOT MEN.

THURSDAY MORNING, AUGUST 14, 1856.

AFFAIRS IN WASHINGTON.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

WASHINGTON, Aug. 12.

It is a deplorable proof of the degradation of the Democratic party, which yet governs the country, that Gov. GEARY has been compelled to apply to Senator TOOMBS and Mr. STEPHENS, of Ga., for leave to arrest bloodshed and anarchy in Kansas. It is asserted on authority, which I cannot question, that Col. GEARY has declined to go to Kansas, unless the spurious laws, which the Administration is pledged to enforce, were repealed. The President refused to assent to the condition unless an application to that effect should come from the South. Accordingly, Col. GEARY waited upon TOOMBS in the Senate, and STEPHENS in the House, as representatives of the sectional party, seeking to force Slavery upon Kansas, and laid before them the impossibility of governing the Territory, unless Congress placed its ban upon the scandalous edicts of the mock Legislature. These autocrats dismissed the suppliant with a peremptory refusal to act in the matter. The next expedient for the accommodation of differences, was the dismissal of the Judges, through whose corrupt and oppressive course these acts derived the force of laws, and the release of the political prisoners confined under them. To this the President assented, and it is understood that he pledged himself to dismiss LECOMPTE and CATO, unless they should yield to superior force and resign. They declined to retire in a quiet and peaceful manner, and it is believed that they have been suspended from their functions, and that if not already dismissed, they will be on the adjournment of Congress.

But, notwithstanding this concession, it remains doubtful whether Col. GEARY will accept the trust confided to him. He says, with great truth, that it has broken down two Northern men, and will, under such allied laws, break down whosoever may undertake it.

The House, to-day, got at the greatest practical measure of the session, so far as concerns the material interests of the country, the bill for the construction of three lines of railroad to the Pacific Ocean. The general plan of the bill is, the grant of alternate sections of land for an average width of 40 miles along the principal trunk lines, and numerous diverging branches at the end. The number of sections proposed to be granted is about 204,687, equal to 130,000,000 acres. Provided the land adjacent to the lines is unfit for the proposed uses, the companies to which the grants are made may select other lands from the next nearest public lands. A motion for the indefinite postponement of the bill was lost, ayes 89, noes 89.

The heavy majority by which the House adhered to its proviso upon the Civil Appropriation Bill, yesterday, is a guarantee of its firmness on the principle involved. It also affords a strong indication of the failure and loss of both the Army and Civil Appropriation bills, embracing items amounting to \$19,000,000.

It is important to fix the just responsibility for the expected loss of these bills. That responsibility will clearly rest upon the Democratic majority of the Senate, or upon the President. The proviso to the Army Bill does not affect the general military service. It simply prohibits the employment of the army in the enforcement of the spurious laws of Kansas. The defence of the frontiers, the protection to emigrants, and the Oregon and Washington Indian wars, are not in any manner interfered with. The legitimate service of the army for the defence of the country and the preservation of internal peace, are fully provided for. The House, in the wise exercise of the discretion which the Constitution has conferred upon it, of imposing conditions essential to public liberty upon the expenditure of the revenue, declares that no part of the twelve millions of dollars voted for the support of the army shall be used for the support of lawless tyranny, and a system of in-

tolerable oppression in Kansas. If the Senate, the President, or either of them, shall insist upon defeating the army appropriations, unless permitted to use them for that purpose, then the Senate and executive decide to suspend the whole military service, and abandon the whole system of public defence for one year—if not indefinitely. The House has granted all the supplies needed for those objects; the other branches of the Government out of pure partizan spite, and with the object of extending Slavery into a Free Territory, refuse them, and so far as they can do so, attempt to disband the army. I think this is the beginning of a great contest. I hope and believe the House will stand firm, and I believe that the issue is now presented on which the sectional struggle will be finally decided. The result will be I feel confident, a glorious triumph for our Republican principles. The cause and the issue are worthy of the Republican party. INSPECTOR.

(By Special Telegraph.)

WASHINGTON, Wednesday Night.

The Case of Judges LECOMPTE and CATO, after being determined on was again warmly discussed in the Cabinet to-day. It is understood that there were four for and three against their removal. Their dismissal is regarded as certain.

Southern members are greatly excited at Mr. CAMPBELL's declaration that the President would cause the Kansas prisoners to be discharged. The Administration is wisely yielding to the Free State pressure. Governor GEARY still lingers. INSPECTOR.

The Independent.

NEW-YORK, AUGUST 14, 1856.

Our own Correspondence.

LETTER FROM WASHINGTON.

The two Houses finally at Loggerheads—The important Crisis of this Congress.—General Appropriation Bills—Disagreement of the Senate and House—No ture of the House Amendments, Backing down of Proslavery Men, still tenacious of one point—Bitter breac eaten to save themselves—Outside pressure—Stampede of Democrats from the Party—Remark of a leading Southern Representative—Who Represent the People, and what is Democracy?—Election of Blair from Missouri—Speech of Hon. Henry Winton Davis of Maryland, and its effect—Absorption of the "South Americans"—Their Northern Coadjutors stranded—Stormy week ahead—Causes for it—etc., etc., etc.

BEAR INDEPENDENT:

THE two Houses are finally at loggerheads upon the question of Kansas. Each has uttered its legislative views in the form of separate enactments which sleep upon their separate tables, but now the real Philippi is reached, and the nerve or backbone of the two armies are to be tried. Heretofore the House has passed through its severe conflicts, and by what some call a "strange luck," but which I denominate a merciful providence, has not made an important blunder in the great contest for the country's freedom. If they can pass safely through the trials of the next eight working days and nights, then their work is done, and the issue is fairly before the people, and they must decide it for themselves.

Never was there a more critical period in the history of this Congress. Your readers are aware that the general appropriation bills have taken a large share of the attention of Congress during the present week. They involve millions upon millions, and unless they pass, the wheels of government must move with much difficulty until some action is had in the second session next December.

One section of the civil appropriation bill provides for the payment of the salaries of the Governor, and minor officers, including those infamous judges who have cursed the territory of Kansas.

An amendment was offered to that clause, providing that the arrests of the Free State men upon the charge of treason, should be withdrawn. In other words, the House refused to vote money to support men, who, in

contempt of the Constitution and law, arrested and imprisoned free men for exercising a freeman's right upon American soil. This amendment passed by a strong majority. Another section of the same bill provided for the payment of the salary, mileage and other expenses of the ruffian Missourian legislator which forced itself upon that territory. A stubborn fight ensued upon that clause, and instead of amending it, the entire clause went by the board, and was swept from the bill.

The army bill has shared the same fate, and the ruffians who had been enrolled by officers, acting under authority of this slavery-loving President to "subdue" freedom, were left penniless in their operations, and the sense of the house seemed to be, that standing armies under such a President, in such a place and at this crisis, are not conducive to liberty. I have briefly touched those points in former letters, and I am glad the House has seen that danger and provided for its curtailment. Of course the pro-slavery filibustering Senate humps its back in dudgeon, and refuses to agree with the amendment of the House.

They have risked too much already. To back down now, is to take the important plank out of their platform, and leave the worthless thing to sink beyond the hope of a future resurrection. They have eaten bread in removing Shannon, freely confessing that statements made concerning him by Republicans are true; and in repealing some of those Missouri laws which are a curse to a conquered people even, they have done what they can well do to save the party from annihilation and not give Kansas a hope for freedom. That is the last thing they will do. The outside pressure of northern democracy is enormous, and the thousands who are leaving their ranks and following the call of the pathfinder makes their knees smite together; and yet through it all slavery holds tight its grasp and will not yield an inch of solid ground. Minor and unimportant points are yielded, and enlarged upon, as compromises or measures of "pacification," but absolutely nothing which is tangible, is yielded.

But the country has its eyes open, and cannot be deceived. They mean slavery in perpetuity in Kansas or nothing. The democracy have thrown aside the veil, and plant themselves boldly upon that doctrine of its equivalent in other phrases, and will attempt to breast the waves of popular indignation in the coming election.

A Southern representative told me in conversation that the democracy had made this sectional issue themselves, and offered it upon the North, and said he, if lived North I would support Fremont.

If our folks remain firm and "endure to the end," this Congress will adjourn, and a pro-slavery Senate will take upon themselves the responsibility of defeating the civil and army appropriation bills solely to secure Kansas as a slave State. And yet this same bogus democracy pretends to represent the people. Does the President represent the people? No, for he is the national executive, and is unaffected by the people for a period of four years, and can play the petty tyrant for that time within the limits and guards thrown around him by the Constitution. Does the Senate represent the people immediately? No; they represent State sovereignty; each State having an equal representation in that body, elected by State legislatures and not directly by the people. But the House does come directly from the bosoms of the people themselves, and the complexion of the House in its majority is a fair expression of the sentiments of a majority of the people. That is democracy which studies to know the will of the people and do it; and applied to the so-called democracy of this Congress, none of them can abide the scrutiny.

I am fearful that the pressure upon the House will induce some of our friends to "cave in," and let the senate override its honest opinion. Things look that way a little now. Your readers can form no idea of the immense outside pressure which can be brought to bear upon members. Every employe of the government with his legion friends and acquaintances, are interested; for gold, with them—not principle or freedom—is at stake. It is true now as formerly that

"When self the wavering balance shakes,
It's rarely right adjusted."

The absorbing question of this Congress and the citizens, Will the appropriation bills pass? I most emphatically say no! unless connected with them are those measures of relief for Kansas. The yeas and nays will determine who has the backbone for the emergency. Let your readers carefully scan them.

The news of the election of Mr. Blair, of Missouri, and the manly speech of Hon. Henry W. Davis, of Maryland, in the House, have both touched a vital part of the so-called democracy. The latter was an effort which will long be remembered. It was a sword thrust between the "joints of the harness," and coming from a representative of a slaveholding constituency was particularly galling. I see that the papers of this city notify his constituents and sound the alarm upon what they call his defection. He is the best debater upon his floor, in my opinion, and will be able to defend himself. I of course do not sympathize in his opinions, but a man must lack a soul not to admire his manliness and independence.

The Fillmoreists, or "South Americans" are fast being absorbed in the Buchanan democracy. One of their leaders took the final plunge in a speech during this week, announcing that he could not be true to the institutions of the South without supporting the Wheatland nominee. The remnant left will hardly be saved. Those from the North who are seeking to sustain Southern principles will soon find themselves stranded, or whirled by the current and absorbed in the greater conflict yet to come off. Beyond that identity will never be preserved.

But pardon this almost wholly political letter. All other questions appear to be absorbed in these, and it is a wonder that your correspondent does not suffer more of such to slip from his pen. I have said but little concerning the doings of the Senate during this session, simply because the eyes and the hopes of the country have been turned upon the House.

The coming week will be a stormy one in our national history. Weary days and long night sessions connected with the excitement growing out of the disagreement of the two bodies, and the free use of stimulants by many of the members, makes many a good man dread the scenes which must ensue. I will endeavor to chronicle truly, "nor set down aught in malice."

Still trusting in God and in the efficiency of the personal effort of Christian citizens, I remain,

Yours,

PURMAN.

SATURDAY, Aug. 9th, 1856.

SOUTH AND NORTH.

The *Journal of Commerce* for Thursday last, contains the following:

From the *Washington Sentinel*.

THE SOUTH AND SLAVERY.—The South has never been an importer of slaves.

The North has been.

The South has never reduced freemen to slavery.

The North has reduced millions to perpetual slavery, they and their posterity.

The guilt of slavery, or making slaves, stains not the South.

It does crimson the North all over.

The South protested against the introduction of slavery, and passed laws prohibiting it, which were vetoed by royalty.

The South petitioned and remonstrated with the royal authority against the injustice and injury of slavery.

When the North desired to get rid of slavery, it had the means of doing so, and at the same time of realizing the full value of every slave, and of getting them without trouble or expense beyond their borders.

The scissoring men in the office of the *Journal* have great confidence in the efficacy of lying. They know that the allegations of the *Washington Sentinel*, above quoted, are essentially and wilfully false. But so thoroughly are they possessed of the spirit and inured to the habits of the establishment

which they serve, that the falsehood of a statement seems to be with them no reason why they should not make use of it.

The *Sentinel*, it should be remembered, is in no sense an anti-slavery journal. We do not read it, but we understand it is one of the organs of that great and growing party in the Southern States

which holds that slavery is a good thing, and especially good for negroes. We do not understand that it has any objection to the moral character of the African slave-trade, or that it has uttered any protest against the proposed restoration of that traffic. We are bound, therefore, to presume that the article which the *Journal* has copied was not designed to express any real sentiment or feeling of the *Sentinel*, and that its only object was to insult those people of the Northern States who believe that slavery, being essentially wrong, ought not to be extended by the legislature or with the connivance of the general government. Popular ignorance is a natural accompaniment of slavery, and therefore the editors of the *Sentinel* may be ignorant enough to believe that the matters of fact which it alleges against the North and in vindication of the South are all true, or, at least, true enough to be plausible. But the *Journal of Commerce* knows better.

"The South has never been an importer of slaves." What does this mean? What States were those whose adhesion to the Union under the Federal Constitution was purchased by the provision that their right of importing slaves should not be taken away from them before the year 1808? How long have South Carolina and Georgia been included in the North? Will the *Journal* please to expound?

Perhaps the meaning is, that the South never owned the vessels in which slaves were imported. If that is the meaning, we ask to be informed whether the South, prior to the prohibition of the African slave-trade, ever (in that sense of the word) imported anything. What was the reason that the South did not own any of the vessels which, from the year 1788 to the year 1808, were employed in bringing negroes from Africa to Charleston and Savannah? What is the reason that the South does not at this moment own the vessels that carry its cotton across the Atlantic and bring back to the landers the products of other climes? Has the South any conscientious reasons against importation?

"The South has never reduced freemen to slavery. The North has reduced millions to perpetual slavery, they and their posterity." What the phrase "they and their posterity," means in this last sentence, no English grammar that we have studied will authorize us to say with certainty. On the whole, we incline to the opinion that if the writer had known how to express his own meaning, he would have said, "them and their posterity." We understand this writer, then, as intending to affirm that the North, by participating in the African slave-trade, when that was every way as legitimate a commerce as the Virginia slave-trade now is, has reduced some millions of African free negroes, and their posterity besides, to perpetual slavery. But has it not long been a favorite argument in defense of American slavery, that the slaves imported from Africa to this country were slaves before they were imported, and indeed that generally their ancestors were slaves before them? Did the slave-traders reduce them to slavery? What more did they do than simply to buy slaves in one market where that sort of merchandise was cheap, and sell them in another market at a profit. If the traders who, sixty or a hundred years ago, bought slaves in Africa and sold them in Charleston and Savannah, were guilty of reducing those negroes and their posterity to perpetual slavery, then the traders who in this nineteenth century of the Christian era, are buying black slaves, yellow slaves, and white slaves in Virginia, and selling them in New-Orleans, are guilty of reducing to perpetual slavery these native Virginians, (some of whom have more than three-fourths of the purest and hottest blood of chivalry in their unfortunate veins), "them and their pos-

bers of Congress...
terity." Will the *Journal of Commerce* please to explain.

In what sense then is it affirmed that "the South has never reduced freemen to slavery?" Has the South never been guilty of buying slaves in one market and selling them in another? But not to press that question farther, we beg our commercial friends of the *Journal* to recollect that 150,000 children (more or less) are born of slave mothers in the South every year; and those children, in their innocence and helplessness, are all enslaved. How? Will the *Journal* or the philanthropic *Sentinel* tell us how? God does not enslave those new-born babes. He makes them human only with all human rights. The law of nature does not constitute them slaves. Under that law (which indeed is only another name for the law of God, they have the same right to the protection of the State, the same right to be trained up for freedom, the same right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, with the children of the noblest Southern matrons. The North does not enslave them, it has no jurisdiction there. The Constitution of the United States does not enslave them. How then do they become slaves? Simply and only by the *lex loci* which is, being interpreted, the law of the locality—the local law of "the South." The law not of God, nor of nations, nor of the North, nor of the Union, but of the State, lays its relentless grasp upon each of those helpless infants at the moment of birth, and makes it a slave. For this illustration of the process by which slaves are made, we acknowledge our indebtedness—long ago—to that bold and earnest opponent of slavery, Dr. R. J. Breckenridge.

With what impudence then does the *Washington Sentinel* say that "the guilt of slavery, or making slaves, stains not the South," and that "it does crimson the North all over!" And when the *Journal of Commerce* repeats and circulates the impudent mendacity, how basely does it calumniate these free States of the North!

But we are told that "the South protested against the introduction of slavery, and passed laws prohibiting it, which were vetoed by royalty," and again, that "the South petitioned and remonstrated with the royal authority against the injustice and injury of slavery." Admit all this. We will not question it. Let royalty bear the blame of introducing slavery with its injustice and injury into these States. Slavery then, in the opinion of the South as the South was before the revolution, is an injustice and an injury; and as the *Sentinel* (and probably the *Journal* too) would have us think, the execrations of the South, and of mankind, are due to the memory of the "royalty" by which slavery was introduced into these States when as yet they were in their minority. Let us remember this. And let us remember that we too have a young colony not yet grown into a sovereign State, and that into that colony the "royalty" of Atchison and his Border-ruffians, backed by the power of the Federal Government and by the influence of snob presses, as the *Sentinel* and the *Journal*, is now introducing the same unjust and injurious institution of slavery against the earnest opposition of the people there. Let it be remembered that the people of the United States are now to determine, in the selection of a new President and a new Congress, whether slavery once excluded from Kansas "forever" by a solemn and irrevocable "compromise" between opposing interests, shall be at last forced into Kansas. Treachery, fraud and violence have combined to incorporate slavery, like some foul disease, with the young life of the State that is beginning to be formed upon that soil. Every man who in this pending election gives his vote, or his influence, however indirectly, for either of those candidates whose pledges (unless they cheat their Southern supporters) bind them to carry out the

infamous policy of Atchison and Douglas—G. R. Russell, of Mass.; Alexander Gordon, of Pa.; Mr. Craige, of Pennsylvania; S. S. Bernard, of Ill.; E. B. Ward, of Michigan; and W. F. M. Army, of Bloomington, Ill., in place of the Illinois members of the Committee are residents of Chicago—Messrs. Dole, Hurd, Scammon, and Webster; and three others—Messrs. Howe, Hyatt, and Army—will temporarily reside here, as this is judged to be the best place for action.

The baseness of the calumnious article which the *Journal* undertakes to circulate, is most conspicuous in the closing sentence. Look at it. We give it as we find it in italics. First, we are told, "When the North desired to get rid of slavery, it had the means of doing so." Undoubtedly. And every State that desires—truly and heartily—to get rid of slavery has the means of doing so. Where there's a will there's a way. The great difficulty is to awaken the desire. Which of the Southern States desires now to get rid of slavery? Will the *Journal* tell us? Does Missouri, or Kentucky, or Maryland, or even Delaware? Which of those States has not the means of getting rid of slavery? Next we are told the North had the means "at the same time of realizing the full value of every slave." Doubtless the North by abolishing slavery has lost nothing—has even realized more than ten times the value of every slave. Missouri, or Kentucky, or Virginia might also abolish slavery by any judicious process, and realize in the augmented value of all legitimate property, in the redoubled productiveness of industry, and in rapid development and accumulation of wealth, ten times as much as the slaves are worth to-day in money. But this is not what the *Sentinel* means. Nor is it what the *Journal* means. What they both mean is to reiterate the old falsehood that the Northern States got rid of slavery by selling their slaves to the South. "The North," they say, "had the means of realizing the full value of every slave, and of getting them without trouble and expense beyond their borders." Let the *Journal* tell us which of the Northern States got rid of slavery by selling the slaves. Let the *Journal* tell us, if it can, which of the States that have abolished slavery did not begin by taking the slaves under its protection and forbidding their being sold out of its jurisdiction. Till it can offer some proof of what it has more than once alleged on this point, let it stand charged with a foul libel on the North.

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

We learn by the Chicago correspondent of the *Daily Times* that Dr. Howe, of Boston, and Mr. Thaddeus Hyatt, of this city, both members of the National Kansas Committee appointed by the Buffalo meeting, have returned to Chicago from a tour of observation through Iowa and nearly to the borders of Kansas, for the purpose both of knowing the ground and of completing the best arrangements, both to facilitate the way for emigrants going to Kansas, and to afford what relief may be needed from time to time for those already there. We have no doubt this personal knowledge will be of great service. They report that Lane's company numbers 500 souls—men, women, and children, poorly provided both for provisions and arms. Since the return of these gentlemen to Chicago, as we learn by the correspondent of the *Tribune*, the organization of the National Committee has been completed and is now in full working order—all but the funds which we hope will now flow in abundantly. We copy the *Tribune* letter:

"CHICAGO, Friday, Aug. 8, 1856.
"Since the adjournment of the Buffalo Convention the National Committee there appointed has completed its organization and commenced its work, but in so unostentatious a manner that the friends of Kansas have sometimes feared it was doing little or nothing. Such, however, is far from being the case. They have no judged best to work with so much parade and publicity as has attended the operations of many Kansas committees and conventions; but, for this very reason, what they have done is all the more to the purpose. Some changes have been made in the Committee since their names were published in the *Tribune*. Dr. S. G. Howe, of Boston, has been put on in place of Mr. Arnold, of Chicago. Dr. Samuel Cabot, Jr., instead of

Capt. J. D. Webster, formerly of the United States Topographical Engineers, is Chairman, and H. B. Hurd, Esq., Secretary, and Geo. W. Dole, Esq., Treasurer. All these gentlemen are well qualified for their important position by their business capacity, their strict integrity, and their devotion to the cause of Kansas. Perhaps no man in all the West could give such weight to the Committee by consenting to work on it as Mr. Doyle. Widely known as a merchant, he is quite well known for his entire honor and uprightness, and though he is a Republican, they chose him at their late election to the responsible office of Water Commissioner by a great majority, while the Administration carried the other offices. Capt. Webster also holds an office of trust in the City Government, and has had fifteen years' service in the army. Mr. Hurd is a prominent lawyer; Mr. Scammon a Bank President and man of great wealth. Mr. Army is favorably known all through Illinois, especially in the southern part, where he lives. Dr. Howe, of Boston, and Mr. Hyatt, of New-York, are also well known to the public.

"This Committee has already begun and is carrying out, as fast as the money sent in will permit, its two great purposes of supporting the Free State men now in Kansas, and of sending in new settlers. It has appointed agents in Kansas and at different points in Iowa to aid on emigration and the relief of sufferers. Its means of communication with Kansas and its information from there are more perfect and reliable than those of any other body of men. Its measures are wisely planned and secretly executed, and will tell with force on the future of Kansas. All that it needs for the perfect accomplishment of its purposes is that the State and county committees should furnish it with means. If there were as efficient a committee as that of Chicago in every State and county, or even in half of them, Kansas would of necessity become free. Why, then, will not these local committees cooperate zealously with the Central one at Chicago, which has shown so much wisdom and energy? They certainly have the best position, facilities and temper for their work. Let them have means in abundance!"

The Destruction of Lawrence.—Hon. E. A. Hannegan, of Indiana, has received a letter from Judgeecompte, Mr. Pierce's Chief-Justice of Kansas, stating that there was no order of court for the destruction of the hotel and printing-office at Lawrence. Consequently, there is no longer the slightest pretext of legality for that wanton and tyrannous deed, and yet no action of the Government has been taken in regard to it. The vile Judge, emulating Jeffries himself, confesses that the deed is not to be justified, as "the maintenance of law is the palladium of our safety," but he adds:

"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 a matter of congratulation that there was enough of fixed purpose to avoid excesses; to resist the temptation to commit them ad libitum."
Wonderful forbearance.

The Early Purpose of the Slaveholders.—Rev. George W. Robbins, of Alton, for many years a missionary of the M. E. Church among the Indians in what is now Kansas, has published a statement which shows that Atchison and his fellow-conspirators have been preparing for this movement at least fifteen years. Atchison has had the recommending of the Indian Agents, who have always been pro-slavery, generally slaveholders, who would take their slaves with them, and have done all they could to keep out anti-slavery men, as well as to incline the Indians in favor of slavery:

"Mr. Robbins was seized by Col. Lea, Indian Agent, and expelled from his mission and from the territory in 1831, 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 in 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 ought 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 difficulty in Kansas."

An Eye Witness.—Rev. H. P. Cutting, of Burlington, Vt., has lately returned from Kansas, after traveling for several weeks in different parts of the State. He has lately addressed a meeting at St. Albans, and we hope he will be heard in many other places, as his statements are perfectly reliable. He represented the climate to be salubrious, and the soil unsurpassed for richness and fertility. He speaks highly of the spirit of the women in Kansas, and says he saw only one pro-slavery woman—the wife of Charles Spaulding, a Vermont. We copy from the *Messenger* a brief sketch of the way he saw affairs managed by the "Law and Order" or pro-slavery party:

"Before he went to Kansas he was hardly prepared to believe that the heart-rending stories that are constantly reaching us from there were true. His mind was now changed. From what he had seen with his own eyes, and heard with his own ears, he was prepared to believe almost anything. Every one there who was favorable to freedom was stamped "a damned Abolitionist," and was threatened and insulted by the land pirates who infest that fair territory. Freedom of speech was not allowed there. All the arguments that they made use of were the Bowie-knife and revolver. Coleman, the murderer of Dow, was pointed out to him by Charles Spaulding, a Montpelier boy, but he was sorry to say a member of the so called "Law and Order" party. Coleman was armed to the teeth, and was exercising his authority by charging an honest and thrifty-looking man with stealing a pair of oxen which he was driving. The owner of the oxen appealed to another man as to the fact that he was the rightful owner. The man said he was. Coleman asked him if he was a "Law and Order man." The man replied, "I am an American Citizen." Pressing the question twice or three times in a threatening manner, the man charged him with being a murderer, which put a damper on the guilty wretch. The owner of the oxen, in company with two "Law and Order men" was obliged to go back some forty miles to prove that he was the legal owner of the oxen. Such and similar things were of every day occurrence.

Application has been made to Judge McLean at Cincinnati, by Rev. A. St. Clair, of Kansas, for a writ of habeas corpus to bring before him the persons of Gov. Robinson and others imprisoned in Kansas. The *Cincinnati Gazette* says:

"It is alleged that if the Court allows the writ, a large force will be required to bring the parties before it, because United States Marshal Donelson would probably give the hordes of ruffians and pirates which infest the Missouri river an opportunity of murdering them. Should the writ be allowed, the expenses attending it will be enormous, and cast very far into the shade the expenses of the late fugitive trials in this city. We have heard that Judge McLean has intimated that it may be necessary to have the case argued before him by the Attorney-General."

Major Buford's Enterprise.—It seems that the gallant Alabamian has not made so good a speculation for himself as he expected, and finds it more practicable to use such materials as he enlisted in doing harm to others than in benefiting himself. The *St. Louis News* says:

"This gentleman sold his plantation in Alabama, and invested the proceeds, amounting to something like \$50,000, in the glorious but unpaying business of making Kansas a Slave State. He collected a company of nearly 300 men, whose expenses to the Territory he paid, having first entered into written agreement with each member, individually, by the terms of which his men were to preempt a claim of land in Kansas, and mortgage it to their commander, to secure the money he had advanced to them. All promised well, and Major Buford flattered himself with the prospect that his Alabama plantation would be the means of securing to him a hundred or more Kansas farms, worth a dozen times as much as the one he had parted with. But he soon found that going into distant Territories to maintain the rights of the South, is not just what it seems to be. He tried to get his men to settle on preemption claims, become steady citizens, so as to secure him for the sums of money he had paid out for them. But the men could not be induced to do it. They preferred roving over the country in organized bands, depending on their too hospitable friends in Kansas and Missouri for the means of support. These friends are 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

A *Moontan* writes from Franklin, K. T., under date of July 6th, giving a doleful picture of the career of the band. He says that of the 350 who accompanied Buford, not more than fifty remain in the Territory. Of those who returned, the correspondent says:

"Having seen Kansas, having spent their money in dissipation, when the time for work and enduring hardships came on they struck for home, to disparage the country, to denounce Col. Buford, and what is worse, to desert and leave unprotected the rights of the South. In short they will do and say any thing to save themselves from that contempt and indignation with which they should be received by their old neighbors and friends."

The Major himself has returned to the South, and is trying to raise another company of a hundred men, "if the contributions justify it," but he means to be more careful what sort of men he takes this time. He says:

"I want 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 preemptions, and I will transport them to Kansas and find them provisions till the middle of April next." This shows the difference between the Northern and Southern emigration. The Northern emigrants are not required to "implicitly obey orders."

Peaceful Emigration.—We are glad to be authentically confirmed that the Free State emigration to Kansas is to be continued, as it has been from the beginning, of a purely peaceful character, that is, composed of bona fide settlers, who go to Kansas to make their permanent homes in that fine country; and that whatever arms they may, as free citizens, carry with them, shall be their own, kept under their constitutional rights as freemen, for defensive purposes only. (And we will add our own advice, that they be used effectively against any unlawful aggression which tries to violate the right of the people to keep arms in their hands or houses.) The semi-military character which some have unwisely desired to give to the emigration is therefore rejected. So that the only organized military bands that invade Kansas will be in the future, as they have been in the past, the Border Ruffians and their South Carolina confederates, such as those to whom President Pierce has furnished arms and provisions and had them enrolled as his *gens d'armes* for the subjugation of the people.

A Forgery.—Some of the Administration papers are publishing a section of Douglas's bill for the admission of Kansas, with a forged interpolation designed to deceive our adopted citizens with regard to its true character. The bill as it stands, cuts off from the right of voting, all foreigners who have merely declared their intention to become citizens, and who have had the privilege conceded in the other territories. The forgery is enclosed in parenthesis:

"SEC. 11. And be it further enacted, That every white male citizen of the United States, (including all persons who shall have filed their declaration or intention to become such, in compliance with the naturalization laws of the United States,) over twenty-one years of age, who may be a bona fide inhabitant of said territory on the Fourth of July."

First Arrival in Kansas.—The *Worcester Spy*, of Monday, has this gratifying announcement—the way is open to Kansas!

Good News.—The community will be glad to hear that by letters just received from Chicago, (dated Aug. 7,) it appears that the second Worcester company, under Martin Stowell has made its way through into Kansas, in spite of obstacles, and was, when last heard from, within forty miles of Topeka. We believe that this is the first party of emigrants which has actually arrived in Kansas, since the sacking of Lawrence. Dr. Cutter also is on his way in, and the three hundred Western emigrants are behind him."

Dismissal of the Judges.—The Washington correspondent of the *Herold* states positively that the President has resolved to relieve himself at last of the infamy of his two judges, by their summary dismissal, and that he will order the immediate release of Gov. Robinson, and the other prisoners of the State, whom he has so long kept in cruel confinement. It is added that these acts of clemency are done at the express stipulation of Governor Geary, who refused to accept the office unless this was done. It shows that they are scared about the election in Pennsylvania. The Iowa election did it.

For Kansas.—South Carolina is still unflagging 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 the 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, who were also here temporarily, will return with him. We are informed that Major Wilkes was to have left Columbia yesterday, with fifty or sixty emigrants collected from Chester, Union and other districts.

—*Charleston News, 6th.*

The Semi-Weekly Times.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, AUGUST 14, 1856.

AFFAIRS IN KANSAS.

Another Grease Outrage by a Pro-Slavery Party—Highly Interesting Narrative—How the Border Ruffians Arrest for Horse-stealing—Probability of a Court-Martial. Correspondence of the *New-York Daily Times*. LAWRENCE, Kansas, Sunday, Aug. 3, 1856.

MESSRS. CLINE and RANKIN, of whom I wrote you in my last as confined in the jail at Harrisonville, Missouri, to-day arrived in town. From Mr. CLINE I gathered the following facts:

STATEMENT OF J. B. CLINE.
I was formerly from Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and now reside on Sugar Creek, in this Territory, in company with W. M. RANKIN. About the 18th Mr. RANKIN went down to Liberty, Mo., to get a pair of revolvers, if possible, as he and his friends were not armed, they having come to the Territory with the intention of being non-combatants. He succeeded in getting the arms in question—he not being known in Liberty. While returning, in the Territory within six miles of home, he was met by an armed and mounted company of Pro-Slavery men, who ordered him to halt and requested him to state where he was going, where he was from and what he had in his carpet-bag. They ordered him to give up the pistols he had in his hand. He raised his pistol and fired, barrel after barrel, as fast as he could shoot. They made a drive at him with a bayonet. (They had United States muskets with bayonets.) The bayonet struck his breast, but only inflicted a flesh-wound, glancing off along his ribs. They then clubbed him with their guns, knocking him from his horse senseless to the ground. They stripped him of his arms, horse, some thirty dollars in money and other articles, while he lay senseless. They then left him, supposing him dead, and led his horse away. He rose some time after—in time to see them going over the prairie. Though faint, he followed after them as fast as he could. They left the road, went into the timber, lighted a fire and camped. When they became quiet, he searched for his horse; not finding him, after searching as long as he dared, he took another—a filly that was saddled, close to the camp. He then started off. About 9 o'clock at night Mr. RANKIN's horse came home without saddle or bridle; the horse had a piece of hickory bark round his neck, broken off, which it had evidently broken to get loose. Mr. RANKIN had not got home, having slept out on the prairie. Next morning Mr. CLINE started off to look for him and met him on the prairie. They then started back, on the suggestion of RANKIN, to try and find the trail of those who had assailed him. Having ridden several miles they stopped to let their horses rest. Mr. CLINE had laid down and gone to sleep; Mr. RANKIN was, also, lying down. While in this situation Mr. RANKIN heard the approach of a party of horsemen, and aroused his companion by crying: "My God, here is the same company of fellows." Both were unarmed. CLINE wanted his companion should start. RANKIN hesitated, but as they could offer no resistance RANKIN got on his horse and started. CLINE's horse was so tired and broken down that he knew he could not get off. Ten of them gave chase to RANKIN, and followed him ten miles until he struck the head waters of the Osage, but they did not succeed in catching him.

The others came up to CLINE, and asked him what business he had there. He told them he was a full-blooded Yankee, and went where he pleased on United States soil. They asked him what he was doing; he replied that he was warning in the sun. They asked him why the other man ran? He said that half of the number of men now after him would make any one of their number run. They asked him who the other man was? He told

then they would know if they caught him. They then turned away and left him, one of them saying that he was d—d psalm-singing Yankee, and they could not get any sense out of him. They went in pursuit of those who were following RANKIN, and CLINE started for home. RANKIN, by the time he got to the Osage, had got out of sight of his pursuers, and being uncertain of whether he was pursued, he dismounted, tied up his horse in a thicket, and climbed a tree, to watch for events. He had been there but a short time when he saw his pursuers approaching. They passed on about one hundred yards from the tree, where RANKIN was, and disappeared. RANKIN then returned home. The next day the Pro-Slavery men got out a warrant against both CLINE and RANKIN for horse-stealing. The warrants were a printed blank; but the blanks were not all filled up, and the Justice had not attached his name to them. The Pro-Slavery men guarded their house all night. The next morning a Deputy Sheriff came with the writs. They sent up a person to converse with them, to ascertain whether they would yield. CLINE informed them that they never would allow themselves to be taken by a mob. This person told them they would take them before Justice MEANS or any other Squire, and they should have a fair trial. CLINE told him they were willing to have a legal investigation of the affair, and the party came up and they were taken before Squire MEANS. They had promised CLINE that he could have any witnesses summoned that he wanted, and Squire MEANS went through the process of filling out subpoenas at the instance of CLINE, but they were never served. Nothing was proved against the prisoners. The party at whose instance they were taken swore that the young man "had a horse that did not belong to him," but none of them would claim it. RANKIN told before the Justice how the whole thing occurred, and CLINE corroborated the particulars, as far as he knew; but the Pro-Slavery party, Justice and all, affected to discredit the statement, and of course they had no witnesses. CONKLIN said he wanted to know who owned the horse, but the knaves who had attacked him would not acknowledge anything that would convict themselves. As there was nothing against them to criminate them, the party that had taken them went out and took a vote as to whether they should be taken from the bogus officers and mobbed, (for fear they would not be punished.) Forty-five voted that they should be mobbed, and thirty for a more moderate policy. The plan suggested was to hang them up by the neck for a little time, and make them tell all they knew about Lawrence, Topeka, Capt. BROWN, and a great many other objectionable Free-State men whom they wanted to get. The more influential of the Pro-Slavery party were in favor of leaving the prisoners to the mercy of bogus law. A Committee of ten men were appointed to take them to Harrisonville, Mo., where the Justice said they must be taken, as he had no doubt but they were guilty. The prisoners were taken to Harrisonville. There the captors found, some difficulty about getting them in jail, not but what the Missourians were willing to keep them, but a lawyer in Harrisonville told the captors that the whole thing was so irregular that the prisoners would be liable to be taken out by their friends on a writ of *habeas corpus*. It was then determined that they should be taken back. That night they were permitted to remain at the hotel, provided they paid their own bill. Two of the men who guarded them slept in the room with them, and the leader of the party slept with the breeches of both the prisoners under his head as a hostage. Next day they were taken back to the tender mercies of Justice MEANS. At this stage of the affair, the Pro-Slavery men got intensely alarmed at the report that fifty Free-State men were marching to the release of the prisoners. The people of Harrisonville believed the Abolitionists would come and burn their town if they kept them. It was difficult to get any one to take charge of them, as the more timid of the Pro-Slavery men began to scatter. They were taken to the house of a Free-State man, whom the Justice said would be held responsible for their safe-keeping. While there, a party of the wildest of the Pro-Slavery men, who first took them, came to the house where they were, armed with muskets, with bayonets, and demanded that the prisoners be delivered up to them. Mr. CLINE and his companion succeeded in eluding these men, and made their escape.

While in custody they were robbed of everything the ruffians could find upon them, including a shot-gun, portfolio, &c.

Rev. Mr. NUTE, by permission of Capt. SACK-

err, held divine service at the camp where the prisoners are confined, to-day. A great many people from Lawrence were in attendance. It is said the services were extremely interesting. Rev. Mr. LUM will preach there next Sunday.

A COURT-MARTIAL, PERHAPS.

It is said that the War Department have directed the commander at Fort Leavenworth to investigate the conduct of the officers who made such a ridiculous exhibition of their preferences for the National Democratic nominee, in our most public street, while they were in a state of intoxication. We do not hear that an inquiry is to be made into the conduct of Lieut. PERKINS, who, at the direction of HANEY, who was not even a bogus-legal officer, without any writs, arrested Messrs. LEGG and HOYT, and afterwards formed his soldiers in front of a grog-shop, and had a pail full of whisky passed round to them.

Col. C.W. TOPLIFF, Commander of the Kansas Free-State Militia, has just returned from Kansas to recruit his health, which is shattered by the hardships and exposures he has suffered. He reports the sufferings of the settlers as being severe—destitute as they are of supplies, and means to get any. When he left, the means sent to buy food had not arrived, but have probably been received since. There is great need of arms—nearly the whole population being destitute of them. The spirits of the Free-State men are good, considering their sufferings, but many are getting sick, and for want of the necessities of life.

Col. TOPLIFF thinks the emigrants with LANE will succeed in getting through. The routes have been explored, roads made, and guides furnished. Col. TOPLIFF has also succeeded in getting up as good an organization for self-defence throughout the Territory as can be done till arms and equipments are supplied.

Slavery in Kansas.

We hear it said almost every day, that Slavery can't go to Kansas,—that there is not the slightest danger of such a result,—and that all the excitement that pervades the public mind on the subject is, therefore, uncalled for. Many very excellent people, who declare that they would not for the world do anything to extend Slavery, propose to vote for Mr. BUCHANAN or Mr. FILLMORE, under the belief that, in any event, Slavery cannot go to Kansas, and that there is no need of any legislation to prevent it.

Now upon this subject, we are inclined to believe that the South knows more than the North. The men who are trying to establish Slavery in Kansas know much better what their chances of success are than we do. We take it for granted that they would not have incurred the political dangers of repealing the Missouri Compromise,—that they would not have resorted to the extraordinary outrages they have perpetrated in Kansas,—that they would not resist the admission of Kansas as a Free State, unless they expected to succeed in the great object of all these acts, namely, the introduction of Slavery there. They are not such fools as to have encountered all these dangers and performed all these labors, for nothing. The very fact, therefore, that they have undertaken to plant Slavery in Kansas, is evidence to our minds that it can be done,—that, if they are not resisted and defeated, it will be done,—and that if accomplished it will be of sufficient advantage to repay them for all the efforts they have made.

And this conclusion is strengthened by the perusal of the following appeal to the Slaveholders of the South, from Col. BUFORD,—who went into the Territory from Alabama, with a Slaveholding Colony,—who has made a personal examination of the country, and who has now gone South again for fresh recruits:

No longer ago than yesterday we heard a gentleman declare in the New-Haven Railroad cars, that if he believed there was the slightest reason to apprehend that Kansas would be a Slave State, he would vote with the Republicans—but as he did not believe it,—as he thought slave labor could not possibly go there,—he should not consider this point as being at issue. Now, we cannot help thinking that Col. BUFORD is likely to be better informed on this subject than the gentleman referred to:—and when we find him asserting 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,"—and when we see the prodigious efforts which he and the whole Slaveholding community are making to prevent the prohibition of Slavery there, and to carry slaves into Kansas, we cannot help believing that they know what they are about,—and that they will succeed in the object of their endeavors, unless resisted and defeated by the people of the Free States.

Colonel Sumner.

Our readers are not likely to have forgotten the circumstances attending the dispersion of the Kansas Free-State Legislature, assembled at Topeka on the 4th of July. Though it was a peaceable and perfectly legal assembly,—though it had not attempted in any way to resist the authority of the Federal, or even that of the Territorial, Government,—though it proposed to do nothing more than the Constitution in express terms guarantees to all the people of the United States, the right of doing,—namely: to petition for the redress of grievances,—yet Col. SUMNER, an officer of the Federal Army, marched into its midst at the head of a company of dragoons, and, in accordance with his instructions, as he alleged, ordered its members instantly to disperse. The act was arbitrary and high-handed,—in wanton violation of the Constitution of the United States, but so thoroughly in keeping with the whole Kansas policy of the Government that it failed to arouse any unusual indignation in the public mind. But it deserves special attention,—not only by its intrinsic character, but from the fact that the Administration, with characteristic cowardice and treachery, is endeavoring to evade the odium of it, and to throw the whole responsibility upon Col. SUMNER. A communication upon this subject in another column, rehearsing the history of the case, will attract attention.

It will be remembered that in executing what he declared to be his "instructions," Col. SUMNER declared that he was "performing the most painful duty of his life." A resolution was adopted soon after in the Senate calling for information in regard to these instructions;—and Mr. Secretary DAVIS, in reply, asserts that "no such orders have been issued from that Department." He proceeds to state that Gov. SHANNON was authorized, in case he found the ordinary Courts and powers of the United States Marshal's inadequate for the suppression of insurrectionary combinations, or armed resistance to the execution of the law, to call upon Col. SUMNER for aid; and in that event Col. SUMNER was instructed to afford it. But it does not appear that Gov. SHANNON made any effort to disperse the Topeka meeting by the use of the local force,—that he even summoned them to disperse, or that he called upon Col. SUMNER at all. Secretary DAVIS evidently intends it to be understood that Col. SUMNER, in dispersing that assembly, acted without orders, upon his own responsibility, and in violation of his instructions. It is the direct object of his reply to the Senate's inquiry, to convey this

impression. He says nothing about orders that were issued to Gov. SHANNON in regard to the dispersion of the Topeka Legislature—he does not say that Gov. SHANNON was authorized and directed to suppress the meeting, and to call upon Col. SUMNER to execute those instructions. It is known that Gov. SHANNON himself has claimed that he had such authority; but no evidence of it has yet been given to the public. Secretary DAVIS suppresses these instructions, if any such exist. He throws the whole responsibility for that gross violation of the Constitution and the law upon Col. SUMNER.

Now if the facts of the case warrant this charge, Col. SUMNER has been guilty of a gross violation of duty. He has usurped powers not intrusted to him. He has failed in the duty of obedience to the orders of his Government. For such offences, if he is guilty of them, he should be punished:—and it is the duty of the Government to order a Court-Martial upon him immediately. This, we venture to say, they dare not do. Such a tribunal would expose the infamy of their own conduct,—would convict them of having thrown this "painful" duty upon him, and of then seeking, with refined and deliberate cowardice, to shirk the responsibility for their own acts. An investigation of this kind would drag to light the secret instructions sent to SHANNON, the secret orders given by him to Col. SUMNER, and the secret machinery by which the Administration first finds tools for its purposes, and then crushes them for their obedience.

The Senate, or the House, should make another attempt to extract from the Executive Department the whole truth in regard to this affair. And Col. SUMNER himself, is justly entitled, by the tone of Secretary DAVIS' reply to the Senate, to demand a Court of Inquiry concerning the serious charges which it insinuates against him.

The Commercial.

WILMINGTON, N. C.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 14, 1856

BLACK REPUBLICAN HYPOCRISY.

Senator RISE, in his speech in the Senate on the 2d of July, on the admission of Kansas as a State, very forcibly portrays the deep hypocrisy of the Black Republican party, with whom the South and the friends of the Constitution are contending. He says:

But let us see the result of this policy of the Senator. It is injurious, as he thinks, to the New England man to emigrate to Kansas; if it is a slave Territory. Why injurious? Slavery there, says he, would be very detrimental to his interest. The Senator, with his opinions—although, I presume, he would not interfere directly for that purpose—would, no doubt, be glad to see slavery abolished in the States. Suppose his policy adopted, then, and his wishes gratified, as his sympathy is now excited for the whites, would he hereafter invite the free blacks from the South into Kansas, or would he prohibit them, as is done by several of the non-slaveholding States? The colored race, he says, is objectionable as inhabitants of a Territory, because they are slaves. The whites need protection! And yet, when the blacks become free, they become more degraded, and you exclude them from your free States! According to this code of ethics the colored race is unfit to live in the same community with the whites; and all this lamentation over the wrongs and oppression of the poor African is downright hypocrisy. The sympathy for the poor negro, therefore, is only to be manifested when political agitation can be had, and political ends attained, by great professions of philanthropy over a runaway or stolen negro, who has been arrested under the fugitive slave law. Of course I do not intend to make myself a personal application of this expression, but properly and forcibly to characterize the spirit and tendency of the arguments of political agitators everywhere.

Mobile Daily Tribune.

MOBILE:

THURSDAY MORNING, AUG. 14, 1856.

From Kansas Territory.

[Correspondence of the Mobile Tribune.]

FRANKLIN, KANSAS TERR.,
July 22, 1856.

Dear Sir: I write in great haste to give you and your readers some idea of the state of affairs here. Yesterday, a Lawrence abolitionist was arraigned before a justice of this place on a charge of horse stealing. Witnesses from Lawrence were summoned to prove the charge, but not appearing, the Captain of a United States company of dragoons was appealed to, to bring them in, which he refused to do, telling the constable to call out the posse comitatus, and if they should not be sufficient, then the whole territorial force should be called out, and then it would be his duty to assist in executing the law. He said Gov. Shannon had no authority over him or the troops after leaving Fort Leavenworth—that although Col. Buford, on application to the Governor, obtained an escort to make arrests, yet he and Buford were different persons. He said much more of the same sort, encouraging the abolitionists, who crowded around him. Such officers and troops do more harm than good, by encouraging our enemies to deeds of darkness.

The horse thief was detained in custody till this morning, when we were to proceed to Lawrence with twenty men to bring the witnesses. The Justice, seeing that a rescue would be attempted, called on us to guard the prisoner in his house last night, which we did, eight or ten of us leaving our house with our whole force, which was necessary for that purpose.

About midnight the cry of fire was heard, and very soon we saw that our house was in flames. We remained close, and fortunately resisted the first thought, which was to rush to our home and save what we could, because we had learned that the enemy was lying in the grass close by, prepared to assassinate us. Our feelings can be better imagined than described, as the flames lit up the town, and told us that we had lost our all. Our bedding we had with us, but our money, books, papers, clothing, surveying instruments, and many precious memorials of kindred and friends far away, all were consumed by the incendiary villains who hold the sway here, in consequence of the treachery of southern men who have deserted us. We are now destitute of every thing except our muskets, and an unyielding determination to be avenged.

In view of the pusillanimity of the troops; and the preparation for an uninterrupted winter's devilement, will not our friends at home make some efforts to reinforce us?—Will they not extend a helping hand to save us and Kansas?

We intend to build a fort in the town, and in a few hours we shall start for Missouri and Fort Leavenworth for money, men, arms, ammunition, and then for vengeance. Southerners come and help us. Bring each of you a double barrel gun, a brace of Colt's repeaters and a trusty knife. Come to this place. You will find plenty of soldiers' provisions and an organized company and a fraternal welcome. But come resolved to stay; come prepared for battle, for the government troops sent here to maintain peace and enforce the laws, neither can, nor will do anything for us. If you have a Marion among you, let him come to be our commander, and come quickly.

In haste, yours,

J. L. B.

We have also this morning, in a letter from Kansas, an account of a new wrong perpetrated by the free-soilers. The writer is a gentleman of Mobile, of great worth, and his statements are entirely worthy of confidence. The movements of the army, it will be seen, receive a due share of his censure.

DAILY HERALD.

A. HARRIS, A. W. FAIRBANKS, GEO. A. BENEDICT.

OFFICIAL CITY PAPER.

CLEVELAND:

Friday Evening, August 15, 1856.

That's the Talk!

There is one outspoken, honest supporter of Buck and Breck in Ohio, and his name is SAM LAHM, of Stark. It generally has the prefix "Hon." before it. He made the first speech in Ohio in 1848 against the Repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and in a recent speech in the Wayne County Court House, at a Buchanan meeting, he not only fully endorsed the Repeal of that Compromise and the Pierce Administration, but in the fulness of his zeal spoke right out what nineteen-twentieths of the Nigger Driving Democracy feel in their hearts. The Wooster Republican says:

This man Lahm being in very bad repute with the Slave Democracy of Wayne, thought he could best reinstate himself by taking the Douglas track—and so he endorsed the Kansas outrages in full, and even went so far (in his eagerness to give satisfaction) as to say that he "wished that every man who went to Kansas to make it a FREE STATE was hung as high as Haman, and if that were done then there would be peace and quiet in the country."

The Pierce-Buchanan orators and organs North and South virtually say as much by their acts. They are all apologists for or defenders of the Border Ruffians, who have hung men who went to Kansas to make it a Free State as high as Haman. LAHM boldly proclaims his fitness for fraternization with the Ruffians by words as well as acts. His unblushing avowal would now be a fit standing motto for the Plain Dealer, though it is still edited by the rampant, abolition-disunionist of 1848. Then this editor, however, was not troublled with the "rots of office."

The Daily Democrat.

ROCHESTER, N. Y.

FRIDAY MORNING, AUG. 15, 1856.

The Crime and the Criminals.

No more flagitious crimes, since the formation of the American Republic, have been perpetuated under its jurisdiction, than the long catalogue of atrocities in Kansas. The eminent rascals who led on and abetted the outrages upon the ballot-boxes, at several elections, murdered Free State men and desolated a thriving town, are now the controlling men in the Executive Department of the Government, and are besieging Congress for appropriations to pay the expenses of conquering Kansas for Slavery, by the employment of the Ruffians who still hang around the settlements. It will be but a small measure of the punishment they deserve to insert in the appropriation a clause expressly prohibiting the use of any money in enforcing the Border Ruffian laws enacted by a usurping Legislature in Kansas; and we are heartily rejoiced to see that the Republicans in the House of Representatives have shown a determination to insist upon such a provision. The Border Ruffian Democracy may call it unpatriotic, but it is the reverse. It is the only means left of paralyzing the arms of the tyrants who aim fratricidal blows at the Freemen of Kansas. They are ready to vote millions for any legitimate and useful purpose, but when the scoundrels who have devastated villages, murdered good citizens and usurped power, wait for the "spoils" promised them for their crimes, the Republican men-

bers of Congress are right in guarding their fellow citizens from the new oppressions which the Buchanan party would instigate, if plenty of money could be commanded to employ fresh hordes of ruffians from Missouri, South Carolina, &c. It was never intended that the President and his partizans should have in their hands the means of carrying on such a war as they have been prosecuting in Kansas, and such as they are still abetting. It is unsafe to the liberties of the people in all the States that it should be allowed to go on. The precedent is one of the most alarming character, and the Republicans have done a noble deed in placing upon record such a condemnation of the Buchanan party as is implied in this refusal to appropriate money to carry on the Border Ruffian war in Kansas.

Frederick Douglass' Paper.

"ALL RIGHTS FOR ALL!"

ROCHESTER, AUGUST 15, 1856.

For Frederick Douglass' Paper.
LETTER FROM ROBERT EVERETT.

REMSEN, Aug. 9, 1856.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS: DEAR SIR:—I thank you much for your generosity in sending me your valuable paper in exchange for my Welsh Mouthly, *Y Cenhador Americanaidd*, which, of course cannot benefit you, as it is published in a foreign tongue.

In your paper of August 1st, I perceive the following Editorial remark, in an article on friend John Thomas's letter: "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."

How greatly would I rejoice to see our Anti-Slavery movements shaped this way—all united for the same grand object—the entire abolition of Slavery from the land and the whole world. My dear Sir, I am an Abolitionist from the bottom of my heart, and have acted with the Abolitionists, from the commencement of our Anti-Slavery struggle, with a warm heart. But at the present time, seeing the danger Kansas is in, and through it, other Territories of the United States, and seeing the mighty effort put forth by the Republican party to ward off the blighting curse of Slavery from our free Territory, and the danger they are in of being overcome by the Administration pro-slavery party who have the power and purse, and arms, of the Republic, in a sense, at their command. See in all this; I feel it to be our solemn duty to come out and aid the Republican cause, by all the we can do in this their hour of need; believing as I do, that by securing Kansas and Nebraska for freedom, we shall do more to hasten the entire Abolition of Slavery from the whole land, than we can by any other movement at the present time.

I have a son in Kansas with his family, who is a conscientious and firm Abolitionist. He says, in a recent letter, in view of the present state of things: "Would that our good Abolition friends would lay aside everything else for the present, and aid the Republicans in casting their votes for free Kansas."

It would seem that the hand of the Lord is with us at this solemn crisis. The wrong and cruel movements in Kansas, the Ruffianism in our Senate Chamber, and the folly, as well as injustice, of our Administration, have served to arouse the whole land. Surely the wrath of

man praises Him. And the Lord has given us just the right-man for the occasion, as we may hope, in the person of John C. Fremont—an influence from on high, rest assured, dear Sir, has gone forth, and vibrates in the hearts of an awakened and injured people throughout the land. O then let all Abolitionists come to the rescue, and join in the commendable movement of putting an end for ever to the extension of Slavery in America.

Yours in Christian affection,
ROBERT EVERETT.

From The Free Presbyterian.
A REMINISCENCE.

MY DEAR BROTHER: Among the emigrants who lately left this place to swell the number of Free State settlers in Kansas was Henry Williams, a highly respected member of the Reformed Presbyterian Church. That you may know the kind of stuff he is made of, and whether he is the man for the times, I send you the following incident in his history which now for the first time is made public.

In the year 1826, Mr. Williams was returning to his home from a trip down the Ohio river, in company with two other persons. On the National Road, between Claysville and Wheeling, they met a man driving a coffee of slaves, all marching two abreast, their wrists tied together with strips of raw hide. The man rode a fine-looking horse and was armed with whip and pistols and the other implements of his trade. Two of the slave women had children in their arms; and as they lagged behind a little, the driver would give them a cut with his long whip to hurry them on, much after the fashion of a Western drover when the cows and calves don't keep up with the rest of the herd. Mr. Williams had often heard of human beings treated as slaves and driven to market in gangs like horses, but he had never till then witnessed such a scene. His whole soul was therefore roused into indignation at the sight, and, without a moment's hesitation, he proposed to his fellow-travellers that if they would stand beside him, he would release the poor heartbroken wretches, and give them their liberty. The slaves had been bought up for a plantation in Louisiana, and, having been dragged away from their friends and relatives, were overwhelmed with distress. Mr. Williams's companions, affected like himself with the heart-rending sight, instantly complied with his proposal, and promised to see him through. Williams then hailed the driver of the gang and asked him where he was bound for? "To Wheeling," was the reply. "What are you going to do with all these colored people that you have tied together?" "They are slaves," said the driver; "I am going to take them to Wheeling to ship them there for Louisiana." "But what right have you to do this? These people have as good a claim to their liberty as you have." By this time the gang had stopped, and were listening with deep emotion to the colloquy between their master and the travellers. "I bought these niggers in the neighborhood and paid my money for them," said the driver, "and I reckon I have the best right to them." "But," replied Williams, "you might as well buy me and take me away as these people. I say again, they have as good a right to their liberty as you have to yours—and they shall have it, too." With this he stepped forward and took the bridle reins of his horse and ordered the slave-driver to dismount. Instead of doing so, however, he drew from his holsters a large horse pistol and swore he would blow the brains out of any man who stopped him. "You need not shoot," said one of the other men, as he saw the slave-driver aim his pistol at Williams's head, "for you can only kill one man: and if you do, you had better say your last prayer, for you are a dead man." "Get off your horse," thundered Williams, in a tone which taught the slave-driver that he had met with ugly customers. "If you do, not a hair of your head shall be hurt; and be quick about it, for these poor creatures shall go free." "Being rather slow in the motion, the travellers held him off. One of the party took the

horse and hitched him to a tree hard by, and the other two removed the kidnapper to a sapling on the other side of the road. Here they removed his neck-handkerchief, and, having made a rope of it, tied his hands behind him and around the sapling. Williams then took out his knife, and, having cut the raw hide thongs which bound the slaves together, said to them, "Now put to your scrapers, my good fellows, and no more than two go together. And you," addressing himself to a couple of stout, active men, "take care of these women and children." The slaves, with a look of gratitude never to be forgotten, and with an "alacrity" truly Websterian, obey the orders and dash off into the woods like a flock of sheep.

Mr. Williams then went to the driver with the sapling at his back, and, after a brief abolition lecture, told him to halloo to the first decent-looking traveller that came along, who would untie him and let him go on his way rejoicing. Bidding him farewell, the travellers pursued their journey towards Pittsburgh, where in due time they arrived. They then separated, and Mr. Williams went to his home, some miles from the city.

In a few weeks after, having business at Pittsburgh, Mr. Williams stopped at a hotel, and, while waiting for dinner, took up one of the newspapers and in it read a prominent advertisement, offering a large reward for the apprehension of the twenty-two negroes, and especially the three "ruffians" who liberated them. An accurate description was given of the "ringleader," his looks and particularly his dress. Mr. Williams read the advertisement with considerable interest, but of course said nothing. He listened to the remarks made by different persons in regard to the matter, some few approving and others not; but never breathed a word of it to a human being, not even to his own wife, for many years afterwards. I almost forgot to say that the advertisement stated the fact that all the slaves made their escape but two, probably the poor women, with their children. Could the fact of the rescue have been proven, it might have cost the parties their property and their liberty, for at that time Abolitionists were rather scarce in the country. They therefore wisely heard what people had to say of the act, but kept the secret to themselves.

Last Winter, Mr. Williams, being confined to his room by sickness, sent me word that he would like me to go over and sit a few hours with him. I did so, and, during the interview, he gave me the substance of what I have written. As it was a "Jerry Rescue" which antedates the one at Syracuse by more than a score of years, I, in admiration of the heroic act, done at such a time, and such a place, and under such circumstances, have rescued it from oblivion, and given it to your readers.

The Republican.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.
FRIDAY MORNING, AUGUST 15, 1856.

The Administration and Kansas.

The contradictory reports from Washington, this week, of the determination of the administration as to the release of the state prisoners in Kansas and the removal of its tyrannical judges and Marshal Donaldson, indicate faithfully the indecision and conflicting purposes that prevail in its councils. It seems to have been determined to order both the release of the prisoners and the removal of the chief instruments in the wickedness inflicted on the people of the territory, but under a pressure from the ultra slavery party in the contrary direction, this purpose was abandoned or postponed. The executive dare not go forward and carry out the damnable persecutions it has initiated against the settlers in Kansas; nor can it, safely to the interests of slavery, whose cause it espouses, go back. The House meantime is pressing it with a full sense of the responsibility it has assumed before the country, determined at least that it shall be deprived of the means of further persecution.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 15, 1856.

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE NON-SLAVE-HOLDING STATES.

To you I wish to address myself—to the people—the whole people;—the merchant prince who enjoys, and rightfully, his well earned wealth—the minister who daily preaches and practices the doctrines and precepts of the Man of Peace,—the honest farmer whose independence requires of him to look to no hand for bounty or favor, save that of God,—to the hard working mechanic—to the humblest domestic and menial,—you constitute that great and august sovereign, the people, and to you I approach. I come not arrogantly to dictate to your will—I come not as a supplicant to beg your mercy, but as an equal and as a friend, as a joint heir with you of the liberty and blessings which your fathers and mine bequeath to us all—and I ask that you will meet me and let us reason together.

May I not approach you as friends? In the dark days that tried men's souls, Georgia, it is true, was the Benjamin of that gallant band of states—nor was she ashamed to acknowledge, but rather rejoiced when Judah proved to be lion of the tribe, and extended to her his protecting arm. When domestic discord had invaded the family fireside, and a disruption of the ties, cemented by the holy blood of that struggle is threatened, from whom can the words of peace more properly come than from this youngest brother of the old thirteen? Listen, then while a voice from Georgia speaks words which he trusts may prove at least one drop of oil upon this angry ocean. But who speaks, and by what right? I claim no right but that of every citizen, and I speak by no authority. To the other interrogatory let me say first, what I am not—second, what I am. I am no politician—never having made a political speech, or written a political article, or run for, or held a political office since I have been a freeman, nor in any other manner interfered with the troubled sea of politics. I need hardly add, therefore, that I do not speak now as a partisan of either of the presidential candidates before you. I am no ultraist, or enthusiast—and can, and do, see where passion and prejudice are substituted for reason and reflection, on either side of Mason and Dixon's line. I am, or trust I am, a devoted lover of my country—my whole country. I do not pretend to know "no north—no south"—for we deceive ourselves if we suppose we can entirely divest ourselves of the prejudices attendant upon birth and education. Yet I was taught in my earliest years to revere the Union as the greatest political blessing secured by the wise and great men of '76. I have studied its history—I have admired its almost magical strides to peace and power among the kingdoms of the earth—I have discerned, with overwhelming gratitude, the finger of Providence guiding its progress at critical junctures, until my spirit has yielded ready assent to the belief that this mighty giant has been cradled and nurtured by Omnipotence for the execution of some nobler enterprise—in the great work of human progress—than by its suicidal self-destruction to add another witness to the instability of popular governments. I profess to be an humble follower (though I fear afar off) of the Great Master whose coming was heralded as the harbinger of peace and good will to all men, who taught us to go to our brother "seventy times seven" times with words of kindness and remembrance, however grievous may be the offence, before having recourse to harsher means. I am a simple citizen, in whose eyes there are no charms in any political office within the gift of the people or government of this Union—and all this egoism I have spread out before you to justify a single conclusion—(in order that I might gain your ear). I am a disinterested speaker, so far as personal objects or motives are concerned, but a deeply interested witness so far as the great fact, the peace and continuance of our common country is involved.

And now what have I to say. The solemn fact exists, and it is folly to close our eyes to its existence, that, for the first time in the history of our country, the fate of the Union depends upon the result of a single appeal to the ballot box. Politicians and political newspapers have announced "a crisis" so often that the cry of "wolf!" ceases to bring the desired aid—but a glance will satisfy any reasonable man that the issue now is immense. The northern party—who seek power avowedly from only the free states—have announced that a defeat at the ballot box must be a signal for arms. The south have spoken as decidedly—nay more so. The success of the northern sectionalists puts the south, as she conceives, beyond the pale of the Union. Can it be otherwise? Would you submit to a government placed in power, avowedly, by a majority without asking your aid and

for the purpose of proscribing you? The bond of union among the "republicans" is a single principle—"no more slave territory"—irrespective of the wants and wishes of the people, and regardless of the nature of the climate or soil. In other words, their success is to say to the south—"Thus far and no farther shalt thou go." Hemmed in by a boundary which may in time prove a wall of fire, you shall "sting yourself and die." Friends! The blood of '76 has not yet become degenerate enough to forget the difference between liberty and slavery.

Mark me—I do not say, nor undertake to determine at whose door lays the responsibility for the present state of things. The north says the south has violated her plighted faith, and set at naught a solemn compact. The south replies so long as that compact favored us you refused to acknowledge its binding force, and only when it operated in your favor did it excite your devotion and zeal. Into this discussion I enter not. Let either one be right. Is it a sufficient reason for dissolving this Union—for tearing down our noble inheritance and burying it in blood? But "border ruffians," you say, have invaded the sanctity of the freeman's home—have violated the purity of the ballot box—have committed robbery and murder in open day, and have driven from common territory, by force and iniquitous legislation, the free settler, to make way for the slave. The south replies that you provoked her interference by organizing societies to colonize this soil, and thereby forestall those natural laws of population which, left to themselves, would have quietly and surely have carried to Kansas that class of citizens which her climate and soil demanded. That her hot-blooded sons only took from your emigrants those weapons of death which a misguided and fanatical zeal had placed in their hands for evil. That the attempted assassination of the officers of the law by your emigrants, placed them without protection from the law and threw them upon the rights of self defence. Again, I decline to enter on this discussion. It is not for me "inter has lites componere." Let either be right. Let Kansas be a slave state and that by fraud and violence. It would be a sad commentary upon our institutions—but would it justify a dissolution of the Union? Is the evil to be endured so great that all the blessings of our government are to be sacrificed—and for what? To bathe Kansas in blood. I forbear to look farther into the consequences. But while I accord to you an honest belief that your version of this matter is right, ought you not to grant equal honesty to the south in their convictions and belief? But I hear again—"Liberty of speech has been invaded. The sacredness of the senate chamber, and the privileges of a great state through her representative have been violated. The success of the republicans will avenge this wrong." Again I decline to decide between you. I shall neither accuse nor defend Mr Brooks. It is one side of my object. But tell me—if it were granted that no provocation was given, and that the attack was as base and heinous as some of you believe and say—does it not pass all human belief and comprehension that, because a southern hotspur committed an unwarranted assault upon an offending northern senator, two great states—like South Carolina and Massachusetts—should let loose the dogs of war, and a majority of the north, in order to reprieve the assailant, should consent to endanger the peace and stability of the noble government under which we have all become drunken with liberty?

But I have heard within a few days past, when sojourning as a quiet listener in your midst, many of you express rather a wish that the Union might be dissolved—in fact, announce that it was dissolved already—and in this feeling, I am free to confess, many of the south concur. How came this result? By what means has this bitterness of feeling been engendered? Review our history and what has north or south been guilty of to justify such mutual hatred? Viewed from that height where noble patriotism should bear us, what miserable, contemptible mites do those acts become which zealots and partisans have magnified into mountains! You speak of the south as bullies and ruffians—as proud aristocrats—a sneering oligarchy. The south speak of you as heartless tyrants, seeking to crush by your superior numbers—as busy meddlers in matters for which you are not responsible, and in which you have no right to interfere—as envious hypocrites, making a mask of religion and liberty to cover baser passions. How unjust are you both! And yet how many in both sections of the country are honest in these opinions! The misfortune is, that though of one blood and one country, we are ignorant of each other, and hence judge harshly and unjustly. Unfortunately, too, for us all, at each end of this chain of states may be found unprincipled men who, to attain a fleeting fame and a temporary power, find it easier to become the idol of the hour by pandering to the ignorant prejudices of a too credulous constituency. Few who seek popular applause have the courage and patriotism to battle for the right against the waves of passion, and hence those who should lead the popular mind, vie with each other in the race to be most con-

spicuous on that current, which prejudice and ignorance have set in motion.

Is this picture true? Go to your hustings and hear how words of soberness are received, while violent harangues are responded to by cheers that rend the skies. Come to ours, and see how honest men that dare to do you justice are charged with treason to their homes and firesides. Were we all but better informed about each other, these results could not be brought about. The isolated acts upon which public harangues are based, and from which sweeping conclusions are drawn, would be viewed in their true lights, as but exceptions to a general national character—noble, proud, virtuous and just. Trade and railroads and telegraphs are rapidly giving us this mutual information, and the result is, as we all know, that where this intercommunication is greatest, there sectional prejudices are at the lowest ebb. Arrest, then, only for a time, the suicidal blow now threatened to our common country, and when in the providence of God the people of this whole nation shall come to know themselves, we will all shudder at the recollection of the dangerous abyss upon whose verge we stood, and bless the memory of those conservative men who, rising above the fury of the present storm, saw clearly the haven of safety for our glorious ship of state.

What then is our duty as citizens of this great republic? Certainly it must be, first, to pause and consider what is the natural result of the course of conduct we propose to pursue. Next, to inquire whether 'tis better to bear the ills we have, or fly to others that we know not of; and, finally, honestly to investigate whether or not we have not magnified our present grievances, and have taken upon trust and as true many things which a proper inquiry would show to be false.

The object of this communication is to urge you to pause and reflect. At another time I may ask of your patience for another hearing upon the two latter inquiries. You may disagree with me as to the line of duty—you may smile at my alarm for our common country—you may doubt my sincerity in this appeal to you. To this alone I enter my protest. Honesty of conviction and honesty of purpose are all I claim. These admitted, judge for yourselves of what I say.

GEORGIA.

The Atlas.

FRIDAY MORNING, AUGUST 15, 1856.

Kansas Correspondence of the Atlas.
A NEW HAMPSHIRE POSTMASTER LEARNING THE "PACKS."

LAWRENCE, Kansas, July 31, 1856.

To the Editor of the Atlas:
The following letter was read at the supper table of the Cincinnati House this evening:[Directed to postmaster and marked "free."]
"Post Office, _____, N. H.,"
July 5, '56.

Postmaster Lawrence Kansas Dr sir Will you please write me if there is a democratic paper published in your town or city if so please write me so I may send for one. Wee have hindooism and abolitionism here that wee have to contend with but will lay it all on this coming November I want a paper from there to git the packs rather than the misrepresentation of the doings (?) of the Country will your Honor fail not to answer me with regard to the paper.

I am Sir your obt Servant

Asst Postmaster _____, N. H."

What has become of the railroads and telegraphs over your way, my dear young man, that you are not better posted? You are behind the tactics of your leaders. Prick him up, Col. George! read him John J. Crittenden's remarks in the Senate; read him Toombs's tactics, if he will bear so sudden a waking after so long a sleep.

My dear young man, what is Hindooism? Have there been any battles in Asia? What is Hindooism in New Hampshire? Kill it, for gracious goodness sake! You have Abolitionism there? Sorry we can't do anything for you; we have as much as we can do to look out for white men in Kansas. It's an awful place here, my dear boy—no joking about that. They kill Democrats here. I haven't seen one for many a day. (The officials keep close, and I haven't been among the mob.) My dear boy, if you mean that you are going to lay the friends of Kansas on the shelf, be very careful not to over-kill yourself. If you should find your bundle a "live elephant," don't let him step on you.

But not to trifle with your feelings—you didn't seriously suppose that the Border Ruffians had set up a Democratic press in place of the presses they destroyed, did you? I will enlighten you on Kansas affairs. There are four Democratic papers in Kansas, or papers supporting James Buchanan—one at Leecompton,

the Leecompton Union; one at Kickapoo, the Kickapoo Pioneer; one at Atchison, the Squatter Sovereign; one at Leavenworth, the Leavenworth Herald. I will try to get these and send them to you—I am not answering your letter officially, I am only “following the copy.” I should not dare to go to Leecompton, as I am known there: I should not dare to go to Kickapoo or Atchison—they might discover that I was a Free State man, and it has been many a day since a man could go into these two last towns as a Free State man: I could go to Leavenworth;—I will forward these, or get some one to do it. But then you say at the same time, that you want a paper to “get the facts.” Now these papers are opposed, in politics, to the people, or in favor of the despotism that has been placed over us. They are the organs of that system, of which Atchison is at the head, Pierce and Shannon the blocks, and Donaldson, Jones, Titus and others are the executors. We have had papers here that spoke the voice of the people.—The Territorial Register was a Democratic paper, an Administration paper: its editor was an Alabamian. It spoke for the people, and down it came, and the people sent the editor to Congress. The Free State, edited and published by Southern men, who came to Kansas to be free, and the Herald of Freedom, edited by a Pennsylvanian, spoke the voice of the people, and the “law” vindicated itself. We have one press going—the Tribune; one of its editors, an Ohioan, hunted out of the country and now a refugee; the other, from Wisconsin, still on hand. I think another press has just been started at Osawatimie. But these papers cannot be depended on, as you will see by the papers I send you, that Free State men, whether from the North or from the South, or of whatever politics, will lie. You have a mistaken idea of Kansas. You cannot suppose that things have run riot here for two years—Missouri mobs devastating the country; winked at by Government; and that any one here, but a man opposed to the Free State citizens of Kansas, is an upholder of a system that has touched every man in his person or in his property. Why, sir, Wm. T. Roberts, our Lieutenant Governor, has left that clique. He clung to it, honestly, until he was kicked out. Lane, Delahay, Reeder, Parrott, and Holiday have left it;—every body has left it here. You can’t find ten men in Kansas, who are in favor of making Kansas a free State—and of the regular population these comprise from 70 to 80 out of every hundred—who call themselves by that name. Here, as in the revolution, as in all trying times, “those who are not for us are against us.”

As the papers insisted on making Fremont a Catholic, whether he would or no, (as though the question had any thing to do with that,) so they have insisted that a Free State man could not be a Democrat, whether he would or no, (and so he could not when the “Democratic” party “removed the ancient landmarks.”)

Yours,
THERMOPYLEAN.

WASHINGTON MATTERS.—The correspondent of the Tribune writes:

Mr. Campbell was opposed to the proviso in the Appropriation bill, on the ground that he knew the State prisoners in Kansas would not be convicted. This announcement was a bomb-shell that threw confusion into the ranks of the South. Smith of Virginia, couldn’t believe the President had stooped to communicate any such intelligence. Seward, of Georgia, thought if the President liberated those prisoners at this particular time, after they had been confined four months, it was in mighty bad taste.

Messrs. Campbell, Kunkel, Cumback, Galloway, Giddings, and Grow, severally contributed spicy speeches.

The book appropriation, stricken out by the Senate, was again added, and several private bills were passed.

There is a report current that the President and Cabinet have been in session today, and five were in favor of removing Judges Leecompton and Cate and releasing the Free State prisoners of Kansas, and three against it.

The House concurred, by 97 against 90, in the amendment substituting Mr. Pennington’s amendment, offered yesterday, that no money be drawn until the treason cases be dismissed, for a similar one which the Senate had stricken out.

The House disagreed by 5 majority to the Senate amendment, restoring the appropriation of \$20,000 for the expenditures of the future Legislature of Kansas.

The House then concurred, by 7 majority, in an amendment similar to the one stricken out by the Senate, preventing expenditure for arresting, prosecuting or retaining persons charged with treason, and other political offences, growing out of the action of the Legislature of Kansas in the Topeka Convention.

DAILY ADVERTISER.

BOSTON:

SATURDAY MORNING, AUG. 15, 1856.

We have received a letter from a gentleman who was present with Dr. Smith in Kansas, and who explains the circumstances which led him to give currency to a caution with regard to Kansas subscriptions. We have never doubted Dr. Smith’s sincerity in what he said, but the whole point of what we have remarked lies in the fact that at the time Dr. Smith wrote, the money subscribed here, both to the Faneuil Hall Committee, and to the State Committee, had not been forwarded—it was all lying in the committee’s treasuries, and accordingly it is impossible that any of this money could at that time have miscarried. Since that date the committee have taken such pains, that they know that all that they have disbursed has reached its legitimate and intended destination. Our correspondent states that the conversations had by himself and Dr. Smith with persons in Kansas related to funds raised prior to the destruction of the Free State Hotel. That event happened on the 21st of May; while the Faneuil Hall meeting at which the first committee was appointed to raise subscriptions for Kansas, was not held until the 3d of June, two weeks afterwards. None of the money raised here by that committee, could possibly have reached Kansas until the middle of June. It is not possible therefore that the apprehension or allegation of misapplication of funds can lie against those raised by either of these committees. The State Committee was not appointed until after the Faneuil Hall committee.

Our correspondent states in conclusion that it is not his wish, nor does he think it is that of Dr. Smith, to deter any persons from subscribing, but merely to counsel caution in selecting the channels through whom they transmit their contributions.

From Washington.

PROHIBITION OF THE TREASON PROSECUTIONS.

The following is the amendment to the bill making appropriations for the legislative executive and judicial expenses of the government, which was adopted by the House on Wednesday, on motion of Mr. Pennington, after the return of the bill from the Senate:—

“Prohibited. That no part of the money appropriated by this act for the Territory of Kansas shall be drawn from the treasury or paid out of any other appropriation made by Congress until every person charged with treason against the United States, or other offence founded upon any participation of such person in the formation of the Constitution known as the Topeka constitution, or any measure preparatory thereto or in pursuance thereof, or in the body, claiming to be the legislature of said Territory convened at Topeka, or any measure preparatory thereto or in pursuance thereof, or any violation or disregard whatever of any enactment of the alleged legislative assembly of said Territory recently assembled at Shawnee-Mission, shall be released from confinement and discharged from further prosecution therefore: but nothing contained in this proviso shall be so construed as to prevent the indictment, arrest, prosecution, punishment, or detention, in or by any court of the United States in said Territory, of any person who shall have violated any provision of any act of Congress in the commission of any offence against person or property in said Territory.”

Mr. Pennington stated that he had drawn the amendment carefully, with a view to avoid all constitutional questions. It presented the simple question whether the House would appropriate money to execute the laws which had been passed by the bogus Territorial legislature of Kansas, and whether these indictments for treason, in which there was not the slightest foundation, were to be prosecuted at the expense of the government, by money appropriated by the House of Representatives.

A hint for quickening the subscription in aid of Kansas from a member of the State Committee whose name, if we mentioned it, would command great influence, will be found on the second page. We have obtained recent and reliable reports from the Territory which have more fully impressed us with the importance of continuing the subscriptions with generous hand. We shall recur to this subject at an early day.

THE UNION AND EASTERN JOURNAL.

FRIDAY MORNING, AUG. 15, 1856.

For the Union & Eastern Journal.

KANSAS SONG.

By JULIA B. WHITING.

Airs, “Over the mountain wave.”

Over the prairies fair,
Bolly they come,
Danger and toil to share,
Leave they their home,
Yet where the foe-man’s foot,
Treadeth the soil,
There their song, deep and strong,
Sounded abroad,
CHORUS: Freemen and yeomen strong,
Hither we come,
Where the free, love to be,
Seek we a home.

Kansas has verdant plains,
Blooming so bright,
Many a happy home,
Filled with love-light
Here shall the bondman’s cry,
Echo his pain?
Shall his cries pierce the skies,
Ever again?

CHORUS: Pilgrims and yeomen strong, &c.

Dark grows the future now,
Still on we go,
Firmly and trustingly,
Fearing no foe,
Yet every joyous heart,
Raiseth the song,
Now its notes o’er us float,
Pealing along.

CHORUS: Pilgrims and yeomen strong, &c.

Fame’s quickly fading wreath,
Ne’er may we gain,
Nought may be ours but grief,
Sorrow and pain,
Yet while our hands are strong,
Hearts brave will be,
While our song peals along,
High-toned and free.

CHORUS: Pilgrims and yeomen strong, &c.

From the Cleveland Leader.

OHIO ABLAZE!

The Gathering at Dayton.

ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND YOUNG MEN IN COUNCIL!!

DAYTON, Wednesday morning, July 30.

The morning breaks with promise. The skies are slightly overcast, just enough to check the violence of the sun, without indicating rain. Although it is yet early in the morning, still the people are already pouring along all the roads leading from the country. The principal streets of the city are already thronged. The people come with banners, with music, and with enthusiasm. Hundreds of banners and lettered canvasses are also hung out by the citizens of Dayton, from their public buildings, private residences, and across their streets. From the multitude of sentiments emblazoned upon the banners and canvasses, we copy these: “Fremont and Dayton, Freedom of Speech and of the Free Press.” “Fremont and Dayton, Free Kansas and Liberty.” “Free Speech, Free Labor, Free Kansas and Fremont.” “For Fremont the Ragged Boy.” “No More Slave Territory.” “The Pathfinder, Our Choice.” “Fremont and Dayton, and the Union Forever.” On a monster United States Flag, suspended between the Phillips House and the Court House, by the Republicans of the town of

Fremont, is inscribed, "Friends of Freedom, Welcome to Fremont, Wednesday, August 6, 1856." To make mention of the hundreds of appropriate and often *cute* pictures and sentiments displayed upon the banners swinging from the carriages and horses that are pouring through the streets, would take altogether too much room.

The indications are that this is to be a very triumphant meeting, in all particulars. Men are here from all sections of the country. Burlingame came in on the night express from Columbia. Cassius M. Clay spoke in Butler county last evening, and will come with the delegation from that county this morning. Other distinguished speakers have arrived—and several speeches will be going on at the same hour, in both English and German, from different stands that have been erected at different points.

TWELVE O'CLOCK, NOON.

All the promise of the morning has been more than realized. It is estimated that at least ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND people have come to this gathering—mostly Young men! "Young America" was never out in such might before!—and it could not rally in a cause more worthy of its young and generous enthusiasm. The procession, miles in length, is now marching and countermarching through the streets.

It is led by three hundred young men on horseback, from the county of Green. They bear at their head the Stars and Stripes, with the inscription—"Young America goes for Fremont and Dayton." In a large carriage, were thirty laughing, Buckeye Girls, each bearing a banner with the name of one of the States. A young man on horseback carried the banner inscribed KANSAS, draped in black. On a large platform, drawn by six horses, were mechanics, at work at their general trades—and aloft a banner inscribed—"We do not work for ten cents a day." But I have not time, before the leaving of the train, for details. Everybody is astonished at the overwhelmingly triumphant character of the first gathering of the Young Men of Ohio. No man who is in Dayton to-day, will longer doubt Fremont's election. Never before were the American people so earnestly determined upon any purpose. The glorious YOUNG MEN have taken hold of this work, and they will put it through! When Freedom and Fremont can muster One Hundred Thousand Young Men at the first call, it is time for Border Ruffianism to make its will and send for the Sexton.

After the procession, which is now moving, shall reach the place of meeting, a delegation of Young Men from Indiana, who personify the "Border Ruffians," are to move through the streets in [the following order:

- 1st. His Satanic Majesty leading his earthly army.
- 2d. Pierce and his Cabinet in a boat.
- 3d. Buchanan and Breckenridge.
- 4th. Fillibusters—led by Walker.
- 5th. Honest advocates of the Nebraska bill—led by Cass.
- 6th. Free State Settlers of Kansas.
- 7th. Border Ruffians—led by Atchison, Stringfellow & Co.
- 8th. Tarring and Feathering Free State men on a wagon.
- 9th. Slave auction on a wagon.
- 10th. Slave Driving.

- 11th. Border Ruffian Band of Music.
- 12th. Buford's Crowd.
- 13th. Broken Free Press, editor gagged, tarred and feathered, and hung.
- 14th. Free State officers in Chains:
- 15th. Wagon of plundered goods.
- 16th. U. S. Cannon.
- 17th. Donaldson's posse—led by Shannon.
- 18th. Slaves under U. S. authority.
- 19th. The Brooks and Sumner affair.
- 20th. Brigham Young and wives.
- 21st. The mighty Douglas.
- 22d. The Congressional Investigating Committee. "BELIAL" Marshal.

5 O'CLOCK, P. M.—About one o'clock the Border Ruffians, undaunted by the rain, turned out, and excited what might be called a sensation. A more hideous spectacle than they presented was never witnessed. First marched the Devil, a big, black devil, with hoofs, horns, tail and ears, next a wagon, with Pierce and his Cabinet, a collection of frightful caricatures of humanity, with various labels, then marched a fantastic group, looking like a company of baboons dressed in a mixture of Chinese and Indian costumes, and playing soldiers. They out-earthquaked the "Earthquakes." Some of them had swords ten feet long and marched headlong, giving all manner of orders and throwing themselves into uncouth postures. The field officers were mounted on asses. The allegorical group were arranged on platforms, so fixed as to rest on wood wagons. It would take more spare time than we can give to describe even one of these with particularity. The Border Ruffian music was not, we think, of a kind likely to "soothe the savage breast" if that concord of sounds which we are in the habit of calling music has that effect, for it was unearthly. Imagine an old fashioned serenade, with tin horns, and tin pans, and bells and drums, mingled with the hooting of owls, and you have something like it. Nothing could have been more like the tumult than may be expected when the junction of the Western poet—

Sound the hew-zag;
Whack the Dum-buzzy,
Beat the ton-ju,
Let the big Hoganna ring,
And miscellaneous things rip generally,

is obeyed. On one platform the operations of tarring and feathering a Free-State man was in progress. On another, a man in a cage typified the Free State prisoners confined on a charge of treason. The uniforms worn were ridiculous enormities—caps six feet high, coats of "many colors" and extraordinarily cut, belts adorned with weapons of Border Ruffian warfare, and transparencies with remarks of the "won't submit" and the "we'll subdue" parties, were among the features. Wherever this grotesque, picturesque, and certainly high figurative, array passed, the populace rushed out of their houses, made wondering observations, and laughed to the extent of their capacity for laughter.

Evening Telegraph.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, AUG. 15, 1856.

FROM WASHINGTON.

WASHINGTON, Aug 14. The Democrats anticipate that a sufficient number of the Republicans will secede for practical purposes from the Kansas restrictive amendments to the appropriation bills, while on the contrary the Republicans declare they will continue in solid phalanx without wavering.

The Navy Appropriation bill has been finally acted upon by both houses. It appropriates about \$15,000,000.

The mileage and per diem due to Gov. Reeder amounts to a little over \$4000.

The Salem Gazette.

FRIDAY MORNING, AUGUST 15, 1856.

FREE AND SLAVE LABOR. Col Lane of Kansas, thus illustrates the relation of the two sorts of labor which are now the question before the country. He says he was going down the Ohio once on a flat boat in company with a carpenter. The latter wished to get work in Kentucky, and going on shore they stopped at the door of a planter. "My dear fellow," said the planter to Col. Lane's companion, drawing himself up with his fingers in the arm holes of his waistcoat, "I would like to hire you, but the truth is, I bought two carpenters yesterday."

Morning Chronicle.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 15, 1856.

BORDER LIFE.

A correspondent of the Boston Traveller, writing August 1, 15 miles from Nebraska City, says;—

We would respectfully ask every freeman to read the above statement. He will see, if he does so, what kind of popular or squatter sovereignty rules in Kansas. He will see Douglass and Atchison's great principle carried out there, exactly as it is by the Brooks and Bludgeon and Butler league in Washington. And then, if he sees fit, he can go and vote and labor to let these men, and such as these, rule the nation.

Vermont Patriot.

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

MONTPELIER:

FRIDAY MORNING, AUGUST 15, 1856.

Speech of Senator Toombs, of Georgia.

We present below an extract from a speech delivered in the Senate of the United States, on the 2nd of July, by Hon. Mr. Toombs. The speech was a sort of supplement to the one made by the gentleman on presenting his Pacification Bill to the Senate. The extract which we publish refers principally to Kansas, and happily indicates the honorable designs of Mr. Toombs and the supporters of his bill, towards that unfortunate country. The eloquent vindication of Mr. Pierce's administration will be admired by every candid reader:

"Now, in regard to Kansas, we have said

to all the earth, to all the race of Adam who have white skins, no matter where born, whether under free or despotic institutions—no matter whether in America, Asia, or Europe, if they claim kindred of color and race—'Come, here is a broad and fair land, with room enough for all of us, stretching from the Atlantic to the far-off Rocky Mountains, with countless millions of fertile lands ready to support all the distressed, all the famishing of all creeds, of all nations; come, make it your home; come, men of Massachusetts, if you have been a laboring slave, toiling for inadequate factory wages, come buy one hundred and sixty acres of Land, and if you have not the money to pay for it we will trust you.—Here are fair fields, only waiting for the plow; here are abundant forests; here are running brooks; here are pleasant places, with none to make you afraid; come, participate in this gift of God and wisdom, and make just such institutions as a majority of you choose to adopt.

This is the great wrong we have done.—We have told the men of the South, we have told the men of the North, we have told the descendants of Jefferson, we have told the descendants of Greene, we have told the descendants of all the patriots of all the States who won this Territory by the common blood and common treasure, to come, to enjoy this fair land, to enjoy it in peace, to enjoy it in republican equality; we have said to the men of the North, 'Bring your little property, whatever it is, or, if it is nothing, bring your labor.' We said to the men of the South, 'Bring your flocks and your herds, your man-servants and your maid-servants; if you have none of these, bring your labor.' We have said, 'Select your own place; we will survey it and give it to you at a moderate price, and perhaps for no price at all; we will make your roads and bridges; we will make it a pleasant place for you to live in, we will provide for you until you are able to take care of yourselves; and when you shall have grown strong enough we will give you the pearl above all price in this world—entry into this great family of free, sovereign, independent States as an equal.' We said, 'Determine your institutions for yourselves; we impose but one condition, and that is one which applies to every State of the Union—that your constitution shall be republican.' This is the only wrong we have done. We shut out no Massachusetts man. We told no citizen of New York that he should not go there. We did not prescribe what property he should take. We told the Virginian, the Carolinian, the Georgian, as well as the men from the North, 'Go, take whatever you have got; live, prosper, labor, benefit your own condition; and, when you come into the Union, make whatever institutions you please.' This is the crime—the only crime—we have committed against humanity or the human race.

Well, sir, certain persons in Massachusetts, in New York, and in the West, not accepting this glorious boon in the spirit in which it was offered, took into their heads not to seek their own good, but, affecting to be concerned about humanity, and instigated by demons who wanted power at all hazards, accepted, not the offer of the government, but the offer of traitors, to make war and not peace, to seek political power and not personal benefits; and so went out to make Kansas a free State: they were confident, overbearing, unjust; they were taught to despise their fellow citizens from a different section, and having different institutions; and they were foolish enough to believe what they were told—that they would be an easy conquest by force—that Sharpe's rifles would settle the Territory in their favor. It does not seem to have turned out that way. *Hinc lachrymæ!* Upon this discovery the whole tactics were changed.—These imbecile, cowardly slaveholders suddenly became terrible 'border ruffians,' 'the conquerors and oppressors of these peaceable friends of liberty! The shrieks for freedom now rend the air, and the whole North is called to the rescue. The free-soilers admit that they are tired of force—tired of the trial by battle. I again offer

them the original proposition in the Kansas bill—trial by the ballot-box. That was my policy then and now. I intended to maintain it, whatever might be the determination of Kansas; and I intend to do it now. I recollect making that declaration to the Senator from New York at the passage of the Kansas bill, and when I made it he told me that I should not be here to vote on that question. Sir, by the blessing of God and the will of my constituents, I am here to redeem that pledge. I am here to give that very vote from which he shrinks to-night. I am here to give that very vote which he is unwilling to meet on the principles he has laid down. He asks us to accept a constitution made by about one thousand seven hundred and fifty people, without law, without authority of any sort, against law, in rebellion and resistance to law. He is willing to take the work of one thousand seven hundred and fifty men last August—nearly a year ago; and under that constitution the people have no right to call a convention for its amendment before the expiration of nine years. He is willing that one thousand seven hundred and fifty men shall not only bind the seven thousand voters shown to be in Kansas a year ago by the exhibit of the ballot-box, but that they shall bind all that shall go there for nine years to come. Why is this? It is not just. Simply because their opinions conform to those of the Senator from New York on the subject of slavery. When he affirmed that this constitution represented the will of the people of Kansas, I know he did not believe it, and it is now shown by his votes. He is willing to take that as an expression of public opinion which is in conformity with his own, and not because it is the public will. He is unwilling to test this question, and let the people determine the question for themselves. The political party of abolitionists to whom he belongs not only desire to govern Massachusetts, to govern New York, to govern the free States, but to govern Kansas and the honest people throughout the country, everywhere; whereas we, 'the slave power,' this omnipotent and all-pervading influence, as is falsely charged, come up as a solid body, and appeal to the people who go to the ballot-box, and let the free white men settle the question. That is the wish of the 'slaveocracy,' this 'slave power' that taunts you to-night with unwillingness to meet them on the great principle that white men should govern themselves. I stand here as their representative to speak for them. Seven millions of them will echo the sentiment I utter to-night. You are unwilling to respond to it; you do not want to. You wish to excite prejudice. We will put the naked question, not to the slave power, but to the free white men of Kansas who are twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States. By what title do you claim to govern such men? Who made you their masters? Not God, nor the Constitution, and no other power can do it.

The honorable Senator from New Hampshire has told us that he is not legislating for the Ethiopian; that he is not advocating his rights, but those of the Saxon race.—Then let him give the Saxon race their inalienable rights, and give them now. The Senator from New York wishes his Topeka free-soilers to make for Kansas a constitution *tunc pro nunc*, and not only for now, but for nine years to come. Why should those who were in Kansas a year ago make a constitution for the present inhabitants? On what principle should they make one, unless they have to-day a majority? I offer this high principle to the majority. I offer a fair mode of ascertaining the majority. If you, a majority, wish to exclude slavery, do so; I offer you the right, if you have the power. If such be your determination, the 'slave power' will maintain it, but upon no other terms. I propose to give you all the power of the laws, and all the military power of the United States. I propose to give you five disinterested men, pledged by the President, who is vouched for by the honorable and distinguished Senator from Michigan; pledged by this honorable body, the

representatives of sovereigns, to be a fair commission. No minority ever received such assurances of the integrity and fair dealing of any measure in the history of this government, from 1789 to this time.—We have gone almost to the point of humiliation. When you assign as a reason that the President of the United States is not to be trusted, I tell you that you are giving a pretext and not a reason. You have aspersed him; you claim a constitutional right to libel, vilify, and falsely accuse any man; and the Senate, in a judgement against law and the constitution, has seemed to favor this base assumption. But you have failed to establish aught, except devotion to justice and the constitution, against the President.

Who is the President that you choose thus to denounce here in the Senate, because of the impunity offered to your senatorial character? He is the son of a man who, throughout the whole revolutionary war, fought for the liberties you are betraying. He himself, upon his arrival at early manhood, was carried by his native State into the public councils, and made the speaker of her legislature. At the earnest demand of his fellow citizens, he was transferred to the House of Representatives of the United States. After spending there long years of honorable service—broad, national, catholic in his principles and in his votes—he was transferred to the Senate of the United States by the almost unanimous voice of the people of New Hampshire. He was kept there until his own love of retirement and want of ambition induced him to retire to the peaceful shades of the home of his patriot ancestor. He was invoked from that retirement by the voice of his native State to come back to this body, when it was an honor to any man to be here, but he declined. He was sought out in his retirement by Mr. Polk, and offered a seat in his cabinet; he declined the honor and emoluments of office, and preferred quietly to sustain himself and family by the pursuit of an honorable profession. War came upon the Republic. Troops were demanded of New Hampshire. True to the blood of his revolutionary sire, he stepped forward as a volunteer private in the ranks. The rulers of his country called him to unsolicited command. He served his country with fidelity and honor until honorable peace crowned victorious war, and he returned to the quiet and unobtrusive walks of private life. Here his countrymen sought him; here they found him; and, without an effort on his part except a public denunciation of the proffered honor, he was nominated, and, by the votes of every State in the Union except four, he was called to the chief magistracy of the country, to whose liberties his father had so gallantly and nobly contributed during every day of the arduous struggle. He has been 'clear in his office.' I was not his flatterer in the plenitude of his power and popularity, and therefore I have no reason to be his traducer or his flatterer now. I have differed with him on some important points of public policy. I have maintained that difference—maintained it here and before the people.—I have agreed with him on many other points of public policy, and have honestly and faithfully endeavored to sustain him. I think he has not been justly dealt with by his friends. He has manifested his faith when others have yielded to temptation; and I give the honest judgment of an independent senator in saying that no truer, juster, more patriotic, more impartial, or more national man has ever succeeded to the chair of Washington than Franklin Pierce.

How does he leave the country to-night? What is our condition? We have twenty-five millions of people. We are great, we are prosperous, we are happy. We are respected abroad. At home, commerce, industry, manufactures, agriculture are teeming with prosperity. Our national name is everywhere respected, except among the enemies of free government and the allies of the abolitionists in the United States—the friends of monarchy. The Senator from New York denounces him; the London Times denounces him; every enemy of liberty, abroad and at home, denounces him.

He will leave, however, a great and prosperous people, with not a speck in the whole political horizon which has any tendency except to gladden the heart of the patriot. The howls of defeated abolitionists will do him no harm. Doubtless the enemies of liberty in the revolution used as harsh terms against his patriot father as his enemies now use against him; but he will retire from his present high position with the blessings of all true patriots, and with the commendations of all future times.

HENRY C. WRIGHT, who is now lecturing for Fremont, in Michigan, writes to Wm. Lloyd Garrison as follows:

"My text is—**DOWN WITH THE AMERICAN UNION! UP WITH A NORTHERN REPUBLIC! THE THOUGHTS OF THOUSANDS ARE TURNED TO THIS GLORIOUS CONSUMMATION BY RECENT EVENTS IN WASHINGTON AND KANSAS.**"

The Sentinel.

KEENE, FRIDAY MORNING,
AUGUST 15, 1856.

LETTER FROM KANSAS.

OSSAWATOMIE, July 31, 1856.

Since my last, things have remained quiet; but matters are by no means settled. I fear the troubles are but just commenced. Southern men are coming in, claiming in some places to be settlers: but they are committing depredations on the free State people, annoying them in every way, stealing their horses, burning their houses and destroying their crops. Such things have already occurred, and the free State men, where they are strong enough, have begun to drive away those who come here merely to harass them. Some of them say they come only to vote, and they are anxious to have the time of election over.

Our people have become almost discouraged in their labors to guard and protect the place against those ruffians who are still threatening us, and searching wagons passing from Kansas Mo., through Westport to this place. We are having dry and warm weather, warmer than last season, thus far; some days the thermometer rises to a hundred and ten degrees in the shade. Yet the breezes we get most of the time makes it quite comfortable. The prospect for crops is not so good this season as last. But in every thing in the shape of provisions is to be destroyed this fall, some say it will be, it matters but little about the quantity or the prospect of an abundant harvest.

The prospect before us is any thing but cheering. I have been hoping that we might get along without any more trouble, but here we are an oppressed, outraged people, and government is doing nothing to protect us from these wrongs, but seems more willing that we should suffer than to afford us any assistance. I have been hoping that some protection would be afforded us that we might pursue our daily occupations in safety, but no such protection has been given.

If I were to visit you with gun on my shoulder, a revolver on each side, a knife in each boot, a blanket a coffee pot and a little corn meal, and ham, as my camp equipage, you would have some idea of a few of the hardships that have to be endured by many of the people of Kansas. But it is strange that honest men should say that the wrongs of Kansas are conjured up merely for electioneering purposes.—How slow men are to believe the truth! But I have written nothing but the truth, and am not

able to do justice to the subject. Who is able to tell of all the iniquity that has been heaped upon this young Territory, and has been connived at by those who should have afforded us protection. If it be necessary that my life should be sacrificed upon the altar of freedom, or that the lives of all the free State men in the Territory should be sacrificed, then let the day of sacrifice come; we are ready for it. But why do not the men of the North help us? The South are sending in their men and furnishing them with means. But what is the North doing? I would not complain, for I know that the distance is great, and the difficulties in getting aid to us are serious, but still I hope to see some here from the free States who have come prepared for the struggle. But unless Fremont and Dayton are elected, I have but little hope that poor, down-trodden, oppressed Kansas will ever be able to rise.

Since I commenced this I have learned of a battle that took place last night. I give the particulars as I learned them. Colman the murderer of Dow, has been up near Hickory point prowling about with seventy men from Mo., committing whatever depredations they saw fit upon the free State men. They have been watched for several days, and last night an attack was made upon them by a party of free State men, and they were taken prisoners. The free State men recovered a hundred and fifty guns, together with provisions, ammunition and horses which these wanderers had stolen from them. Colman was tarred and cottoned and sent off with the rest of the prisoners; and to night the pro-slavery posse in Franklin may be attacked by this company of free State men. So a life in Kansas is any thing but pleasant; but I want to stay and see the end of these troubles if possible.

Yours truly,

A. S. WHITE.

We wish to direct the attention of our readers to a few points in this letter of Mr White.

1. It will be noticed that Mr White says "government is doing nothing to protect us from these wrongs, but seems willing that we should suffer. &c." Now the border ruffian papers are constantly asserting that the President is doing all he can to protect the people of Kansas. And the Cheshire Republican not long since garbled a letter of Mrs White, for the purpose of showing that she had stated the same thing,—that the U. S. troops were there, acting as guards and protectors to the people. Mrs W. did, indeed say, "The U. S. troops are here to protect us," but the watches and guards were furnished by the people themselves, and they have been disappointed in their expectations of protection from the U. S. authorities. This is plain from Mr White's letter. When we find a quiet, peaceable man as Mr White is known to be by all his acquaintances, armed from head to foot in the manner which he describes, we may be sure that he thinks but little from the protection he is likely to get from the U. S. troops. In fact the protection which the President has pretended to give to suffering Kansas, is all a mere sham. He has not done the first fair thing towards the free State people of Kansas. But they have been thwarted by the administration in all their attempts to secure for themselves the advantages which they were told the people of the North had secured to them by the Nebraska bill. And this has been done for no earthly object but to make Kansas a slave State at all hazards. And now it is pretended that the President has afforded Kansas all the protection in his power. But this is a mere pretence put forth to calm the waves of public indignation

which are now rising so high that they threaten to sweep the present corrupt administration from power, by giving the votes of every free State to the Republican candidate.

2. Mr White says "It is strange that honest men should say that the wrongs of Kansas are conjured up for electioneering purposes." It is indeed strange, too strange to be true. Mr W. must have more charity than most people to think that such men can be honest. For our part we do not believe that any honest man can become acquainted with the actual facts in respect to Kansas, and then allege that they are manufactured to influence the election. Every intelligent man knows that such an allegation is false. And we pity the man who is so dead to the wrongs of his own townsmen that he can cast reproach upon the suffering people of Kansas, and apologise for their oppressors in order that the real facts in the case may not be disclosed to the injury of his party. What is this but making use of the wrongs of Kansas for electioneering purposes? Denying, concealing, extenuating them lest they should injure the prospects of the democratic party.

3. But Mr White also says that he sees no hope for suffering Kansas, except in the election of Fremont & Dayton. Why, Mr White, how dare you to say that? Do you not fear that you shall be accused of partizan designs! But this is the opinion of an honest man, and a sufferer from the present administration. And this is the opinion of every lover of freedom throughout the country. The free State men of Kansas hang all their hopes upon the election of Fremont. The border ruffians hang theirs on the election of Buchanan. And the reason is obvious—Fremont is the representative of freedom, Buchanan of slavery. Hence the North will go for Fremont and the South for Buchanan. "The South will support the democratic ticket as a unit," says the Republican. And well they may, for the democratic party is publicly pledged to carry out the policy of the slave power.—What hope can there be then for the freedom of Kansas except in the triumph of the Republican party? None at all. Kansas would have been a slave State before this had the Democratic party in Congress been strong enough to make it so. Nothing has saved it from such a fate but the resistance of the Republican members of Congress—those men whom the slaveocracy of the South and its ally the sham democracy of the North, delight to stigmatize as sectionalists, factionists, fanatics, &c." And Kansas is just as certainly doomed to be a slave State if the democratic party triumphs in the ensuing election, as the name of the candidate of that party is James Buchanan. No, there is no hope for Kansas except in the election of Fremont.

4. One thing more. It would not be strange if the border ruffian paper in Keene, should seize upon Mr White's account of the battle at Hickory point, for the purpose of showing what a terrible set of fellows these free State men are. Why, only think of it, these free State ruffians made an attack upon a party of men, took from them their guns and ammunition, made them all prisoners, and even tarred and cottoned (it is presumed they had no feathers) one of their number and sent him off with the rest. What monsters these free State men are. But it may mitigate the indignation of the reader at this conduct of the free State men, when he remembers that the vanquished party were a company of prowling robbers, that the arms, ammunition &c., which they were forced to give up, were stolen goods, and that Colman who was tarred and cottoned, (an appropriate badge of the par-

ly to which he belonged) was the murderer of Dow, and deserved to be hung instead of the mild punishment which he received. And it may still farther palliate their conduct to remember that they have no other means of redress. And it is not in human nature to endure such aggravated wrongs and make no resistance to them. There is not one man in ten thousand, looking at the subject with an unbiassed mind, who would not approve of the conduct of the free State men in the case to which Mr White refers. But it is likely that Mr Colman and his gang will receive far more sympathy from the Cheshire Republican and kindred prints, than those who are struggling for their freedom in Kansas.

FRIEND WOODWARD:—By permission of the friends who reside in their town, I send you this letter from Mary Hill, for publication. She is a young Irish lady of some 18 or 19 summers, who, with her brother Robert Hill, (who is the one so inhumanly murdered) resided in our neighborhood a year or more. They, as will be seen by the letter were pious. Robert was a member of that religious sect called Covenanters. He possessed the strictest moral and religious sentiments, so much so that when he was about to leave for the West, he was offered by his Uncle a revolver as a means of defence, but would not accept the gift. He said he would not defend himself if he knew one were going to take his life. I can bring many witnesses to prove the inoffensiveness of this young man. Now will the editor of the Republican continue in his debased position and call this letter, as he has others, a fabrication and lie? Or will he take it and make extracts from it, commenting upon it, giving it an entirely different meaning, as he did to Mrs White's letter? We can expect nothing better from men who burned so much powder on the reception of the news of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. Men found wallowing so low in political corruption, will not shrink from defending border ruffianism, murder or treason.

Mr Editor, how long will the dupes of the Cheshire Republican continue to follow this demoralizing course? Let it proceed on with its train. Thank God the clergy are all on the side of right, or nearly so, (I had forgotten the Sullivan divine) and soon we shall see all the moral portions of our community on the side of freedom—haters of all kinds of slavery and oppression. They will not be led on by political demagogues—men void of moral principles, who have caused all the blood-shed, crime and trouble in Kansas, by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, of over thirty years standing. I think that the party calling themselves democrats think to make the same political capital out of this measure that the party made in the annexation of Texas and the war with Mexico, which favored the slave power, giving it new vitality, stimulating the North, money-loving North, to lend their aid to bring around those measures. In a similar manner Gov. Wise undertakes to electioneer in favor of Buchanan by telling the good people of the old dominion that had the former policy of Buchanan been carried out, slave property would have increased greatly. As much as to say, elect Buchanan and we will have Kansas and our Territories open to our traffic in slaves, and it will be a money making business, we can pay better attention to the raising of such stock for the market.

THOMAS WHITE,
Marlboro', N. H

NEWTON, IOWA, July 20, 1856.

DEAR UNCLE AND AUNT:—I now lift my pen to inform you that all of us that are alive are well. Oh don't I have bad news to write to you; but I hope you will try and not take it hard. I wrote you that Robert had gone to Kansas, and that he liked out there very well. Cousin Hill sent him to Kansas city with his team for a load of goods. He had with him two hundred dollars in gold, besides ten dollars of his own money. When going, the border ruffians took him off the road, robbed him of his money, took his team, and tied his hands and feet behind him, gaged him, tied his hat over his eyes, and left him there to die. But the Lord had fixed it otherwise; he spared him a little longer in the land of the living. He layed there until after the ruffians went off, when he worked off one of his boots, and so got his feet free, getting his hat off between his knees, and soon found himself at liberty. It was getting dark, and he did not know what direction to take, so he took the north star for his guide, and arrived at a house about 12 o'clock at night, having walked eleven miles.

Uncle, I cannot tell you all the brutality with which they tormented him. We had heard the news before he wrote to us, and you may expect it was sorrowful news to us, but I have not told you all yet. Robert and four other men went in search of the team, which they found and were returning home, when the murderers fell upon them and killed them. Three of them they hung up on a tree, and the other two they brutally murdered. My brother was recognized as one of them. Oh! Aunt, we have had great trouble ever since we came out here; but the Lord's will be done. We must submit. We all mourn for our lost brother. Mother takes it very hard. I think she will not live long.

MARY HILL.

The Age.

NEW YORK,
FRIDAY MORNING, AUGUST 15.

WANTED, immediately, a "Kansas Outrage!" to help along the Republicans. It is some time since one has been forwarded by telegraph, and the consequence is, the cause of freedom? is a little drooping. An agitated Republican writes to the N. Y. Times: "You must keep up this Kansas excitement. It is the only element of success for the Republican party in the coming Presidential election."

We had just cut the above from an exchange, when a gentleman from Nebraska called on us to subscribe for our paper. He says that he has lived in Nebraska for the last fourteen months, and that there every man goes for Fillmore; there is not a shanty without Fillmore and Donelson written on it. He travelled through Kansas this Spring, was at Leavenworth a fortnight, during which time he saw nothing of the border outrages reported in the Tribune. He is going to see his father in Connecticut, who is a Republican, and give the old gentleman and his neighbors a correct account of the "Border Ruffians"; we expect he will do good service to the American cause, by simply telling the truth. The gentleman's name is S. A. Kellogg, of Jefferson Town, Nebraska.

New-York.

PRINCIPLES, NOT MEN.

FRIDAY MORNING, AUGUST 15, 1856.

(Correspondence of the Chicago Tribune.)

LEAVENWORTH CITY, July 31.

I have not yet had time to write you as I promised to do. I have been here nearly a month now, and am thoroughly cured of my unbelief. The villainy of Pierce, Douglas, and their Missouri confederates is too transparent here to admit of doubt. For our sakes,

as well as your own, renounce your efforts to elect Fremont.

Leavenworth is quiet—that is, a Warsaw "order" reigns here. It has made very little progress this Spring, Ruffianism has been triumphant in this city, and business, of course, has been utterly prostrated.

There are about three hundred ruffians in this town—Missourians, South Carolinians, Alabamians—with no apparent means of support. Great numbers of them are so "hard up," ("totally strapped," as they call it), that robberies in the territories are easily accounted for. Few of them are willing to work; and they are deprived of employment by a better class of laborers from the North, to whom alone the Free State men have ever given any work; but the large majority of them, although not above begging, drinking, gambling, robbing, and petty larceny, are too much of gentlemen in the r own conceit to condescend to labor at any honorable trade.

I see that the vile "Democratic" allies of the Slave Power, in the North, are zealously endeavoring to create an impression that the outrages perpetrated in Kansas are chiefly imaginary atrocities, manufactured by the Free State party for political effect. Let them sneer if they will; the people will give their reward. Would to God their sneers would bring to life the buried, bloody corpses of our noble martyrs—martyrs of Free Speech, but victims of Democratic villainy. They cannot re-animate the mangled corpses of the brave and manly Brown, of Collier, of Dow, of Barber, of the orphan boy Jones, and the unoffending stripling Stewart, of Cantrall, or of Gay, the Indian Agent. No! but, dem-like, they sneer over their unimaged graves, and talk of "Kansas roorbacks," and "exaggerated and lying accounts of Kansas affairs." Let them sneer; there is a God in Heaven, and a love of justice in the hearts of the people, and they will not laugh over murder and crime,—even when committed in the name of law and order—for the purpose of extending Slavery.

I have another authenticated outrage to relate. About two weeks ago, a squatter and his son, residents of the interior districts of the State, went to Kansas City, Missouri, with an ox team for the purpose of bringing up an iron safe.

On returning, they were stopped at Westport, and their political opinions inquired into. They said they were Free State men. They were, however, allowed to go on. But they were followed and overtaken by a party of "law and order" men, who finally took them into the woods and hanged them. The safe was broken open, and the money—rumor says to the amount of \$3,000—taken out of it. The team was driven back to a tavern situated between Westport and Kansas City.

The long absence of the father and son created great uneasiness among their friends. They sent a party to search for them. At Westport they were told that a team answering the description they gave, was at this tavern, kept by a well-known Border Ruffian, who is said to be implicated in the Cantrall murder.

The landlord stated, quite coolly, that he believed he had a stray team on his premises, and told his negroes to go and hunt them up.

They brought the team which the father and son had driven, and the landlord told them they could take them if they were his! Since that time, it is said, he has disappeared.

There was no need of his doing so. Murderers are safe in Kansas if they are "sound on the goose." The murderers of Brown, Collier, Dow, Barber, Jones, Stuart, Cantrall are still at large. They have never been tried, never indicted, never condemned by their comrades, but one or two of them who had not offices before have been provided for since. Why should they be tried? The men they killed were "only Northerners!" and the Southerners say they can always rule the North by the Almighty Dollar or the cry of Disunion!

SEMI-WEEKLY TRIBUNE

FRIDAY, AUGUST 15, 1856.

From Our Special Correspondent.

LAWRENCE, K. T., Aug. 5, 1856.

Yesterday the Rev. Mr. Nute went up from this place to the camp near Leecompton and preached to the prisoners. Some sixty persons, men and women, went from Lawrence and vicinity to attend the service. Captain Sacket, with his officers and company of dragoons, with the exception of the number detailed as guard, also attended service. The subject of the discourse was very appropriate to the occasion, and the scene altogether was one of more than usual interest. Some of the people from Lawrence took up a melody in a carriage, and the prison camp on the prairie resounded with the strains of sacred melody. Independent of its more important advantages, this was a pleasant respite to the prisoners.

Gov. Shannon, the Sheriffs, Marabals and Assessors, with their endless string of law-and-order deputies, who aspire to the regulation of the public pulse in the Territory, have been aggrieved at the visitors to the camp and tried to stop them. They sent an order to Capt. Sacket to refuse to admit visitors to the prisoners. Capt. Sacket,

back to the Governor informing him that he got orders from another quarter. Col. Sumner had told him to do nothing of which an honorable soldier need be ashamed, and Capt. Sackett is too honorable a soldier to do any unnecessary dirty work for these fellows. Attempts have been made with Gen. Smith to get him to issue severe orders as to the treatment of the prisoners; but, as yet, without any visible result. Heaven knows the situation of the prisoners is hard enough without depriving them of the small solace of such amusements.

The powers that be, in the neighborhood of Leocompton, are determined to prosecute the tax-collecting business. Their schemes have not matured sufficiently yet to be developed. They are taking it under advisement. A variety of different proposals have been warmly discussed in Leocompton. I have no doubt but they are waiting until they have advices from Missouri before they act.

The Missouri is still closed to emigration, in point of fact; that is, individuals may get through, but no emigration of Free-State people, large enough to be observable, can get up, unless it should be large enough.

I inclose the following statement of Mr. Cline and his companion, Mr. Rankin. I mentioned in my letter, two days ago, that they had been in a jail in Missouri, whither I had just heard they had been sent. They have just escaped.

STATEMENT OF G. B. CLINE,

Formerly from Milwaukee Wis.

Witness resides on Sagar Creek, in company with W. M. Rankin. About the 18th Mr. Rankin went down to Liberty, Missouri, to get a pair of revolvers, if possible, as he and his friend were not armed they having come to the Territory with the intention of being non-combatants. He succeeded in getting the arms in question, he not being known in Liberty. While returning, in the Territory, within six miles of home, he was met by an armed and mounted company of Pro-Slavery men, who ordered him to halt, and requested him to state where he was going, and where he was from and what he had in his carpet-bag. They ordered him to give up the pistol he had in his hand. He raised his pistol and fired, barrel after barrel, four or five shots as fast as he could shoot. They made a drive at him with a bayonet—they had United States muskets and bayonets. The bayonets struck his breast but glanced off along the ribs, only lifting thin a flesh wound; they then clubbed him with their guns. He drew his bowie-knives in the middle of the melee and made a cut at one of the men, when he was knocked down by a horse with the butt of a musket and rendered senseless. The reason why they did not fire was, likely, because they were all in a crowd and close together, when they would have been as likely to shoot friend as foe. They stripped him of his arms, horse, some \$30 in money and other articles while he lay senseless. They then left him, supposing he was dead, and led his horse away. He rose some time after, in time to see them going over the prairie, though a little faint, and very sore for the blows, he was able to walk, and followed after them as fast as he could. They left the road, and went into the timber, and lighted a fire and camped. Unobserved, he slipped up near enough to observe them. They became so quiet that he thought they were asleep, and slipped up to recover his horse. He could not find his horse, and, after hunting round for it among the horses as long as he thought it was safe, he took another snuff, that was accented close to the breast. He then started off. About 9 o'clock at night Mr. Rankin's horse came home without saddle or bridle; the horse and a piece of hickory bark round its neck, broken off, which it had evidently broken to get loose. Mr. Rankin had not got home, having slept on the prairie. Next morning Mr. Cline started off to look for him, and met him on the prairie. They then started back, on the suggestion of Rankin, to try and find the trail of those who had assailed him. Having ridden several miles, they stopped to let their horses eat. Mr. Cline had laid down and gone to sleep; Mr. Rankin was also lying down. While in this situation Mr. Rankin heard the approach of the party of horsemen, and aroused his companion, by crying: "My God, here is the assue company of fellows." Both were unarmed. Mr. Cline wanted his companion to start. Rankin hesitated, but as they could offer no resistance, Rankin got on his horse and started. Mr. Cline's horse was so tired and broken down that he knew he could not get off. About ten of them gave chase to Mr. Rankin, and followed him for ten miles, until he struck the head waters of the Osage, but they did not succeed in catching him. The others came up to Mr. Cline, who was sitting in the prairie, and asked him what business he had there? Witnesses told them he was a full-blooded Yankee, and went where he pleased on United States soil. They asked him what he was doing, and he replied that he was warning in the sun. They asked Cline what made the other man run; he replied that half the number of men now after him would make any one of their number run. They asked Mr. Cline who the other was to which Cline replied that they would find out if they caught him. They asked him if he did not know the man who had ridden off; to which he replied that he would know him if he ever saw him again. They then turned away and left Mr. Cline, one of them saying that he was a d—d Yankee, and that they could not get any sense out of him. They went in pursuit of those who were following Mr. Rankin. Mr. Cline got on his horse and rode home. Mr. Rankin, by the time he got to the Osage, was out of sight of his pursuers, and being uncertain whether he was pursued, he dismounted, led to his horse in a thicket,

the timber up a tree to watch for evens. He had been there but a short time when he saw his pursuers approaching. They passed on, about a hundred yards from the tree where Mr. Rankin was, and disappeared. Mr. Rankin descended, mounted the horse and rode home. The Pro-Slavery men had long hunted for Mr. Rankin all day, went next day before a Justice, and got out a warrant against both Rankin and Cline, charging them with non-resistance. The warrant was a printed bark, but the barks were not filled up, and the Justice forgot to attach his name to it.

The Pro-Slavery band had returned, and had been guarding the house where Rankin and Cline were all night, and they watched them there next morning, but not within gunshot until a deputy something came with the writ. After these business and got the writ they set up a person to converse with them, and to ascertain whether they meant to halt. Mr. Cline informed this person that they would never allow themselves to be taken by a mob. This person said that they had a writ of warrant, and would take them before Justice Means, or any other Squire (Judge), and they should leave their trial. On these assurances, Mr. Cline told them they were willing to have a legal investigation of the affair, and the party came up, when they went with them before Squire Means. They had promised Mr. Cline that they should have such witnesses as they wanted, and Squire Means went through the form of filling out subpoenas at the instance of Cline, but they were never served. There were no witnesses to prove anything against the prisoners. The party at whose instance they were asked swore that the young man "had a horse that did not belong to him," but none of them would claim it. Mr. Rankin told before the Justice how the whole thing occurred, and Mr. Cline corroborated the particulars as far as he knew; but the Pro-Slavery party, Justice and all, affected to disregard the statement, and, of course, they did a witness. Mr. Rankin said he wanted to know who owned the horse, but the knaves who had attacked him would not acknowledge anything that would commit themselves. As there was nothing against the young men to criminate them, the party that had taken them went out during the progress of the suit and took a vote as to whether they should be taken from the bench officers and mobbed (for fear they would not be punished). Forty-five voted that they should be mobbed, and

bitly for a more moderate policy. The plan suggested was to hang them up by the neck for a little time, and make them tell if they wanted to know about Liberty, Tippah, Capt. Brown, and a great many other objectionable Free-State men whom they wanted to get. Luckily for the prisoners the violent sentiment was ultimately subdued, as all the influential and more respectable among the Pro-Slavery men were in favor of leaving them to the mercy of a good law. A committee of ten of these men was selected to take them to Harrisonville, Mo., where the Justice said they must be taken, as he had no doubt but they were guilty. The prisoners were taken to Harrisonville. There the captors found some little difficulty about getting them in jail, not but what the Missourians were willing to keep them, but the lawyers in Harrisonville told the captors that the whole thing was so irregular that the prisoners would be liable to be taken out by their friends on a writ of habeas corpus. It was then determined that they should be taken back into the Territory again next day. That night they were permitted by their captors to stay at the hotel, provided they paid their own bill. Two of the men who guarded them slept in the room with them, and the leader of the Pro-Slavery party slept with the branches of both the prisoners under his head as hostages. Next day they were taken back to the tender mercies of Justice Means. At this stage of affairs the Pro-Slavery men got intensely alarmed as the report that fifty Free State men were marching to the release of the prisoners. It is proper to add that the people of Harrisonville were afraid that the "Abolitionists" would come down and burn their town if they kept the prisoners. It was difficult to get a yone to take charge of the prisoners, as the more timid of the Pro-Slavery men began to scatter. The young men were taken to the house of a Free State man, who was old by the Justice that he would be held responsible for their safe-keeping. While there, a party of the wilder of the Pro-Slavery men who had formerly taken them came up to the case where the prisoners were, armed with muskets and bayonets. They demanded that the young men be given up to them. As Mr. Cline and his companion were not very desirous of talking into the hands of these ruffians, they succeeded in eluding them and making their escape.

It is proper to add that the party which took these young men on a pretended writ robbed them of the same time of everything they had that they could find, including a shot-gun, portfolio, and other things.

COMMERCIAL ADVERTISER.

FRIDAY AFTERNOON, AUGUST 15.

Correspondence of the Commercial Advertiser.

WASHINGTON, August 14.

The rumor that the President has given orders for entering a *notte prosequi* in the several cases of indictments for treason in Kansas is generally believed. A call for the instructions which have been given will elicit the fact. Mr. Douglas, it is said, represented to the President that if these questions were left open during the canvass for the Presidency, the Democracy could not carry a single North-western state.

beside this it is well known that the President and Cabinet are deeply concerned by the prospect of the loss of the civil appropriation bill, and the army bill; and they will be lost, unless the two houses can come to some understanding upon the subject of the enforcement of the laws of Kansas.

The House appeared yesterday to be more determined than ever to stand by their proviso, as modified on motion of Mr. Pennington. It may, however, be shown to the satisfaction of both Houses that the matter in controversy is removed.

Mr. Campbell's declaration in the House that no one would be tried for treason in Kansas was no doubt, founded, (though he declined stating his authority,) upon information just received from one or more members of the Cabinet, who had been an hour or two before present in the Hall.

New York Day Book.

OFFICE, No. 17 ANN STREET.

N. R. STIMSON, EDITOR.

FRIDAY EVENING, AUGUST 15.

[From the Journal of Commerce.]

The annexed statement does not surprise us. The Free State men going into Kansas meet there American citizens, and they are invariably moved by the same kind impetus of charity towards one another, when in distress and want. The Kosta case shows what Americans will do one for another—peril all, everything to rescue a brother. How different with the "Fremont" "Freelove" "Freeboaters," met with in some places about here, with a purse in one hand and a Sharp's rifle in the other. They send men into Kansas to kill American citizens, the very men who in turn minister to their necessities when they go there. Which are the "Ruffians"?

Experience of a Free-State Man in Kansas.

M. W. King, of Racine, gives an interesting relation of his experience in Kansas. After relating the circumstances that led to his emigration—his arrival in Kansas city in Missouri, with his family—he writes:

"Leaving my family, I started for the 'promised land.' I traveled just one hundred and eight miles, according to the survey, before I could find a sufficiency of timber to warrant me in an attempt to build a house. At Pawnee, the capital as projected by Governor Reeder, or rather within a distance of five miles from that paper city, I succeeded in making a claim of 80 acres, on which, after much severe labor and privation, I succeeded in raising a house that would shelter myself and family. During all the time of my struggle in the wilderness I was aided and assisted in every way by my neighbors, Missourians, and, indeed, never even had to wait longer for their help than they saw wherein they could assist me.

"My claim made, and my house, such as it was, completed, I started for Kansas city, to bring my family out. Judge of my feelings when I learned that for nearly the whole time of my absence my child had been lying at the point of death, and my wife, the mother, among strangers, too. And remember, also, that these strangers were all 'border ruffians.' Of course, I was anxious. I questioned my wife, how did you get along? What did you do? Why, she answered me, no people could be more kind; all took an interest in our suffering and sorrow; I never saw a more kind-hearted and generous people. I was astonished, I confess it. Of course I said but little—what could I say? They asked me—the 'border ruffians'—of my politics. I told them I was an out-and-out Free State man. The answer was invariably—'That's right, Mr. King; vote as you think—we wish every man to enjoy his own opinion.'

"For many weary days I walked around, waiting for the returning strength of my child, and during these days I saw many things that would have been disbelieved by myself if stated to me before I left Racine, and while I was a reader of, and believer in, the *New York Tribune*. I saw many—very many poor families landed at Leavenworth—sent on by the New England Aid Society, who had not the means to bury the dead of their company. Men, women and children were there, sent on by these Aid Societies, without funds to purchase one meal of food after landing. They came there, excepting no one knows what, but in as destitute a condition as ever emigrants landed at the docks of New York.

"The men of Missouri, the 'border ruffians,' took them into their homes, they fed them—the living ones—and buried the dead—they gave

them clothes, food and kind words; they acted, in short, the part of noble, generous, Christian men, and their reward has been abuse, contumely and misrepresentation.

That men of Missouri felt and feel and feel aggrieved is not to be wondered at by any who knows anything of the facts. They have been flooded by companies sent on by aid societies, of men, who at home could not command the respect, hardly the forbearance of the communities in which they lived; they have been obliged not only to feed these men, but to listen to their scurrilous abuse, and now, when they have sought nothing more, as I well know, than an equal and just share of the advantages of the newly opened territory, they are belied by press and pulpit through the entire North. As I said before, I hate slavery, and never, by act or word will give it aid or countenance, but I hate it so much, that I cannot bear even to see the mistaken (though I believe honestly mistaken) supporters of it lied about and abused.

NEWARK DAILY ADVERTISER

FRIDAY EVENING, AUGUST 15, 1856.

For the Newark Daily Advertiser.

Your correspondent Vespas, in his Saturday's article, seems to be very full of bile, and I for one should have let him pass but for his unworthy fling at the honored candidate for the Vice Presidency, on the Republican Ticket. He says the course of Hon. Wm. L. Dayton and Jacob W. Miller was not approved by New Jerseymen. Now this is all gratuitous; that there was in the city of Newark, and some other southern manufacturing places, dissatisfaction, I am willing to admit; as there always is if a word is said about the aggressions of the slave power; there always have been, and are to-day, those who sell their principles with their goods; whose only fear is that business with the South will be ruined; instance the anxiety of these gentlemen on the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the whole foundation of the present difficulty. Were they indignant at that breach of the public faith? No, not they; but they write letters of remonstrance to our able Representatives not to say a word against it, as it would "ruin our Southern trade."—These letters can yet be produced. Such men are worse than Esau, they not being in a destitute condition—but the honest masses of the people always honored and loved our Senators for their manly independence and glorious defence of Liberty. The same men who are now saving the Union by telling that the Compromise is an old issue, like a Bank and a Tariff, and that this Kansas matter is all humbug, got up by Greeley, Seward and the Woolly Heads, the Abolitionists, and the Black Republicans, those dissolvers of the Union at the North, with Brooks at the head; and Brooks of South Carolina at the head of the Southern wing; are having a very unhappy time amongst themselves. Your correspondent evidently partakes of their spirit, but I would inform him that Wm. L. Dayton's record is before the people, and, because of their full approval of that record, East, West and North, he received the unanimous nomination at Philadelphia—a glorious ratification in every free State and Territory, (except Utah)—and will receive the unbought but hearty suffrages of millions of freemen, and be triumphantly elected, on the 4th of November next as Vice President of the whole United States.

A REPUBLICAN WHIG.

The Daily Journal

R. M. RIDDLE, Editor & Proprietor.

PITTSBURGH:

FRIDAY - - - AUGUST 15, 1856.

A WORD FROM KANSAS.

Daniel McDonald, who has been the candidate of the Native Americans of Pennsylvania for Canal Commissioner, has always enjoyed their confidence and deserves it now. He is now in Kansas, and has a feeling appreciation of the necessity which bids every true American to lend a hand now to the overthrow of the Pro-Slavery Democracy.

We make an extract of a letter from Mr. McDonald to his friends in this city. As his attachment to American principles cannot be questioned, Mr. McDonald's advice ought to have some weight with those few honest Americans who are misguidedly disposed to waste their votes on Millard Fillmore.

July 26, 1856.

"Altho' we have no vote for Presidential electors, yet we feel that a great crisis is at hand which will shake this Republic from centre to circumference. We look with an anxious eye on old tax-ridden Pennsylvania; as she goes so goes the Union. The great battle for Freedom is not to be fought here in Kansas, but in Pennsylvania. And we implore you to sacrifice everything but honor to obtain a Union of all Anti-Nebraska elements to hurl the present damnable party from power. Do this and all may yet be well; if not, the Union will not be worth preserving.

"You know how devotedly I am attached to American principles, yet for the present crisis I would even sacrifice them to put down this iniquitous administration and all who would stand on their unlovely platform. I have no more confidence in James Buchanan than I have in an Omaha Indian, and why many old line Whigs are supporting him is a mystery to me!"

These are simple words of honest counsel from a plain farmer to honest Americans, and we commend them to the understanding of such Americans as have the interests and the honor of their country more at heart than the claims of factions and selfish men.

No man can vote for Millard Fillmore, with even a shadow of an expectation that he can by any chance reach the Presidential chair. Such votes, then, simply swell the chances of Mr. Buchanan, of whom Mr. McDonald well says he would as soon trust an Omaha Indian.

Some of the supporters of Mr. Fillmore adhere to him doubtless from notions of personal admiration or attachment. Others adhere to him under a mistaken notion that he was honestly nominated by the American National Convention (including Roman Catholic votes). But most of the prominent supporters of Mr. Fillmore are both selfish and corrupt. In this city it is matter of common conversation that the little Fillmore sheet started here within a few days, THE NATIONAL AMERICAN, was commenced and is to be sustained by money from Democrats. We all know what anxiety the Democratic Post has manifested to foster and help the Fillmore movement into life and activity. And we do know that as far as the pages of this National American give evidence of a choice second to Mr. Fillmore, it is decisively in favor of James Buchanan! Every line of the paper breathes hostility to Fremont and Freedom. Will honest Americans who love their country and their principles, lend themselves under a false flag, to advancement of their worst enemies, the Pro-Slavery Democracy? The deadliest enemies of Americanism are the Democrats. Why should Americans help them to power to complete the overthrow of Americanism? We say with Mr. McDonald, "sacrifice everything, Americans, but your honor to unite the elements of opposition to the Democracy."

LOUISVILLE JOURNAL,
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Third street, between Jefferson and Green.

We think that all good citizens of all sections must be disgusted with the published accounts of the movements and operations of Col. James H. Lane in relation to Kansas affairs. Lane deserves the severest punishment; and, if the laws of the United States provide any penalty for atrocious misconduct like his, it should be promptly inflicted on him.

Lane is, as of course he has a right to be, in favor of making Kansas a non-slaveholding State. The means however by which he is attempting to accomplish his object are outrageous. For some time past he has been industriously gathering up all the vile loafers and wretches of every description that he could find in Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, and other States, and, after arming and drilling them, marching them in organized bodies to Kansas for the avowed purpose of resisting by force the regular authorities in the Territory. Whenever he gets a body of his vile and drunken troops to the Kansas line, he sends them in; but, like a base coward, turns back himself to organize another gang. We have learned from gentlemen, who have seen detachments of his troops marching to Kansas, that they never before in all their lives beheld such organizations of ragged sots and irredeemable blackguards.

We have no objection to the coming of Kansas into the Union as a non-slaveholding State if a majority of her legitimate citizens prefer that she should; but the proceedings of that fellow Lane should be stopped. The Missourians have unquestionably been guilty of much improper interference in the affairs of Kansas, but, if they should think proper to disarm and turn back such organizations of armed rowdies and rascals as Lane is taking to Kansas, they would in our opinion be right enough.

From the St. Louis Republic, Aug. 16.
 Papers received from Kansas Territory and from the border counties reiterate the report of the attack of the abolitionists upon the town of Franklin, K. T., but with one striking difference—the number of persons killed or wounded. The assaulting party ordered all the inhabitants of Franklin to leave, threatening to kill them if they did not. It was expected that an attack would be made on Leocompton the following night. In these outrages, it is apparent that the tools of the black republican party began their work; and it is equally apparent that they were dictated by the black republicans of the north, who found that the work of agitation was dying out for want of exciting materials. Hence, at the risk of the lives of parties on both sides, and with a full knowledge that it would be productive of general civil war in the Territory, they have chosen their course. It will be time enough when full details are received, to comment on this conduct as it deserves, but in the eyes of the nation it will be visited with the severest condemnation.

The Leocompton Journal, of the 9th, takes the following notice of the recent occurrences in that quarter:—

We learn that the outlaws are again at work, carrying on their villainies to a great extent. Peace, they have determined, shall not be in Kansas.

At Hickory Point, they made an attempt to drive off the and-outlaw settlers, but they found that their meta was a night of last week a party of these scoundrels

On her descent upon the town of St. Bernard, broke made an Office, put the Postmaster out of the house, upon the destroyed numerous letters and papers belonging to the office.

Last week the county assessor make any assessments resolved not to let. and threatening him with personal means in that place. The assessor is out attending violence if he attempts. and if they carry their threat to the duties of his office, the next thing we hear of will into execution, we suppose for Douglas county, has

be that Judge Fane, the four of midnight, as we do been assassinated at the dead. 'ches will dare attempt not suppose that any of the wretches in which such a thing by daylight. At his meeting in which they declared their intention of re. 'master at Lawrence, the notorious Babcock, p. 'sly. He was

rence, we understand, figured extent. 'h a man who is now Postmaster at Lawrence, is acting in defiance of all law. Is these outlaws, and that, too, in acting in defiance of all law. Is this man—a fanatic identifying himself with outlaws—

be retained in office? What is it, we would like to know, that is too low for such a man to stoop to? If it were for betraying the confidence entrusted to us by a friend,

we could tell something on this same gentleman that would soon cast him from the responsible position which he occupies. We think that the conduct of the man—

both in regard to the manner in which he has conducted himself in his official duties and as arraying himself in hostile opposition to our laws—demands that he should be removed from the office of Postmaster. Here is a man who has openly arrayed himself against our laws, and at the same time he is holding an office under the laws of the United States—laws which are recognized by the United States, but which Babcock and his followers do not see fit to obey.

We also learn that a law and order man was shot near St. Bernard by a pair of these midnight assassins. We have not been able to learn his name.

THE EVENING NEWS.

Saint Louis:

SATURDAY EVENING, AUGUST 16.

Commerce and Common Sense.

Nothing more clearly proves the unthinking folly and unreasoning madness of some of the Anti-Slavery papers of the North, than the ferocious onslaughts they make on St. Louis, because we do not hold meetings, denounce the Pro-Slavery party in Kansas, and even shoulder our muskets, march to the Territory and drive every Pro-Slavery man out. The fiercest of these journals are eternally concocting some lie about the credit of Missouri, or the decline of St. Louis, while the more staid and sober of them read us stupid homilies about "Commerce and Freedom," winding up with the grave warning, that if St. Louis does not make Kansas a Free State, her prosperity will be gone forever.

We can well afford to let these tirades pass without notice, as we have no other proof of the imminent doom thus promised, than the frantic assertions of the editors themselves. Generally we are too much overwhelmed with an excess of that very business which our traducers represent as declining, to pay much attention to the envious diatribes of the morbid monomaniacs, who, having resolved that the weal of humanity depends on the single event of Kansas being made a Free State, see nothing but ruin, desolation and despair in any occurrence not exactly in keeping with this dominant idea.

The Philadelphia *North American*, surrounded with the odor of its defence of the pop-corn and pea-nut rebellion of Erie, in its own State, assumes to lecture the people of St. Louis on the importance of their arraying themselves against the remainder of the State of Missouri, entering the lists in favor of "Free Kansas," and carrying on a warfare against the "Border Ruffianism." The *North American* sagely tells us that we will make more money out of Kansas as a Free State, than as a Slave State, which is no doubt true, though we do not exactly see how the inference which the *North American* draws from it—that we ought to endeavor to make the Territory a Free State—can be justified. There are many in St. Louis who would greatly prefer to see Kansas a Free State; there are others whose wishes are just the other way; but neither have any more right, as citizens of St. Louis, to interfere in the affairs of the Territory with a view to influence its ultimate fate in this respect, than they have to interfere with the domestic affairs and municipal regulations of Pennsylvania. The conduct of the Erians, not long since, in mobbing the railroads, was a ruffianism which was condemned throughout the Union; but the Pennsylvanians would have deemed it an insult to their sovereignty, and an outrage on their municipal rights, for the people of St. Louis or any other city to have interfered for the purpose of putting down the rioters.

It is this very illegal interference that has caused all the difficulty in Kansas. There are two parties in the Territory, each of which has been guilty of great wrongs, and the aid and encouragement that each has received from outsiders who had no right to interfere, have aggravated the contest, till now it seems impossible fairly to settle it. The people of St. Louis know their duty too well to enter into this partisan struggle, even though its decision in favor of the Free State side might increase the trade, they are sure to carry on with the Territory. However the issue may be decided, the *North American* may be assured that the prosperity of St. Louis is assured. It rests on a stauncher basis than the municipal regulations of foreign States, and is sure to be enhanced in spite of the envious efforts made to deery it.

Gen. Foster, of Belmont, Miss., yielding to pressing solicitations from the people of Panola, has consented to head a company of Kansas emigrants. He has issued a call to his fellow-citizens to rally to the standard of the South.

THE DAILY SENTINEL.

MILWAUKEE:

Saturday Morning, August 16.

FOR FREE KANSAS—FREE PRESS—FREE SPEECH—FREMONT!

FROM OUR WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT.

WASHINGTON, August 9.

We have had a busy week, both branches of Congress sitting late and meeting an hour earlier than usual; and as if to make up in some part for the long delays of the commencement of the session, the attention of the House has been diligently and carefully given to the details of the various appropriation bills which have occupied nearly all its time.

The Army Appropriation bill, with its proviso that the Federal troops shall not be used to enforce the bogus edicts of the so-called Shawnee Mission Kansas Legislature—the general appropriation bill, in which the territorial machinery of Kansas is left without pay, which will prove a severe trial for the pseudo-patriots who left Missouri to show the Kansas settlers how they must be governed—the Naval appropriation bill—have all been carefully examined, passed upon and sent to the Senate. Upon that body, therefore, must rest the responsibility of adopting the bills as the House has reported and passed them, or of being held accountable for any delay or difficulty which may result from their refusal. In the case of the Army bill, that responsibility has already been assumed, the Senate declining to concur in the proviso respecting the employment of the United States forces, and thus arrogating to itself the right to dictate to the House—in which by the supreme law of the land all appropriation bills must originate and be matured—the precise form of legislation which is deemed proper by its meddling and mischievous majority.

The House, it is to be hoped, will insist upon its proviso, rebuke the presumption which seeks to curtail its legitimate authority, and protect the free settlers of Kansas from the unjustifiable and infamous combination of the Missouri Border Ruffians, and the drilled dragoons of the government.

It is understood that at the White House, the universal condemnation of the extremes to which the persecution of the Free State officials of the Territory have been carried, has produced a very decided effect, and the policy now is to quash all the so-called treason indictments, release all the prisoners, and put a stop, so far as possible to the outrages which have never ceased to be perpetrated upon the free-soil settlers, and the emigrants from the Free States. The House of Representatives, however, the people's house, have the power in their hands, and should not fail to exercise it, no matter what the pledges from a prevaricating President or slave-driving Senators. The lives of Governor Robinson and his fellow-sufferers may be, as they probably are, dependent upon the action of the House; and that responsibility is one which will not be evaded.

The Internal Improvement Bills continue to be discussed in the Senate, which has now, however, passed the great majority of them, after protracted discussion, in which Mr. Toombs, of Ga., has signalized himself as usual, by boldness, or rather recklessness of assertion, violence of manner and matter, and wearisome repetition of long exploded fallacies. The Georgia Senator espies apparently to the post of Mentor to that body—a post for which he is as little qualified as any member of it. Fluency and earnestness, with many of the adventitious gifts of the orator, he certainly possesses; but his knowledge is evidently superficial, and his indisposition to be set right with regard to the constant blunders into which he is betrayed is equally remarkable. It is quite apparent that his influence among his own party friends has been materially diminished by his general course since the commencement of the present session; and his approval and encouragement of the cowardly and ruffianly brutality which has disgraced the very Senate Chamber, have brought upon him most justly the reprobation and contempt of all who are entitled to be called by the name of gentleman.

As the session draws to a close, the outside pressure for all varieties of speculations is becoming very strong, and efforts will be made now to engineer them through Congress with the calculation that the examination, to which at an earlier period they would be subjected, must now necessarily be omitted. In this way, legislation

of questionable, and often times of very injurious tendencies, is secured, for the benefit of the speculators in and out of the National Legislature, with little special regard to the interests of the people at large. This is a wrong which is increasing year after year—success emboldening the chief managers, and enabling them to organize and perfect plans of combination and arrangement which it is difficult to resist. The closing scenes of each Congress have acquired a notoriety which the present one bids fair at least to equal; and it is high time the public attention should be turned to this constantly accumulating evil with a view to its immediate and final extirpation. Upon this head, after the termination of this session, some facts may perhaps be submitted to the readers of the *Sentinel* from which they will be enabled to form an opinion of the extent to which this system has been carried.

The election returns received here, give great joy and encouragement to the Republicans, who hail the election of free soil Blair to Congress from St. Louis as a most auspicious and significant omen.

Gallant little Iowa too, sends her response to the People's Platform and the candidates pledged to its support, selected at the Bunker Hill Convention in Philadelphia; and with a gain of one of her two members of Congress, and a clean sweep of the whole State ticket, proclaims her condemnation of ruffianism and slavery extension, and her sympathy with the good cause of freedom and Fremont. All praise to her noble sons who have thus opened most auspiciously a great campaign which must result in the triumphant victory of right over wrong, of freedom over slavery, of the Pathfinder of the Rocky Mountains, the explorer of California, the accomplished, resolute, inimitable Fremont, over—the platform of the Cincinnati Convention!

There was a third candidate spoken of before the returns were received from Kentucky, Missouri and Arkansas, but the fizzling out of the Fillmore party in those states has about completed what was fast going on of itself in the North and East, and has established the fact that not an electoral vote anywhere, can be had for the traitor who put forth and justified the remedy of disunion, in case a majority of the electoral college should pronounce their decision in favor of John C. Fremont as the next President of the United States; and such, if he live, he surely will be.

REX.

Grand Rapids Eagle.

CITY OF GRAND RAPIDS:
SATURDAY MORNING, AUG. 16, 1856.

Let Kansas In.

It is charged by the BUCHANAN party that the Republicans are avoiding action on Kansas affairs in order to keep up the excitement.—No charge could be more false. In the House of Representatives they agreed to the motion of Mr. DUNN, of Indiana, restoring the Missouri Compromise, and thus placing things in the same condition in which they were before the Democratic party renewed the slavery agitation two years since. They have also passed the bill admitting Kansas as a State, believing that all the Constitutional pre-requisites have been complied with, and that such a measure is what the emergency demands.—The immediate admission of Kansas would be no more than justice to the people of the North, who would thus derive all the benefits of the Missouri Compromise—of which

they were deprived by its repeal. It would be justice to the people of Kansas, who are naturally indignant at the attempt of the people of Missouri to dictate a government to them. More than all, it would quiet the present political agitation which our BUCHANAN friends regard so dangerous to the permanence of the Union. Popular indignation is naturally and justly excited by frauds and violence; let those frauds be stopped—let that violence cease, and of course the excitement will subside. The Republicans wish to abrogate those frauds, and to remove that violence, but their opponents are not willing that they should do so. Who are the "agitators" now? "Physician, heal thyself." They are willing to keep up an agitation which they themselves claim imperils the safety of the country when they might calm it at once by admitting Kansas—simply, because they know that by so doing Kansas could not be made a slave State. In order to carry out their nefarious plans these sticklers for squatter sovereignty insist upon an evasive bill enabling the people of Kansas to frame a State Constitution in a proper manner, which the people of Kansas claim to have already done, and which the House acknowledges them to have done. These men are of course opposed to the action of the House, and bring up a number of objections to the immediate admission of Kansas, some of the principal of which are ably commented upon in the following remarks by the *N. Y. Times*:

1. The action of the 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 prejudice against the intended 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, and 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 in 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 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 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, talks in the same direction. Let the reader also note that gentleman's views a half dozen years ago upon "Squatter Sovereignty":

"This new doctrine, asserting the right of the squatters on the public domain to assume sovereignty over it, in its territorial state, was concocted only for a Presidential campaign.—It failed of its purpose, and is now brought into general contempt. It is believed to be without a defender, except in its putative father, (Gen. Cass.) Congress alone has the right to legislate for the Territories, until they shall be prepared for admission into the Union. At that period they have the right to form such Government as they may prefer, with the sole restriction that it shall be Republican."

There is no difficulty in multiplying such evidences indefinitely. The recorded speeches of Douglas, Toombs, Butler, and the other antagonists of Free Kansas, bristle with such. We cannot conclude, therefore, more appropriately than in the language of Mr. Douglas himself, when closing his brilliant speech on the admission of California, June 12, 1850.—Remember that California applied without an enabling act, with an Anti-Slavery Constitution, framed by what was loudly asserted among the pro-slavery faction to be a partial and partizan Convention, representing but a minority of the people, without an enumeration of the population, and with defective papers; and then, in the following extract, read Kansas for California. The lecture will be edifying:

In conclusion, Sir, I will only say that I regret to see such extraordinary efforts made to raise up objections to the admission of California into the Union, and unable to comprehend why it is that you are disposed to deal with so much more rigor in the case of California than you have shown in any other State applying for admission. Why is it, that she should be so harshly dealt by? Has she no claims upon your sympathies and your justice? Is not your faith and your honor pledged to California to give her government and protection? How, Sir, have you redeemed that pledge? How have you fulfilled your treaty stipulations? The only law you have extended to her is the taxing power; the only administrators of justice you have sent her are the tax-gatherers. You leave her citizens without protection as to life, as to property, as to person; you refuse to furnish her with money to bear her expenses; you refuse to give her that protection which all other people in the United States have received at your hands, at the same time that you extract hundreds of thousands of dollars from her thro' your custom-houses; and when she, after waiting patiently for a territorial government has lost all hope of that, you apply a rule to her with technical objections and enforce them with a rigor never known or attempted to be exerted against any other State asking admission into the Union. Sir, if the people of California have no claims to your sympathies, you must recollect that they have the right to demand justice at your hands. What objection has been urged to the admission of California that did not exist in some one or more of the States which have already been admitted into the Union? I know of none. I have listened attentively to the whole debate. I have noted the objections one by one as they have been advanced, and I have heard no objection which might not have been urged with equal force, but was not considered insuperable, in reference to other States. You must, therefore, depart from established usage, abandon the precedents, and overturn the authorities, before you can exclude California from the Union. What has she done to justify this treatment? Sir, I fear the world will come to the conclusion that her sin, her only crime, was that she chose, in the plenitude of her wisdom and power, to exclude the institution of Slavery from her borders. The world will be likely to come to this conclusion, because they will be unable to perceive any other objection which you have not overcome in other cases. California had a right to exclude or admit Slavery as she pleased; and I, as the representative of one of the States of this Union, have no right to vote against her because of the choice she may make in this respect. I know that it is denied that her admission is opposed on this ground; but, Sir, when you investigate the points, when you take up the objections in detail, when you see that they have all existed in some form in other States, and did not in their case constitute insuperable objections, I fear that we will be driven, unwillingly driven, to place her objection, if, indeed, she shall be rejected, upon the grounds to which I have referred."

QUINCY WHIG.

SATURDAY AUGUST 16 1856.

Indescribable Meanness and Inequality.

"What would the 'Black Republicans' do, if they had not the Kansas laws and the Border Ruffians to talk about? Why don't they accept Douglas' new bill, if they sincerely desire a fair settlement of the question?"

The above is the text of every pro-slavery Black Democratic paper in the U. States. It is the most insulting and outrageous way of treating a grave and important subject we have ever heard of. Look at the real facts. They, the "Black Democracy"—not the people, but the rascally leaders—by the aid of the entire South, repealed the Missouri

Compromise. It is not necessary to dwell upon the Compromise—it was old and venerable and constitutional and right, and was "canonized in the hearts of the people." It was a barrier against the introduction of slavery into Kansas; the people of the North and the great majority of the non-slaveholding people of the South were opposed to the introduction of slavery into Kansas; they hoped that that new and extensive region might remain open and free for emigration from the older and richer States, for the poor white men of the North and of the South; they know that slavery degrades white labor wherever it exists, and the most tremendous excitement that ever existed in our country has followed the most rascally repeal of that most venerated and sacred Compromise. The repealers, their aiders and abettors have murdered some, imprisoned others, and finally driven out most of the free State people of Kansas. The friends of Buchanan are even now guarding all the avenues of approach to Kansas, and they are driving back every free State emigrant who approaches to enter Kansas—everybody who desires to know the truth, knows that this is so. Atchison, Douglas, Stringfellow, Richardson, Le Compte, Sheriff Jones and I. N. Morris all stand on the same platform. They were all in favor of the REPEAL, they are all now in favor of the new Douglas, alias Toombs bill, and President Pierce has the appointment of the commissioners to carry out this bill. Can any honest man under the sun believe that this new bill is not intended to secure Kansas as a slave State? How under the sun can the friends of free Kansas consent to accept this new Douglas-Toombs bill? If Douglas and Toombs want to do the fair thing, why don't they accept the Trumbull amendment, or Mr. Dunn's bill, or any of the numerous propositions in Congress going to restore the Compromise and to repeal the infamous bogus Kansas laws? The rascally Black Democratic leaders have done all they could to crush out freedom in Kansas; they now want to put the finishing stroke to their policy by a measure which on its face seems fair, but which, when coupled with the history of the repeal, and the affairs of Kansas, is the most infamously barefaced and deceptive. They are like the robber who knocks you down and takes your purse, and then complains if all honest men of all parties rise up and denounce the robbery. They have the impudence to turn round and say, what would you have to talk about, if this robbery had not been committed?

The Douglas-Toombs bill a fair and just remedy for the wrongs inflicted on the real settlers of Kansas!—It is a capingly devised trick—a trap, like the "sliding lid stuffing box" of San Francisco—designed to confirm the wrongs, and cheat the people under the deceptive guise of an honest expression of their wishes at the polls!



NEW HAVEN:

SATURDAY, AUGUST 16, 1856.

FILLMORE TACTICS.

We take it that every man of understanding knows the question at issue in the coming Presidential election. No one who lays any claim to ordinary powers of observation can fail to perceive that the great point to be settled is in regard to the extension of slavery into the Territories. For months past almost every press in the land has been pouring forth a perfect deluge of articles written more or less directly in regard to this one topic. The people have been roused up by the struggle, and the whole nation has been in a constant state of agitation from Maine to Texas and from Florida to Wisconsin. This disturbance has not been the work of a moment, but the growth of long years, and the present campaign derives its chief interest, North and South, from the fact that it involves this matter of slavery extension.

No reasonable man will deny this. It is understood by every school boy in the country, and the veriest dunce in creation could not mistake the ground of the contest. With this plain view of the case, the tactics of the Fillmore men seem worthy of consideration as a political curiosity, however little they may savor of political propriety or honesty.

The case stands just in this wise. The slavery-extension party have their exponent in James Buchanan. Nobody doubts that. The anti-slavery-extension party have their exponent in John C. Fremont. Nobody doubts that. With only these two candidates in the field, the North would go almost unanimously for Fremont. Nobody doubts that. The Buchanan men will stick to their candidate through thick and thin, without regard to any other who may be in the field. Nobody doubts that. The only way to defeat Fremont is to draw off a part of his votes upon some minor issue. Nobody doubts that. This is precisely what the Fillmore men are trying to do. Does anybody doubt that? Let us see.

Hiram Ketchum, a leading member of the New York Bar, an orator of no mean power, and a politician of long standing, in his recent speech here pursued a course most cunningly and perfectly adapted, and, as he himself avowed, purposely intended, to bring about this very end. He did not even attempt to show that Mr. Fillmore would oppose, or would have any inclination to oppose, the indefinite extension of slavery in the Territories. By dexterously magnifying everything else which stands the remotest chance of ever becoming a matter of any importance in the administration of our government, he endeavored to convince his audience that the question of slavery-extension is, after all, of very little importance, and that it would be better to drop it here at the North altogether and turn our whole attention to some other one of those momentous subjects with which his brain seemed to be crammed to overflowing. Now we venture to suggest to the honorable gentleman, that after the country has been rocked to and fro for months together, so violently that the Chief

Magistrate has almost been tipped out of his chair before his time, the people in their short-sighted ignorance may be slightly excusable for paying some little attention to the cause of all this tumult, and for allowing themselves to have some regard to it in the election of their executive officers. "My little dear," said an old eel to her young ones as they were stowed away snugly in a fisherman's basket, "My little dears, when they come to skin you, remember, you must not wiggle!" There are immortal old eel doctrines which demand your whole attention; and if they see fit to strip off your outer tabernacle, never mind!—that is not the great issue. You are to be conservative eels, and quiet; but in no case must you agitate and wiggle!

However consolatory such doctrines may be in seldom, we are inclined to think there will be time enough to adopt them in political affairs when the "skinning" becomes inevitable. At present we humbly prefer to take measures for preventing any such consummation.

Mr. Ketchum uttered a sad lamentation over the existence of mob law in California, like the prophet when he wept over the sins of Jerusalem. But what said he of that most atrocious and outrageous system of mob law which prevails in Kansas, and has prevailed there for many a weary month? Not a word.

He was roused to indignation that malefactors were executed in San Francisco, without trial by the proper Courts. What said he of those peaceable citizens who are strung up on a gibbet somewhat nearer home, without the shadow of a trial of any sort, and for no pretended crime, except their opinion? Not a word.

He thundered against the Catholics, and very justly it may be, because they were unwilling to have the Bible read in Schools.—What said he of those who prevent the majority of human beings in one section of our country from reading the Bible anywhere? Not a word.

He magnified the advantages which the North derived from the trade with Southern ports. What said he of the insulting examinations and intolerable delays to which Northern vessels are unjustly subjected at those ports? Not a word.

He exalted the old whig party for having opposed the acquisition of territory. What praise did he bestow upon that party for the efforts it has made for prohibiting slavery from the territory after it was acquired? Not a word.

He enlorged Daniel Webster as the expounder of the Constitution. What said he of him as the unflinching opponent of slavery extension? Not a word.

He enlarged upon the dangers growing out of German irreligion and sabbath-breaking.—What said he of the lamentable irreligion of the South, and of that habit of Sabbath-breaking among those which has made their chief city a Sunday Pandemonium, hardly equalled in this respect by Paris itself? Not a word.

He counseled moderation at every breath; and almost wept over the immoderate course of Northern men. What said he of such "moderation" as the Southern gentlemen exhibit under the leadership of Pierce, Douglas, Brooks, Stringfellow and Shannon? Not a word.

He favored the old whig doctrine of improving harbors and cleaning snags from the western rivers. What said he of cleaning out those "snags" which stop every boat as it goes

up the Missouri, and will not allow a civilized man to pass? Not a word.

He held up the constitutional right of the South to catch their runaways among us.—What said he of the constitutional right of a Northern man to approach the consecrated soil of niggerdom and speak to a white man, even against "the institution without catching a coat of tar and feathers? Not a word.

He held up both hands in holy horror at the thought that the Pope of Rome could interfere with an election in New York by influencing those who were actual citizens; and well he might. What said he of the great Moloch of Slavery who sends his minions from a foreign soil into Kansas to do his bidding by brute force at every election? Not a word.

He labored hard to impress his hearers with the fact that the territory belongs to all the States equally. What said he concerning the right of the citizens of all the States equally, North as well as South, to enter the territory and remain there without molestation? Not a word.

He shuddered at the polygamy of the Mormons. What did he do in contemplating that all but universal system of polygamy which prevails at the South? He did not manifest the slightest tremor nor even mention it.

The Fillmore men are striving to ignore the real question at issue, and distract Fremont votes, upon a mere issue of "gas." They are trying to turn the Republican watchmen aside by crying out "wolf!" Well, when the "wolf" comes we will attend to him. The great Leviathan of Slavery has come and the business now is to do battle with him. As well might a man vote for the Great Mogul, on the issue of "The Forty Thieves," as to vote for Mr. Fillmore on any of the chimerical "issues" his disciples are laboring to invent. 1k.

The Atlas.

SATURDAY MORNING, AUGUST 16, 1856.

Those unhappy persons who are compelled, in consequence of a difficulty with the public authorities, to dance upon nothing, always display the most edifying piety and go into raptures of repentance, before commencing their performances. It is also asserted of the oldest Democrat in creation (the little black gentleman, we mean, with the caudal peculiarity of construction) that, being quite unwell and in a very poor way, he announced his intention, should his life be spared, of entering one of the monastic orders. We are further informed that upon recovering he refused, in the most dishonorable manner, to keep his promise, but went up and down the world, viciously whisking his tail, and conducting in a more reprehensible manner than ever. The Democratic party is now as sick as the—well, never mind particulars; it has had a surfeit of Lecomptes, Catos, Donaldsons and Aitchisons; and being in a very wretched condition, and in full view of approaching dissolution, it is attempting a sly little game of repentance, after the manner of the personage above mentioned. We are not surprised, therefore, to find in the newspapers such paragraphs as the following:

"It is believed that the President, who has the right of pardoning all persons prosecuted for a breach of territorial laws, has ordered that the Kansas prosecutions for treason be dismissed. He has not yet dismissed Judges Lecompte and Cato, but it is commonly supposed that he will do it, upon the representations which may be made by Col. Geary, as to the state of things in Kansas."

Now we must say that we like this exceedingly. Robinson and his companions, to subserve the selfish purposes of an unprincipled Administration, are arrested, charged with a capital offence, are refused bail,

are kept in prison for months, away from their business and families; and now, to promote the election of Plat. Buchanan, Esq., they are to be liberated! Why, how can Gen. Pierce, who is known to be the possessor of one of the most remarkable consciences in the country, consent to let loose upon the unhappy Territory a pack of traitors, deserving, according to Lecompte and Douglas, of the gallows? This is a most astonishing amnesty; this is the most curious clemency; this is a pretty position for an Administration to be in, when it is compelled to beg its State prisoners to pack up and be off, without more ado!

And as for poor Lecompte and Cato, what have they done to be so treated? We are sure they have proved willing tools of an unscrupulous master; they have done his business, no matter how black or bad, without a wince; they have executed the disgraceful laws in a very disgraceful way; they have been as inequitable and oppressive and unscrupulous as even Mr. Pierce's heart could desire; and now, forsooth, they are to be kicked off the bench, just as if they had been virtuous and just and clement!

We are afraid these manifestations of sorrow for the past, and of virtuous intentions, will not make a very profound impression upon the people of this country. The motive protrudes rather too plainly. The lax church member who was brought before the elders for playing upon the fiddle, promised to draw no more long bows or short bows; but the worthy men who had him in charge, concluded that to render his repentance and reform certain, it would be well for them to take from him the profane instrument; and they took it. In order that the Democratic party may not again shamefully abuse public authority, the people will take from it that authority; and will prevent the possibility of future sin by withholding the power of sinning. While every thing points to a victory of the people over the mercenary cohorts of the custom-house, it is not strange that there should be concessions to public feeling at Washington. But they come too late. Half-measures will not now suffice. The reform must be sweeping and thorough.

LETTERS OF HON. J. Z. GOODRICH
TO MR. TOOMBS, OF GEORGIA.
No. II.

"Singular Ignorance of or Want of Fidelity to the Facts."

STOCKBRIDGE, Mass., Aug. 14, 1856.

HON. ROBERT TOOMBS, U. S. Senator from Georgia.

Sir—I closed my first letter by quoting from your lecture your assertion that those who "affirm that Congress has, from the beginning of the government, uniformly claimed and repeatedly exercised the power to discourage slavery, and to exclude it from the Territories," do so "with singular ignorance of or want of fidelity to the facts." More than nine-tenths of your audience, and of the people of Massachusetts and the Free States, whether you knew it or not, believe that this power exists, and are ready to affirm that Congress has, from the beginning of the government, uniformly claimed and repeatedly exercised it. But you certainly did know that in a speech which I delivered in the House of Representatives, on the 27th of May, 1852, in your presence and hearing, I maintained that "our fathers, when they framed the Constitution, and the people of all the States, when they ratified it, did mutually give and receive a pledge to apply and maintain the principle of excluding slavery from the Territories of the United States;" that its perpetual exclusion would be "such an administration of the government as was contemplated by the Act of Union; and that, in substance, "Congress had, from the beginning of the government, uniformly claimed and repeatedly exercised the power to exclude it." You were a member of the House at the time, and occupied a seat near mine. When I alluded, in discussing these points, to the declaration in one of the resolutions of the State Convention of Georgia, in December, 1850, that "that State will resist, to the disruption of every tie which binds her to the Union," any act prohibiting the introduction of slavery into the Territories of Utah and New Mexico," you remarked that I had quoted the resolution correctly, and that it expressed the purpose of Georgia. You therefore must have known that I had affirmed, and publicly too, what you said in your lecture could not be done without "singular ignorance of or want of fidelity to the facts." Perhaps Southern chivalry might consider this, uttered as it was in my own State, and neighborhood almost, as having so much of a personal look about it, as not only to justify, but to

kind was intended. But I am bound to consider it the easiest mode you could think of to raise, not a personal, but yet, by implication, quite an ugly issue between us. Singular ignorance on this subject, especially if anything is affirmed in regard to it, is inexcusable; and want of fidelity to the facts, which is want of honesty and truthfulness in stating and applying them, is of course inexcusable in anybody. These two statements, though general, are sufficiently particular to meet the issue you present, and set things right between us, if found to be wrong. When the facts, not unproved assertions merely, however boldly made, are presented, they will be seen to have a self-applying power, and, pointing to the guilty party, whoever he may be, will say, "Thou art the man." Hence I do not take exception to your implied charge, preferring to wait and see whether there is truth enough in it to prevent a rebound before it reaches me. It impliedly admits, by its very positiveness, what I maintained in my first letter, viz.: that the truth on this subject may be known, or rather that the facts may be substantiated by evidence which the human mind cannot resist or disbelieve. Take the two opposing statements, that which I make, viz.: "That Congress has, from the beginning of the government, uniformly claimed and repeatedly exercised the power to discourage slavery and exclude it from the Territories;" and that which you make, viz.: that this is an "extraordinary pretension," and "was for the first time asserted upon the application of Missouri for admission into the Union." You cannot, in your right mind, and possessed of the facts, believe one of them, and I, in my right mind, and possessed of the facts, believe the other. The evidence is too clear and certain to admit of our coming to such opposite conclusions. Hence neither of us can doubt which statement is true. To this it must come at last, as the laws of mind in clear cases are as arbitrary as the laws of nature. And at this point we shall learn whether we are still kept apart through want of fidelity to the facts, which prevents either of us from avowing what his real belief is, and admitting the truth.

As the questions you have raised are very important, I propose somewhat thoroughly to examine them.

YOUR FACTS AND POSITIONS.

First, then, what are the facts, as you claim them, and the positions or principles you maintain they establish? They are, that "when the Constitution was adopted, the question (of slavery) had been settled in the Northwest Territory by the articles of cession of that Territory, by the State of Virginia"—that being all the territory, as you admit, which belonged to the United States at that time; that "the history of the times, and the debates in the Convention which framed the Constitution, show that the whole subject was much considered by them, and perplexed them in the extreme," and that those provisions of the Constitution which related to it were earnestly considered by the State Conventions which adopted it; that "the result of the struggle was, that not a single clause was inserted in the Constitution giving power to the Federal Government any where, either to abolish, limit, restrain, or in any other manner to impair the system of slavery in the United States; but, on the contrary, every clause which was inserted in the Constitution on this subject does in fact, and was so intended, either to increase it, to strengthen it, or to protect it;" that "Congress is bound to protect and maintain it in the States where it exists, and wherever else the flag floats and its jurisdiction is paramount;" that "for the first thirty years of our history this general duty to protect this great interest (in the Territories) equally with every other, was universally admitted and fairly performed by every department of the Government;" that "in 1819—thirty years after the adoption of the Constitution—upon the application of Missouri for admission into the Union, the EXTRAORDINARY PRETENSION was for the first time asserted by a majority of the non-slaveholding States, that Congress had not only the power to prohibit the extension of slavery into the new Territories of the Republic, but that it had the power to compel new States, seeking admission into the Union, to prohibit it in their own Constitutions;" that this, at that time, 1819, was a "novel" as well as "extraordinary pretension;" that "notwithstanding the constant assertions to the contrary by gentlemen from the North, up to that period, (when the Missouri Compromise restricted slavery north of 36.30.) no act was ever passed by constitutional power to prevent any citizen of the United States owning slaves, from removing with them to our Territories, and there receiving legal protection for this property;" that "until that time, such persons did so remove into all the Territories owned or acquired by the United States, except the Northwest Territory;" that you "hold the ordinance of 1787 (which applied to that Territory) not to be within the principle asserted;" and "that the action of Congress (after the adoption of the Constitution, you mean,) in reference to the ordinance, does not contravene this principle;" first, because it (the ordinance) "was passed, on the 13th of July, 1787, before

the adoption of the present Constitution;" second, because it "purported on its face to be a perpetual compact between the State of Virginia, the people of the Territory, and the then Government of the United States, and unalterable, except by the consent of all the parties;" and third, because "when Congress met for the first time under the new Government, on the 4th of March, 1789, it found the (Territorial) Government, thus established by virtue of this ordinance, in actual operation, and on the 7th of August, 1789, it passed a law, making the officers of Governor and Secretary of the Territory conform to the Constitution of the new Government; it did nothing more; it made no reference to the sixth and last section of the ordinance which inhibited slavery;" that "from those (assumed and asserted) facts and principles, it is clear that the legislation for the northwest territory does not conflict with the principles which" you assert, and does not afford precedents for legislation against slavery in the territories;" and "that such was neither the principle nor the policy upon which the act of the 7th of August, 1789, was based;" that "the power to prohibit slavery in the common territories *** is not proper, because it seeks to use an implied power for other and different purposes from any specified, expressed, or intended by the grantors;" and "because it violates the fundamental conditions of the Union—the equality of the States;" and that "the position of those who claim the power to exclude slavery from the territories, *** is not sustained by a single precedent."

The foregoing is a fair statement, as you will not deny, of the facts as you claim they exist, and of your positions. You maintain in substance, in reference to the Northwest Territory, that Virginia ceded it to the United States upon condition that slavery should be perpetually excluded from it, or that there was something in the cession requiring its exclusion; (the question could be settled against slavery by the articles of cession in no other way); and that the ordinance of 1787, which applied to that Territory, was in effect a compliance with this condition or requirement, and thus became a compact between that State on the one side, and the people of the Territory, and the then Government of the United States, on the other. In this manner you attempt to show, and, assuming the facts to be as you state, you do show, that it was Virginia, and not the United States, that excluded slavery from that Territory, and that the action of the United States in the passage of the ordinance, being at most a mere compliance with the terms of the cession, does not conflict with the principles you assert, nor afford precedents for legislation against slavery in the Territories; and further, that the action of Congress in reference to the ordinance, after the Constitution was adopted, "does not contravene this principle," nor afford such precedents, because it merely "gave its consent by its legislation to the (Territorial) Governments established and provided for in the compact" with Virginia, without attempting to "assert the right to alter a solemn compact entered into" by that State "with the former Government," which you say "it certainly had no power to alter," and without even referring to the sixth section, which inhibited slavery. This, briefly, but precisely, in substance, is what you assert on this point.

But in order the more effectually to set aside the ordinance as a precedent for legislation against slavery in the territories, which your struggle admits you must do, or fail at the start, you in effect say that it was passed prior to the commencement of our history. This you do by asserting that "for the first thirty years of our history the general duty to protect this great interest equally with every other (wherever the flag floated) was universally admitted and fairly performed." The time you embrace, as constituting the first thirty years of our history, is the thirty years prior to 1819, as in that year you say the "extraordinary pretension" was for the first time asserted that Congress had power to prohibit the extension of slavery into the new territories of the republic." These thirty years prior to 1819, which it thus appears you considered the first thirty in our history, carry us back only to 1789, when the present Constitution went into operation. This being so, neither the Ordinance of 1787, nor any thing that occurred prior to the present Constitution is part of our history, and of course can have no effect either as establishing the policy of the government, or as a precedent. And yet you speak of the government which entered into what you call the compact with Virginia on the 13th of July, 1787, the date of the ordinance, as "the then government of the United States," from which it would seem that we had a government of the United States previous to the first thirty years of our history. But, if you are right, the government, after we entered upon the period of our history, merely gave its "consent to the (territorial) governments established and provided for in the compact" made by Virginia "with the former government," which had in fact existed eight years before our history began. Such is the confusion to which your theory of setting aside the ordinance leads. I think if Jefferson were living he would give you the credit of furnishing the best illustration on record of

what he meant by "trying what meaning may be squeezed out of the text or invented against it."

Our history, then, commenced when the present Constitution went into operation; and with it the former anti-slavery policy—it was really, I suppose you would say, the policy of Virginia, consented to merely, and very reluctantly, too, by the United States—was changed from that of "preventing citizens of the United States owning slaves (you admit they were prevented) from removing with them to our territories, and there receiving legal protection for this property, to that of "the general duty, universally admitted and fairly performed, of protecting the great interest" of slavery in the territories "equally with every other."

Such is the manner in which you set aside the ordinance of 1787, either as a precedent for legislation against slavery in the territories, or as an indication of the purpose and policy of the government on that subject. Ignoring, as you do every thing prior to the present Constitution, you start with that as the commencement of our history, and wind up by asserting of "those who affirm that Congress has, from the beginning of the government, uniformly claimed, and repeatedly exercised the power to exclude slavery from the territories," do so "with singular ignorance of, or want of fidelity to the facts." But your wiser course would have been to have ignored every thing prior to 1854, for there are a good many troublesome facts, which even your theory fails to explain, between that time and the commencement of our history, taking it as you date it. These we shall come to in their order.

Respectfully,
J. Z. GOODRICH.

Boston Journal.

SATURDAY EVENING, AUG. 16, '56.

KANSAS.—A correspondent of the New York Post writes from Kansas that matters are quiet there for the present. He says:

"Accompanying men, and many of the pro-slavery men have had a slight touch of the rubber game themselves. A party of Boston's men, and sundry others, have been playing at Lexington, until the landlords have got tired of house-keepers who don't pay their board. One of them told his boarders a few days since that he could not keep them any longer. Their reply was, 'If you cannot, you must leave, and let some one else pay your place who will. We were sent out here to fight, and must stay.'"

Some are ready to compromise with the Free State men, and dispense with the territorial laws; join with others without regard to party, form a Citizens' Committee after the California style, and stop the outrages. If we could have bona fide evidence that this plan would be carried out, it might answer the purpose; but as it would be so easy to return to the "legal enactments" of Missouri, no compromise with the evil is probable for the better plan. We think they are "getting in hot water here." It cheers our hearts to hear the good news that Fremont's prospects are growing more and more bright."

Daily Evening Traveller.

BOSTON:

SATURDAY, AUGUST 16, 1856.

KANSAS.—THE TRIALS, AND ALARM OF INVASION.—A correspondent of the St. Louis Republican (pro-slavery) gives a sketch of the opening of the United States District Court, before Judge Lecompte. He says the docket is unusually heavy, from the great number of cases of a political character. "The expected trials have drawn together large crowds of persons from both Kansas and Missouri. In consequence of an absurd rumor that General Lane with 500 troops was in readiness to effect a forcible rescue of the prisoners, General Smith had sent fifty dragoons to protect the court; and as the writer frankly admits and rightly states, "It is the first time in our national history that the precincts of a United States Court have gleamed with the glitter of protecting bayonets." It has a strange appearance and a saddening effect. Instead of awakening in the mind those hilarious and patriotic sentiments incident to martial shows, it shadows the spirit with the mysterious gloom of an indefinable portent."

The "thief doth fear each bush an officer," and it appears that the band of 250 poor emigrants who had been obliged, from the obstructions on the Missouri river, to work their weary way through Iowa and Nebraska into Kansas, had been magnified by fear into an "invading army," so that General Richardson sent out two scouts to "reconnoitre." It is right these spies should have all the honor of their enterprise, and we shall therefore give their names: they are Bernard L. Wolf and R. J. Boyd. According to the writer, when they reached the way-worn settlers,

"they entered the camp unhesitatingly, and pretended to be ultra free-soilers. They were kindly treated, and remained all night." They appear, however, to have been effectually fooled, as they returned with an alarming cock-and-bull story that General Lane had returned East to raise an army of five thousand men; that he intended to charter boats to bring them through to Kansas without touching at the Missouri towns; and that he would have sufficient artillery to batter down and burn any town that attempted to intercept him! &c., &c.

Gen. Richardson has sent this statement to Gen. Smith, and advised him that if the U. S. troops do not stop to disarm these invaders, he will be compelled to call out the militia for that purpose.

According to the Kansas correspondent of the New York Evening Post, even the pro-slavery men of the territory are getting disgusted with the conduct of Buford's men and the other bands of reckless blackguards led there from the South. He gives one instance:

A party of Buford's men, and kindred spirits have been staying at Leecompton, until the landlords have got tired of boarders who don't pay their board. One of them told his boarders a few days since that he could not keep them any longer. Their reply was—"If you cannot, you must leave, and let some one take your place who will. We were sent out here to fight, and must stay."

The writer further states that the pro-slavery settlers are ready to compromise with the free state men and dispense with the territorial laws, join with others without regard to party, and form a Vigilance Committee, after the California style, to put a stop to the outrages.

Daily Citizen and News.

Lowell, Saturday, Aug. 16, 1856.

SEND THEM AID. A member of the State Kansas Aid Committee writes to the Boston Advertiser, urging the necessity of immediate contributions for the relief of the Free State settlers of Kansas. Quite an amount of funds is believed to be lying at present in the hands of town committees, kept back on account of the stories that the money was mispent or not applied, all of which is not true. The Kansas settlers just now are in urgent need of succor, especially those who have just got in through Iowa. By all means let the North rally to the aid of their own emigrants.

The Vermont Phoenix

BRATTLEBORO, VT.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 16, 1856.

THE DEMOCRACY TERRIFIED.

A significant sign of the times, and one of the most important that has ever been developed since the commencement of the present canvass, is the backing out of the administration and the Democratic party from the positions assumed in the Kansas-Nebraska bill, the subsequent course of the President and his advisers in relation to Kansas, and the platform adopted at Cincinnati.

The squatter sovereignty principle as embodied in the bill organizing the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska, has been entirely abandoned. The bill of the present session, proposed by Toombs and endorsed by Douglas, completely ignores its existence. Gov. Shannon has been removed from office and a successor appointed who will not be permitted to follow in his footsteps. The administration has determined not to prosecute Gov. Robinson and his friends who are now in duress, for the crime of treason with which they have been charged. And so much of the Cincinnati platform as endorses the course pursued by the President in relation to the affairs of Kansas, may now be considered as virtually a nullity. Even the reconsideration

of the House bill admitting Kansas into the Union as a State under the Topeka constitution was moved by Mr Barclay, a Democrat of Pennsylvania, and a supporter of Buchanan.

Now this retrocession means something.—No administration that stood firm in the affections of a majority of the people would, in so short a period retrace steps of such a magnitude. No party that felt any confidence in its prospects of success would so soon change front in face of an enemy. Such a movement indicates great weakness as well as an untenable position. Let us see what has occasioned this sudden and important counter-march.

Previous to the meeting of the Philadelphia Convention the Democrats counted upon an easy victory. They pointed with pride to their former victories, and to their then apparently undiminished ranks and veteran troops. They also counted upon the failure of the opposition composed, as it was, of men of such diversified antecedents. But when they saw JOHN C. FREMONT selected with so much unanimity and enthusiasm they were alarmed; the response which that nomination met with disconcerted them; and when they beheld the stampede from their ranks occasioned by the declaration of their candidate that he was "no longer plain James Buchanan but the nominee of the Cincinnati Convention," and that he could not "add to or subtract from the platform of that Convention, a single plank," they realized that it was necessary that something should be done.

The result of the recent election in Iowa, the manner in which the rank and file of those who have, until the present season, acted with the Democracy in Pennsylvania, Illinois, and other strongly Democratic States, are now deserting their old standard have opened the eyes of the administration. They see the handwriting on the wall and tremble.—Under the pressure induced by fears of political safety they are induced to recede from positions, which no considerations of justice or of right could prevent them from maintaining. This pressure is, however, but just commencing. It will continue until not only wrong doing will be prevented but wrong doers punished.

New-York.

PRINCIPLES, NOT MEN.

SATURDAY MORNING, AUGUST 16, 1856.

THE REAL STATE OF THINGS IN KANSAS.

Recent and detailed information has been received at the office of the New York Kansas League, 229 Broadway, from most intelligent and authentic sources, and some of the leading facts we will give. It is important that the truth should be known, as there is much suffering among Free State men, and a little money promptly sent to them will save them from want, sickness, and death. Such is the condition of many of these noble men and women, that there must apparently be much loss of life the ensuing autumn and winter, from mere destitution, unless relief is sent them; and happily a way is now open by which relief can be safely furnished them. Those who know the facts cannot but feel deeply the inhumanity of these newspapers, especially in this city, which treat the subject with ridicule or indifference. Some of our editors seem unwilling to appear openly in opposition to our meritorious and oppressed countrymen in Kansas, and take the more timid way of casting doubts on all accounts received from the Territory, or even charging them all with being full of "lies." The report of the Committee of Congress would be enough to vindicate the general veracity

of the accounts published for many months by the Free-State papers; and our readers may rest assured that no acts of heartlessness and cruelty have been committed, which have never yet been published, in consequence of the difficulty, or the danger, of making them known. There is some consolation in knowing that the time must come when the truth will all be known; and then the criminality of the agents of those atrocities will be exposed, and the still more culpable schemers and inciters who have employed and directed them. Such disgrace as awaits DAVID R. ARMITAGE, when the simple history of his proceedings shall be published, has seldom fallen to the lot of any human being. Records of which he probably has little suspicion, have already been made, of his own declarations made amidst his friends, in the retreats of his ruffians, which are yet to see the light. Suffice it to say, that there have, perhaps, never been bands of robbers and murderers, in any country, so destitute of every trace of honorable or humane sentiments, as those remnants of the "noble South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama youth," taken to Kansas by BURROUGHS, and now rambling near the frontier, robbing the wagons of peaceful settlers of the provisions destined for their suffering families.

The time will come, also, when the character and conduct of many Free State men and women will be known to the world; and abundant facts, now on record and fully attested, proving their motives, spirit, labors, and endurance, will present a noble and glorious counterbalance to the national disgrace cast upon the whole "Union," by the barbarous, the savage, the worse than Indian conduct of the invaders of Kansas.

Persons wishing to send aid to Council City, can ascertain direct means of transmitting it themselves, at the office of the Kansas League. Extract from a letter, dated

COUNCIL CITY, KANSAS TERRITORY, July 27.

Dear Sir.—Things are somewhat quiet at this moment. Mr. M., our neighbor, had his load of flour and bacon taken from him last week, this side of Westport, worth a hundred and forty dollars. There are hundreds of men still lurking in and near Westport, (Missouri,) concealed in the woods, committing these outrages; and they will continue their lawless career until we get an efficient government. The symptoms which we perceive around about us portend a more dreadful irruption of the hellish elements than we have yet witnessed. Let it come, if it must; but may the authors and instigators, both general and local, be swept to the bottom by it. A more wicked and weak set of men were never before permitted to be clothed with the garments of office.

Mr. —, has this moment come in from a tour in the Southern part of this Territory. He says he has been down seventy miles, to the location of Octagon city. Most of the men have gone back. He has been gone two weeks, and looks very weather-beaten, but has much courage. Says he has seen tough times; has traveled twenty-five miles per day. He is delighted with the country; but says that it costs something to effect a good and lasting settlement.

We are now visited by much sickness, and of a type more violent than last year, and what a grievous it is that we are without a physician, Dr. Kizza being unable to attend to his patients, by his own sickness. Whole families are down with fever; and it makes the heart sad to see their condition. Mr. LATON SMITH, late of your State, died last week. His family are sick.

I content that most of the sickness is the result of a general disregard of the laws which govern health in this region.—1st. They live in the timber where the miasmata are not dispersed by the breezes; 2d. They drink the water in the channels of the streams, which is at this season nearly stagnant, being generally too poor and too feeble to dig wells, which furnish excellent and wholesome water; 3d. Eating bacon-fat and corn bread which is not healthy food for them; and this because the supplies of provisions have been stopped and robbed by marauders; 4th. Exposure to night dews, and meridian heat; the want of boards to build comfortable houses and especially to make floors.

Then good medical treatment is much needed. Water and infinitesimal doses of medicine do not seem adapted to this region, when the system has become diseased and debilitated by the causes above enumerated. Active medicine seems necessary, to heal off the rapid progress which it often makes. Unadulterated medicines of the proper kinds, are greatly needed here. There is an article called Quinine, which the capacity of men leads them to put off under that name, mixed with deleterious substances, which produce dreadful effects, aggravating the disease, prostrating the patient at a sometimes bloating him, as if with the dropsy. Men who can be guilty of such a crime, must be worse, if possible than open murderers. They deserve to be stuffed with their own deadly drugs. We had once a very excellent physician; an educated man, well read in his profession; but he went East, and I hear is detained in Missouri, on his way back.

parts of the fine saw and grist-mill subscribed for by citizens of your city and State, for this place, have arrived, after long detentions in Missouri. The success in getting it out here, in the midst of all the troubles and obstacles presented, I consider a great achievement. There are good men everywhere. The expense has been greatly increased above what it would have been in peaceable times. Men are now busily employed in setting up the mill, and it will be in operation in about three weeks. A well has been dug, with plenty of water, timber out, stone quarried, and the furnaces are going up.

We hope to see better times here soon at Council City. This, our New York settlement, with its most superior location and many advantages, may expect to enjoy great and lasting prosperity, when the clouds shall have blown over. Five thousand dollars distributed here, could not, in my opinion, do as much good for our neighbors in this extensive settlement, as the mill will produce this season. It will grind, as well as saw, and will soon have a bolt, for wheat flour.

Our corn looks well, and our crops generally are quite promising. A month or two of propitious weather will give a good harvest, sufficient, I hope, to carry us through this winter."

Theodore Dwight, Esq., President of the New York Kansas League.

Extract from another letter to the same, dated Council City, July 28th.—(The writer, it appears, was not then aware of the severity of the route through Leavenworth.)

"The mails, letters and papers are very irregular, and I think you have not received all my correspondence. The small amount of money sent me, from a gentleman in New York, for the poor in this settlement, I have received, and given out, with some more of my own, in small sums, to make it do all the good I can. I have written to the Treasurer of the New York Committee, for aid and help.

"I am satisfied that all Free State men have not seen the worst of the matter yet, so much stealing, plundering, and murdering, as has been, and is now going on in the Territory. It is very unsafe travelling here. Unless the North come to our rescue, we are doomed to disappointment and the overthrow of all we have done, and must lose Kansas for freedom. The winter will soon set in, and the trouble we have had will be redoubled. If F. PIERCE does not have enough to condemn him at the day of judgment, I can hardly imagine who will.

"A man from this place who has a store of goods, was robbed last week of a whole load of flour, &c., near the Mission, a little west of Westport, Missouri. He being a cripple, a one-legged man, yet received no mercy from them. They were Missourians, and under their leader, COLEMAN, the murderer of Dow.

"Use your influence in helping us to give to the poor people in our New York settlement. I will be prompt in writing you and to any others who may send aid to our place. I take receipts from persons to whom I distribute, and will return prompt and particular amounts."

AFFAIRS IN WASHINGTON.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

WASHINGTON, AUG. 14.

The matter of the Kansas Judges is not decided. The President is awaiting the issue of the struggle in the House over the provisions to the appropriations. I repeat in substance what I have previously stated, that Col. GEARY requested the dismissal of the Judges, and the abrogation of the alleged territorial laws, and declared to the President that he could not enforce such laws with such men. The Judges were invited to resign, just as Governor REEDER was, and, like REEDER, they declined. Then it was resolved to remove them, and it was generally believed, by those who take an interest in Kansas affairs, that on last Monday they were removed. But it appears that again, yesterday, the whole matter was made the subject of a sharp contest in the Cabinet, and it was currently reported that the Cabinet divided—four for dismissal and three for retention—and that the President sided with the majority. (The fact, I presume to be, that after the President had concluded to gratify Col. GEARY, Col. DAVIS, Mr. DOBBIN, and Mr. GUTHRIE protested against the surrender of the coercive system to the clamors of the BUCHANAN wing of the Democracy, and that thereupon the President suspended action upon his decision. And this is the more probable from the fact that a powerful executive influence has been set to work in the House to defeat their contemplated action on Kansas affairs in connection with the appropriations. The result is already apparent. The majority for the free State cause in the House has been much weakened.)

The provisions to the civil appropriation bill, forbidding the use of money to sustain the acts of the spurious Kansas Legislature, were sustained, on test

motions, by 97 to 93, 97 to 90, 98 to 85. Whether the four majority on the principal proviso can sustain itself through a contest with the Senate and the President, remains to be determined.

This question embraces the whole subject in issue between the North; and the representative of a free State who falters now, should be marked and rejected by the people.

EVENING EXPRESS.

SATURDAY EVENING, AUGUST 16.

THE TRIBUNE "KANSAS FUND."
Brother Greeley does not like to have the "Slievegammon" business raked up. In answer to the Express, in a strain peculiar only to injured innocents, he now says:

"In 1846, if any money stopped at this office on its way to the help of Young Ireland, it was instantly handed over to the General Treasurer chosen, not by us, but by the friends of the cause, whose name is synonymous with integrity and patriotism. Whatever may have been done with it thenceforward, and we do not nobelieve the anxiety of the Express to have every item of its disbursement published will ever be gratified, no dollar, no dime, no copper of it, ever came back to the Tribune office, or into the hands of any one connected with this paper. That is all we have to say on that subject."

Come, sir, none of your dodging, now! We charged that you, Horace Greeley, Editor of the Tribune, were one of the Chief Engineers of the "Vauxhall demonstrations" for "Liberty and Humanity" in Ireland, in 1846, and proved, beyond cavil or dispute, from the newspaper files of August, 1846, that the famous "cypher despatch," creating the impression that there had been "an Irish victory over British troops at Slievenamoon" (Slievegammon) was directly traceable to your office, and also, that one of the then Editors of the Tribune used it so to flatter false hopes on the part of the "friends of Ireland" in New York, that money was poured out like water into the Treasury of the so-called Irish Directory, of which H. G. was the master spirit. The Tribune prudently refrains from any attempt to disprove these inopportune and uncomfortable facts,—but resorts to the characteristic expedient of turning State's evidence against the Treasurer of the aforesaid Directory. In substance, the defence of Mr. Greeley is: "Very true; the cash was collected, and we helped to collect it,—but none of it stuck to the hands of any of us in the Tribune office. And, if any of you Irish laborers, or Irish servant girls, want to know anything about your dollars, don't come to the Tribune office, but go to 'the Treasurer.' He knows all about it." This is about the same sort of satisfaction the man got who was in search of his kettle, which some good friend had knavishly thrown overboard. "Your kettle is perfectly safe, sir," said Jack, "I know where it is. It is at the bottom of the sea." Patrick, Teddy, and Bridget's contribution is "safe." "It is (or might as well be) at the bottom of the sea."

(From the Tribune.)

"Precisely so with regard to whatever money may be sent to this office for the cause of Free Kansas. We shall acknowledge the receipt of every penny which may reach us, and shall apply it all to aid the Free State cause in Kansas. Precisely in what way it will be expended, will depend on circumstances,—the price of procure food for plundered Free State citizens of the Territory, or to furnish them with arms and ammunition, or to send forward to our settlers. All that we undertake is, that in thus applying it, not a cent shall fall into the hands of the Border Ruffians, or be expended upon unworthy persons."

Mark this, contributors for "Liberty and Humanity" in Kansas! You are to be treated in precisely the same manner with the Vauxhall victims! Mr. Greeley, though very active in stimulating the collections for Ireland, is now compelled to admit he knows nothing about the cash,—yet, nevertheless, he has the coolness to intimate now, that the subscribers for Freedom in Kansas are to be "treated precisely in the same way." That is to say, the dupes who "give" are to be put off, like the Irish, with a receipt in the Tribune,—but "precisely in what way it will be expended, depends on circumstances!! The dollars for "downtrodden Ireland" in 1848, were to be devoted to the purchase of "arms and ammunition," we remember,—but as no arms or ammunition ever turned up, it was thought that, when the famine came on afterwards, the "Revolutionary" Fund would be used to "procure food." But as we have yet to learn, that a single dollar of the Slievegammon Fund ever went to help buy a bushel of wheat, or a barrel of flour for starving Ireland,—we should like to know, what assurance there is, that the "Kansas Fund," which this same Tribune Office is now so industriously soliciting, will ever go to "furnish arms and ammunition," to "Liberty and Humanity," much less to "procure food" for those who may need it,—in Kansas?

Since we commenced overhauling these "Slievegammon" reminiscences, in order to put "the friends

of Liberty and Humanity" on their guard against the possible repetition of the same game to-day for Kansas, the rations, naturally enough, are getting "small by degrees and beautifully less." People are beginning to put their hands on their pockets, and to think twice before giving. The Tribune tells them "not a cent shall fall into the hands of the Border Ruffians," but cautiously abstains from letting them know into whose particular exchequer it is predestined to go! But only the very verdant fancy, will experience much difficulty in venturing such a good guess as will be likely to supply the place of specific information. Be easy, therefore! The Tribune Kansas Fund, no doubt, is "safe," as "safe" as the Slievegammon fund,—as "safe" as the lost kettle "at the bottom of the sea."

COMMERCIAL ADVERTISER.

SATURDAY AFTERNOON, AUGUST 16.

ADJOURNMENT OF CONGRESS.—The first session of the thirty-fourth Congress is rapidly approaching its conclusion. Monday next is the day fixed for adjournment, and to all appearance there is no intention to protract the session beyond that day. Both houses seem to be urging important bills through their respective chambers. It appears probable that a sufficient number of the Republican members in the House of Representatives will recede from the extreme ground they have been induced to take, and that the appropriation bills, to which amendments have been made involving the whole question of the Kansas dispute, will nevertheless be passed. All other important measures have been pretty well provided for.

As usual on the eve of an adjournment of Congress the telegraphists and letter writers send numerous reports from the Federal Capitol. Some of them probably have a foundation of truth, while others are mere reports or conjectures. Intelligent readers will of course receive such rumors with caution. It has been affirmed, denied, re-affirmed and re-denied, that the President has received Judges Lecompte and O'Connell and Marshal Donaldson. Amid such conflicting rumors it is impossible to say what course the Administration has pursued. Our own opinion is that the dismissal of these officers has been resolved upon, and has probably been despatched to the territory, to take effect simultaneously with Mr. Geary's assumption of the reins of government. If so, it is manifest that the Democracy, speaking through Mr. Pierce's Administration, have discovered and conceded the necessity of dropping extreme Southern, *alias* sectional, proceedings and coming up to that higher standard of nationality under which the friends of Mr. Fillmore have placed themselves.

With respect to another rumor we have greater doubts, viz:—that the federal government at Washington have directed a *nolle prosequi* to be entered in each case of the men indicated in Kansas for treason against the existing Government. We can only regard such a report as likely to be true, on the supposition that the Democratic leaders, to whose representations the Democratic Administration would of course be prepared to listen, have begun to feel the necessity, in that matter, also, of meeting the popular sentiment so fully declared in the growing strength of the Fillmore cause. It is not supposable either that the Democracy would make concessions to the Republican party, or that they fear a candidate who, while unable to secure a single Southern or slave state, is very far from certain of obtaining the electoral ticket of even two thirds of the Northern or free states. It is indeed a mistaken idea that Mr. Fremont is more feared by the Democrats than Mr. Fillmore; and if concessions are being made by the Democracy on the Kansas question, it is in the hope of satisfying the national men who support Mr. Fillmore, and securing them to Mr. Buchanan; and not with any expectation of satisfying the extremists who make up the overwhelming majority of the Republican party.

It is not to be doubted, however, that though other motives may have entered into the course said to be just now pursued by the Administration, the influence of such anticipated yielding on the part of the Administration upon the passage of the appropriation bills was not lost sight of.

KANSAS—A correspondent of the St. Louis Adv. cate, writing from Kansas, says:—

I wish at present to give your readers, especially those that would enquire, an introduction to our city. It is situated on the West bank of the Missouri river, two and a half miles below Fort Leavenworth, on land not quite as high as the common level of this country, yet dry and undulating, with a small living stream running through its midst. A portion of country occupying a space of from six to eight square miles, including the government improvements, and the city is bounded on the North and West by a range of high bluffs, which furnishes an abundant supply of stone, as well as a shield from the strong winds that frequently rise from those directions. From these bluffs the scenery shows exquisitely fine. This is destined to be the great commercial city West of St. Louis.

Our city is only about eighteen or twenty months of age, and yet we have about that many hundred inhabitants. These are mostly Americans, but we have quite a sprinkling of Irishmen and Germans, and a few Africans. The state of society is very far from what it should be.

WASHINGTON CITY.

SATURDAY MORNING, AUGUST 16, 1856.

FIRST SALE OF LAND IN KANSAS TERRITORY. We invite attention to the proclamation of the President in to-day's Union for the sale of the eastern portion of the Delaware trust lands, in Kansas Territory. These lands have been classified and appraised, and will not be sold for less than the appraised value. The towns and cities laid out on these lands will be sold in lots and blocks. The number of acres to be offered for sale is about 208,833, and the quality of the land is unsurpassed, perhaps, by any other equal body of land in the United States; and the location of the tract, lying and being around Fort Leavenworth, is very eligible, and most desirable for a residence.

FREEDOM SHRIEKERS.

The Rock Island (Illinois) Argus says that a party of Massachusetts Kansas Aid Society men encamped in a grove near that city on the night of the 2d instant. On the next day, Sunday, a Rev. Mr. Hayes preached to them in the open air, telling them "it was right to use Sharpe's rifles," &c. Monday they had a row and a fight, which resulted in a separation—the larger portion of them going to Minnesota to settle, and the balance of them straggling along through Iowa towards Kansas.

Republican Gazette.

The Constitution, Liberty and the Union, Now and Forever, One and Inseparable.

TRENTON: SATURDAY, AUGUST 16, 1856.

The "Conservative" Mr. Buchanan.

We have always believed that those persons who supposed that Mr. Buchanan was at all conservative in his feelings, were mistaken. Certainly he has never in his long life given any proof of it; and we think his habits are now too confirmed, too inveterate, to be changed. He has always been a mere party man, and has always done everything his party asked of him.— He sacrificed his private honor rather than interpose between Henry Clay and those charges of corruption and coalition which the Democratic party heaped upon him.

We are sure that if he should be elected he would do whatever the party might demand of him. And as the party is entirely controlled by southern masters, so would he be.

Of the correctness of this opinion, we have now strong evidence, in the following letter of Senator Brown, of Mississippi.— Mr. B. states that Mr. Buchanan pledged himself lately, in the presence of the Com-

mittee of the Cincinnati Convention, in the strongest terms to the principles of the Cincinnati platform, and especially to the acquisition of Cuba, and the settlement of the slavery question on terms satisfactory to the south. So strong were his pledges to the south, that Mr. Brown is filled with admiration for him, and exclaims—"He is as worthy of southern confidence and southern votes as Mr. Calhoun ever was."

LETTER FROM HON. A. G. BROWN.

WASHINGTON CITY, June 16.

My Dear Sir:—I congratulate you upon the nomination of your favorite candidate for the Presidency.

If the nomination of Mr. Buchanan was acceptable to me at first, it is still more so now—since I have seen him and heard him speak. The committee, of which I was one, waited on him at his residence to give him formal and official notice of his nomination, and in the name of the National Democracy to request his acceptance of it. We found him open, frank, and wholly undisguised in the expression of his sentiments.

Mr. Buchanan said, in the presence of all who had assembled, and they were from the North and the South, the East and the West, that he stood upon the Cincinnati platform and endorsed every part of it.— He was explicit in his remarks on its slavery features, saying that the slavery issue was the absorbing element in the canvass. He recognized to its fullest extent the overshadowing importance of that issue, and if elected, he would make it the great aim of his administration to settle the question upon such terms as should give peace and safety to the Union, and security to the south.

He spoke in terms of decided commendation of the Kansas bill, and as pointedly deprecated the unworthy efforts of sectional agitation to get up a national conflagration on that question. After the passage of the compromise measures of 1850, the Kansas bill was, he said, necessary to harmonize our legislation in reference to the territories, and he expressed his surprise that there should appear anywhere an organized opposition to the Kansas bill, after the general acquiescence which the whole country had expressed in the measures of 1850.

After thus speaking of Kansas and the slavery issues, Mr. Buchanan passed to our foreign policy. He approved in general terms of the Cincinnati resolutions on this subject. But said that while enforcing our own policy, we must at all times scrupulously regard the just rights and proper policy of other nations. He was not opposed to territorial extension. All our acquisitions had been fairly and honorably made. Our necessities might require us to make other acquisitions. He regarded the acquisition of Cuba as very desirable now, and it was likely to become a national necessity. Whenever we could obtain the island on fair, honorable terms, he was for taking it. But he added; it would be a terrible necessity that would induce me to sanction any movement that would bring reproach upon us, or tarnish the honor and glory of our beloved country.

After the formal interview was over, Mr. Buchanan said playfully, but in the presence of the whole audience, "If I can be instrumental in settling the slavery question upon the terms I have named, and then add Cuba to the Union, I shall, if President, be willing to give up the ghost, and let Breckinridge take the government." Could there be a more noble ambition. You may well be proud of your early choice of a candidate, and congratulate yourself that no adverse influences ever moved you an inch from your stern purpose of giving the great Pennsylvanian a steady, earnest, and cor-

dial support. In my judgment he is as worthy of southern confidence and southern votes as Mr. Calhoun ever was; and in saying this I do not mean to intimate that Mr. Buchanan has any sectional prejudices in our favor. I only mean to say that he has none against us, and that we may rely with absolute certainty on receiving full justice, according to the constitution at his hands.

Knowing your long, laborious, and faithful adherence to the fortunes of Mr. Buchanan, I have thought it proper to address you this letter, to give you assurance that you had not mistaken your man, nor failed in the performance of a sacred and filial duty to the south. In doing so, I violate no confidence.

Very truly, your friend,
A. G. BROWN.

To Hon. S. R. ADAMS.

Ohio State Journal.

COLUMBUS:
SATURDAY EVENING, AUGUST 16, 1856.

To the Kansas Aid Committees in Ohio.

GENTLEMEN:—Ill-fated Kansas is suffering from the depredations of outlaws who are alien to her soil, and who seek to plant Slavery in the Territory in defiance of her people. In this nefarious work they receive aid and comfort from the National Administration, who enrol them in the militia under the pretext of maintaining "law and order," and oppress her people by imprisoning her leading citizens for pretended offences. A number of the citizens of Ohio are anxious to emigrate to Kansas and settle there, that they may aid by the moral influence of their presence, in building up Freedom in Kansas. Some who want to go, lack the means of paying the expenses they must incur to get there, and of providing sustenance for their families while there.

It is suggested that you appoint a special local committee to circulate a subscription among the people of your respective townships, villages or wards for aid for these emigrants. Each lecturer or Agent may forward his collection to the County Agent or Committee, and he to the State Committee. This plan will bring the subject directly to the attention of the masses of the people. If practicable, appoint a lecturer whose business it shall be to canvass the county, and urge upon the people the necessity of prompt and energetic action. May we not hope for your active and efficient cooperation in this means of supplying aid to the cause of Freedom in Kansas? Address

A. M. GANGEWER,

Sec. State Com., Columbus, O.

Papers friendly to Free Kansas please copy.

The Scioto Gazette.

DAILY, TRI-WEEKLY AND WEEKLY.

For the Scioto Gazette.

The Democratic Party—A Slavery Extensionist Party.

The sham democracy deny that they are a slavery extensionist party, and that all the outrages in Kansas have been committed with their permission. It is a rare thing that the culprit just ready to be swung into eternity, acknowledges his guilt; and how often is it the case that the homicide steps upon the scaffold protesting his guilt, when the mark of Cain resting upon him is but too evident to all. No man will acknowledge his

guilt, while the evil propensity remains prompting him to its commission. And it is only under this psychological fact that the persistent denial of the sham democracy of complicity in the Kansas outrages and slavery extension, is explicable.

Take these facts in connexion. They, the democracy, through their party leaders repealed the Missouri Compromise, which forever prohibited slavery in a vast extent of territory, and provided that the people might have slavery or might not, just as they felt disposed. If a horse should be standing by the bars of a green and luxuriant pasture, and a man passing by should lay them down saying he might go in or stay out, as he felt inclined. What would be the common sense view which any man would take of such an act? Would not the universal judgement be he turned him in? Suppose it had been a fine field of grain, and the horse went in and committed damages, would not the law assess them upon the man that laid down the bars, by means of which the horse got into the field? Before any Court in the United States he would be held in damages to the owner of the field. Precisely is it the case with those who repealed the Missouri Compromise. That Compromise was a bar to slavery. By it, north of a certain line, where lay an extensive and fertile territory, slavery and involuntary servitude could never go. They who repealed it, may say it was not their intention "to legislate slavery" into the territory, but they laid down the bars with the animal standing by; and they must have known his gusto for a slice of new land, and that with the bars laid down he would go in and gratify it, or they must have been the veriest asses in the nation, and no more fit to perform the duties of national legislators, than a set of Hottentots. But proceed to the next act in the drama.

Pretty soon it became evident that slavery in all its advantages, was not going to get possession of the territory. A set of men had emigrated to it who hated and loathed the institution with all the intensity of unvisited minds, because they had been reared with the genial climes of freedom; and, tho' in no wise aggressive they were determined never to permit the establishment of slavery if it could be prevented by fair and honorable means. Here they had determined to make their homes and provide one for their children; and trusting to the promise that "the people should be perfectly free to regulate their domestic institutions in their own way," sent assurance to their friends in the North that here was the place to make a home. The minions of slavery were outnumbered; and they perceived that they could never succeed at a fair game, so the foul one was played. It is not necessary to recount what was done. Wherever civilized man exists the recital of the deeds have gone. It only becomes necessary to prove the complicity of democracy in the crimes. And to do this it is sufficient to show that the President was kept advised, in a virtually official manner, of the frauds and outrages that were being committed by the pro-slavery men upon the citizens of the Territory, from the very commencement. And to do this we produce in evidence, the sworn testimony of the Governor of the territory, J. H. Reeder, appointed by Pierce and removed because he would not play

a part in the infamous game of making Kansas a slave State. Before the Kansas Investigating Committee, he testified, that in the beginning of May 1855 he went to Washington City, and, at once saw President Pierce and his Cabinet, and had a full consultation with him upon the state of things in Kansas, which was protracted for more than two weeks and kept up almost daily. He gave him in the fullest manner all the information which he had upon the subject, and endeavored to impress upon him the conviction which was upon his mind that unless some decided stank was taken, the actual settlers of the territory would be subjected to the most cruel persecution; that there was a settled determination on the part of the border counties of Missouri—strong in men and means—to deprive them of the right of governing themselves and regulating their own affairs.

He further states, that immediately after the election of the 29th of November, at which the most disgraceful scenes have been enacted, he wrote him fully what had taken place. And that a short time previous to the election of the 30th of March, he had again written him, that the same thing was again threatened.

But with all this full and explicit information President Pierce did nothing to protect the inhabitants and secure them in their rights. Can stronger evidence be produced by complicity?

But again it became evident that Missouri Ruffianism unassisted was not going to succeed, that the settlers having been matured in the atmosphere of liberty could not be domineered over and driven out of the territory by a set of bandits and so as a dernier resort the strong arm of the federal government was brought in to render assistance. What it has done the world knows; disarmed the free Statesmen, enrolled the Ruffians in its companies and prevented meetings of the citizens of the territory, just as used to be done by the tyrannous Princes of the Old World, and the persecutionists of the Reformers.

But perceiving that even this might not effect the desired object, a new scheme was set on foot by the wire workers at Washington, which was to take advantage of the distracted condition of the territory, and sacrifice it immediately. It throws off all disguise and proposes to make it a slave State at once,—we say all disguise for the design is so transparent that it cannot be mistaken.

Under such a complication of frauds and deceptions, and coercive, means Kansas may fall a sacrifice, but an enlightened and intelligent world will have no difficulty in distinguishing upon whose skirt rests the foul strain of the crime. That the democracy have been in a foul conspiracy against the people of Kansas for the purpose of forcing upon them the institution of slavery is as demonstrable, as two and two make four.

T. A. M.

Daily Democrat.

Aug 18, '56.

The News.

We give up our columns to-day to interesting and important news.

An extra received from Kansas, brings stirring accounts from that unfortunate territory. A collision of a very serious and bloody character, has taken place between the pro-slavery and free State parties at Franklin, in which a large number of lives are reported to have been lost. Of course the statement is to be received with due allowance for exaggeration from first reports; but it is of such a nature as to throw a gloom over all who desire peace and the perpetuity of the Union. These hostile proceedings will have a tendency to exasperate the growing sectional feeling between the north and south, and forebode the most disastrous results to the future of our country.

[From the Border Ruffian Extra.]

NEWS! NEWS!!

FRANKLIN, K. T., ATTACKED BY ABOLITIONISTS!

FOUR HOURS HARD FIGHTING!

Four Pro-Slavery Men Badly Wounded!

Six Abolitionists Killed!

THE POST OFFICE ROBBED, &c.

WESTPORT, August 13, 1856.

We are indebted to our fellow-citizen, H. W. Jones, Esq., who just arrived from Franklin, for the following important and exciting news:

Last night, (Monday 11th,) about 12 o'clock, some 200 abolitionists attacked the town of Franklin, K. T., the pro-slavery party numbering about 20. The fight lasted 4 hours. Four pro-slavery men badly wounded. Six abolitionists killed.

Mr. Crane's house was robbed and set on fire. The fire was soon extinguished. Mrs. Crane was knocked down by an abolitionist. The post office was also robbed of about sixty dollars, and set on fire.

They got the large cannon belonging to the pro-slavery party. They can now attack Le-compton or Westport. Mr. Crane's houses were riddled by balls.

Later News!

Just as the Genoa was leaving Kansas, news arrived of 17 abolitionists being killed and wounded.

LANE'S REGIMENT AT TOPEKA.

From *The St. Louis Republican* (Border Ruffian), Aug. 12. The steamer Genoa arrived at this port yesterday from the Missouri River. To the clerk of the boat, Mr. Wilcox, we are indebted for an extra from the office of *The Border Ruffian*, published at Westport, and dated Aug. 13, 11 p. m., from which we derive the following news, brought to Westport by Mr. H. W. Jones:

On the night of the 12th, about 12 o'clock, some two hundred Abolitionists attacked the town of Franklin, K. T.—the Pro-Slavery party therein numbering about twenty. The fight is said to have lasted four hours. Four Pro-Slavery men were badly wounded—and six Abolitionists were killed. Mr. Crane's house was robbed and set on fire, but the flames were extinguished.

Mrs. Crane was knocked down by one of the assaulting party. The Post Office was robbed of about \$60, and set on fire. The assailants captured the large cannon belonging to the Pro-Slavery party in Franklin, with which, it is said, they can now attack Le-compton or Westport. Mr. Crane's houses were riddled by balls. After doing all the mischief they could, the assailants retired.

Next morning about 100 United States soldiers occupied the town, but the enemy were not to be found.

So far the Extra. We learn from the officers of the boat that just as they were leaving the landing at Kansas, an express arrived from Westport, who stated that the total loss of the Free-State men, in the attack on Franklin, was 17 killed and wounded.

From the same source we learn that Lane's regiment

of men, to the number of 300, had entered Topeka. Governor Geary, who is expected here to-day or to-morrow, will have something to do on his arrival in the Territory, if General Smith has not already dispersed these men.

The extra also says: "Yesterday, a Mr. Williams (who is well known in this place), a Pro-Slavery man, residing near St. Bernard, K. T., was shot by an Abolitionist, who sneaked up on him, in Indian fashion, while he was mauling rails on his claim. Dr. Earle and Morris went to see him this morning. He has seven buck-shot in his body. He is probably dead now."

The Daily Democrat.

ROCHESTER, N. Y.

THURSDAY MORNING, AUG. 18, 1856.

Gov. Reeder Coming!

We are informed by a despatch from Syracuse, that Gov. REEDER will be in this city, to speak to the People on Kansas affairs, on Tuesday next. He will find the people ready to receive and anxious to hear him.

LATEST KANSAS OUTRAGES.—A Lawrence correspondent of the Times gives the following account of a double murder of "Nebraska democrats," by Border Ruffians, in Kansas:

A man has just arrived here from Leavenworth, barefooted, and shot through the mouth. He is so exhausted that I can gather but few facts from him now. Yesterday this man, (whose name is Golden.) Dr. Bishop and Mr. Roberts, all of whom are of Leavenworth, were on their way to this place. When near Tonguinoxes, on the Leavenworth Road, they were arrested by some of the barbarians and taken to the timber. Three men then took them a short distance from the camp and shot them through the head, killing Dr. Bishop and Mr. Roberts immediately, and wounding Mr. Golden in the mouth. The demons then fled. A friendly Indian took this man in charge, nursed his wounds, and assisted him to this place. I am informed by Mr. Shoemaker that each of these men came to the Territory firm believers in the National Democratic faith.—Alas! they have been most bloodily "subdued."

The Daily Transcript.

Z. K. PANGBORN, Editor.

WORCESTER, MASS.,
MONDAY MORNING, AUGUST 18, 1856.

Death Bed Repentant Politicians.

The Buchanan and Pierce party show some signs of penitence, in view of the doom which is apparently coming upon them. They have, for a long time past, carried on their rascalities with a boldness and impudence unparalleled; they have revelled in political wickedness and exulted in their fancied security, while they gave full rein to Atchison, Leconte, and all the active bandits of the border ruffian tribe. But all on a sudden they become repentant, and now we have frequent rumors, one day affirmed and the next denied and then re-affirmed, that Frank Pierce is about to dismiss his supple tools in Kansas, Leconte, Cato, and Donaldson; is intending to let those traitors Gov. Robinson, Brown, Deitzler, and the rest of the free State men out of durance vile, and to quash the indictments found against them; is going to disband the border ruffian militia, and call back the U. S. troops, and once more permit peaceful citizens who believe in free State institutions to go into Kansas, as well as slaveholders and armed Georgia gamblers and assassins. These would be encouraging signs of repentance in Pierce, Douglas, and Buchanan, if the circumstances of the case were not quite so pressing. But this is not the first instance, where rogues, around whose necks the halter has begun to draw, suddenly become repentant and evince great anxiety in regard to a pious reformation; when they find that it is of alternative

between hemp-stretching and a penitent promise of reform, they are very likely to choose the latter. Such exhibitions are always of a slightly doubtful character; the sincerity of professions, made in view of the gallows, is somewhat suspicious. So with these late declarations of the Buchanan party, in which they indicate their readiness to back out of their rogueries, and henceforth to lead a different life. The maneuvers of Pierce's cabinet, looking towards a repentant course, in regard to Kansas matters, reminds us of the story of the old Kentucky back-woods' bully, who had indulged a mortal hatred against a fellow hunter, and had repeatedly sworn to take his life. He was suddenly taken sick, and being apparently near to death's door, he began to feel that it would not exactly do to die with the old feud unsettled; so he sent for Jem, his old enemy, and thus addressed him: "Well, Jem, you and I have hated one another a good while, and I meant to be quits with you; but I am going off, and don't want to go to 'tother world in bad feeling towards any man, so give us your hand and let's call it all settled." The forgiveness was readily given and exchanged, when as his enemy was retiring, the sick man raised himself and said: "Look ye here, Jem; this ere business is all square now, but mind ye, 'if I get well, just remember, d—n you, that things are as they were!"

The Buchanan party, just now, is very sick from having taken an over dose of the nauseous Cincinnati Platform, and is repentant and willing to receive the forgiveness of the free State men in Kansas; but just let the sham Democracy get over this gripe and into the easy chair at Washington once more, and forthwith "things are as they were!"

We don't place much reliance on these death bed repentances of the Buchananites; they have been on trial, are condemned, and sentence has been pronounced, and there is no good reason why the execution should be stayed. We have no objection to their improving the short time left to them in atoning as far as they can for their sins, but the people, the high court which has condemned them, will not grant them a pardon. They must walk the plank as a just retribution for them, and a warning example to all such sinners in the future.

DAILY ADVERTISER.

BOSTON:

MONDAY MORNING, AUG. 18, 1856.

[The crowded state of our columns has prevented us from earlier acceding to the request of a friend that we would copy into the Daily Advertiser the subjoined article which appeared in the Philadelphia North American of July 31, under the signature of "Cecil." Although the article is long, it well deserves perusal. It is evidently written by an able hand, and suggests considerations which should command the attention of the thinking portion of the public both North and South. The closing part of the article is especially worthy of notice. The writer is unquestionably correct in suggesting that in all legitimate controversy on the exciting topic of the day the strength, both numerical and moral, lies with the North, and the safety of the South consists in a rigid adherence to the compacts of the Constitution and of law. The security of the South will ere long palpably rest in the magnanimity—the sense of justice and right—of the Constitution-loving and law-abiding people of the North. Repeated violations of good faith on the part of their Southern brethren, will, and ought, to provoke the people of the North, to make a strenuous stand in defence of their own rights and opinions—and if carried too far, may even provoke a spirit of reprisal. But no harm can ensue, so long as the Constitution and laws are ob-

served on both sides. The great mass of the people of the North are willing to allow to the Southern States the enjoyment of all their rights under the Constitution, and this under no narrow or technical interpretation. The people of the South throw away this safeguard, when they neutralize the influence acting in behalf of their rights, by abusing it, as was done when the Missouri Compromise was repealed.—It is scarcely necessary to add that in copying this article, we do not undertake to endorse unequivocally every word and sentiment in it; but we point it out to our readers as worthy attention, on account of the many well considered thoughts which it contains.]

KANSAS AND THE CONSTITUTION.

"The present time's so sick,
That present medicine must be administered,
Or overthrow incurable ensues!"

KING JOHN.

In the fortunes of nations as of individuals, it is requisite for enjoyment, that every good should have the quality of security of permanence. The sword of Damocles spoils the zest of any feast, and fear of change takes away the sweet uses of prosperity.

In the great experiment of democratic government that we are making, there is so much of good and evil; so many destructive forces to cause alarm, and so much conservative power to inspire hope; so much license given to ignorance, falsehood, error and selfish passion, and so much intelligence and virtue to resist them, that the mind wavers as it contemplates the varied picture, hesitates to form a judgement, and ends in doubt as to the future; a painful and depressing feeling when related to a subject of so much magnitude and interest. It is obvious to all, that our happiness and prosperity depend upon the Union, that this is the arch which supports the structure of our national greatness, yet this support is the very point that seems weakest, which gives signs from time to time that it is not able to bear the stately fabric that has been built upon it.

The diversity between the Northern and Southern States in climate, soil, character, pursuits and manners, to one unacquainted with the history of the country, would seem a powerful cause of safety and durability. Agriculture is the chief business of the South; the North has also commerce and manufactures, and the productions of each can be exchanged without impost or restriction. The South is in some respects a landed aristocracy, the North is a democracy, so that it might be hoped that rash innovation and popular license would be restrained by conservative steadiness, love of order and respect for established usages and rights. The South is impulsive and enthusiastic, the North prudent and energetic, the South loves ease, enjoyment and leisure, the North loves enterprise, work and accumulation. Each has what the other wants, each requires the other to complete its attributes and supply its needs, and the harmonious blending of the two would make a grand and noble whole. Unfortunately, the South has one peculiarity which satisfies no want, which excites no sympathy in the North, and thus from the South comes the danger that menaces both.

The South is not wholly American, it is largely African. Its wealth and greatness are founded on the industry of an alien and inferior race, and which must always remain such. In the South the laboring class forms no portion of the people; in the North it forms the great body of the people. In the South the laborer are slaves; in the North they govern. In the South labor is degraded and despised; in the North it is respectable and respected.—African slavery therefore creates a difference between North and South that reaches the very central cause of the working of society. A community in which the laboring classes are slaves, and one in which they are masters, do not differ merely, they are broadly contrasted.

The negro race exists in such vast numbers in the South; it is so degraded; so incapable, from its nature, of any but very limited mental and moral improvement; so fitted for servitude, and so contented and thriving in servitude; so wholly unfitted for liberty or self-government, or self-care, that slavery is an institution absolutely essential to the South. Its preservation is the condition on which the South holds its tranquillity, its safety, its existence. For this reason the South, when the Constitution was made, claimed and obtained from the founders of our government what was then deemed ample protection for slavery.

It could not be long before a difference so radical between the two sections of the country would produce very marked results. One result has been great and rapidly increasing inequality of wealth and population. Of wealth, because free, intelligent labor is far more productive than slave labor, especially in commerce, manufactures and the mechanic arts, which are the most profitable, and to which

that labor cannot be applied; or population, because free laborers themselves are citizens.

Another effect of this difference of social, industrial and political condition, must be and has been, difference of opinion on the subject of slavery gradually growing into positive hostility. Slaves are not mere property. Human nature rises against and refutes that dogma. Slaves are men, with moral and spiritual life, with sentiments and affections.—They are persons, not things, and out of this fountain truth, flow all these troubled waters. Whenever man, his happiness and destiny, become the subject of dispute, a thousand religious, moral and political questions arise, which stir to their depths those powerful convictions and passions, whose strife resounds through all the history of the past, and has decided heretofore, as it must hereafter, the fate of nations and the progress of humanity.

The growing strength of the North, and the menacing attitude which a part of it has taken against slavery, produced the Kansas bill. Alarmed for its safety, the South has sought means of protection greater than the law afforded. It wishes to guard not the present only, but the future. It is now outnumbered in the House, and equality in the Senate seems to it the only resource left that can afford a legal barrier to the dreaded encroachments of the North. To obtain this equality, it is necessary to have new slave States, and the infant territory of Kansas is the only one that there is now any hope of gaining. Hence the importance of the contest going on in Congress, and the excitement it creates.

The Missouri Compromise stood in the way of this project. It was therefore repealed. The probable majority in the House against the extension of slavery was another obstacle. How was this to be overcome? By the Constitution, and the uniform construction of it and practice under it, Congress has supreme power over the territories; has the same power to prohibit slavery in a territory that the government of one of the States has to prohibit it in a State. The South then could not trust to the usages and received construction of the Constitution, to the regular and legal action of the Federal government. Unless the territories could be got beyond the power of Congress, there was danger that, not in Kansas only, but in all future territories and States, slavery would be prohibited, and thus the South be placed irrevocably in a condition of inferiority and dependence. If the interference of the general government could by any means be prevented, there would be at least a chance that slavery might be introduced into Kansas; and that, once there, it would increase and become a controlling influence in the future State.

To accomplish this object, the plan determined on was boldly to deny that the government of the territories belongs to Congress; to assert that all previous construction and all previous practice of the government in relation to them have been mistakes; that the words of the Constitution from which this power has been derived are ambiguous, and the meaning put on them erroneous; that such a power is a violation of the rights of the South, because the territories are a common possession, and the Southern people have the same right as the Northern to go into them with their property; that the settlers of the territories are the only rightful government of the territories, and that any other construction of the Constitution is a violation of the principle of self-government, on which our institutions are founded.

These arguments are very well suited to the popular taste, because they have the appearance of advocating popular power. They are, however, in conflict with the language of the Constitution and with the constant construction that language has received. Now, the uniform construction of a law and the practice under it are part of that law. They are even the most important part, forming in time that prescription, common law, or law of custom, which is more valuable and less liable to doubt or uncertainty than any written law can be, because it is old, because it has been tried, because it is familiar and associated with the recollections, habits and daily life of the people. If every President and every Congress can go behind the uniform construction given to the Constitution by the courts, and by the practice of the government, we are at sea indeed, on the billows of change, and the law of the land ceases to be a "rule of conduct," but becomes merely the arbitrary decree of any party that happens for the time to be uppermost.

The principle that Congress is the government of the territories, is the only one consistent with their condition and with their relations to the whole country. Are the settlers an independent nation, or, are they American citizens? Do they owe no allegiance to the general government? Are they not entitled to its protection from foreign invasion or domestic violence? How can they claim that protection unless they form part of the nation, and are subject to its government, either as a State or a territory? These new doctrines of constitutional law set up by the South, are so transparent a sophistry, cloaked

with false pretences, to gain a special object not avowed, and obviously devoid of substance, either of sound principle or common sense, that to state them clearly is to refute them.

Nevertheless, these doctrines, by Southern influence, have been adopted and embodied in the Kansas bill. As this bill commenced with a breach of faith, bore on its face a falsehood, and violated the law—so its consequences have harmonized with its origin and nature, and have vindicated the wisdom of the Constitution. By giving to settlers in Kansas the power to decide the question of slavery, the territory has been thrown open to excited parties as an arena for conflict. As the question to be settled was national, and affected the interests and hopes of North and South, it was idle to expect that it would be treated as local, that those parties would not in some way participate in its decision. The result has been that combined efforts were made on both sides. Associations were formed in the North to send settlers in favor of freedom; the same thing was done in the South in favor of slavery. All this was not illegal, and might well have been expected. Unfortunately, however, the South has been so rash as to determine to carry its point, not by fair and peaceful voting, but by fraud and violence. Bands of armed men from the adjoining slave State, not settlers in Kansas, were enrolled and invaded the territory with the express purpose, which they accomplished, of driving by force bona fide settlers from the polls and depositing illegal votes. To such an extent was this carried, that only one-fifth of the votes by which the legislature of Kansas was elected were legal. These outrages were aided, abetted and supported by the President of the United States, with all the influence of official power.

By these means a legislature was chosen—a spurious legislature, with no other than usurped power, whose acts were wholly void, but which proceeded to make laws for the purpose of introducing slavery into the territory and keeping it there. These laws are at variance with every principle of free government—are disgraceful to the American name—and such as no portion of the American people can or ought to submit to. They destroy liberty of thought, of speech, of the press—liberty in all its forms. They are worthy only of Russian or Austrian despotism; yet the President of the United States has endeavored to execute them with the whole force of the government. He has executed them promptly, eagerly, cruelly; he has clothed the very ruffians by whose illegal and violent acts this legislature was elected, with official authority, and carried fire and sword through every part of the territory.

Exasperated by this gross violation of right and justice, the real settlers assembled at Topeka and elected another legislature. It was in favor of free labor. It also was illegal, and its acts void. The President dispersed this legislature by an armed force.

Three bills have been presented to Congress, in order to settle these dangerous troubles. They may be called the House bill, the Senate bill, and Mr. Clayton's bill.

The first proposes to recognize the Topeka legislature and its acts, and to admit Kansas as once as a free State. To this there are two objections. The Topeka legislature wants legal sanction. It is revolutionary; and though it is not easy to imagine stronger provocation to a revolutionary movement, yet it cannot, without violating important principles, be supported. No government can recognize acts that deny or resist its own authority. Another objection is, that this bill proposes the immediate admission of Kansas as a State. A State composed of a vast territory, but with only 30 or 40,000 inhabitants, without wealth, arts, civilization, yet clothed with all the power and influence of a member of this confederacy, is an absurdity. It is contrary to the settled practices of the government, which are violated to suit an emergency, and is a confession of weakness out of which such a proposal could alone arise. It would be unjust to give to the representatives of such a community in the Senate, power equal to even the smallest State in the Union. The future of such a country as Kansas, the destined home of a numerous people, is too important to be left to the decision of a handful of illiterate settlers. The infant State requires for its protection and guidance the guardian care of a real government, during its period of pupilage. Such guardianship the Constitution has provided in confiding to Congress the government of the territories.

Whilst the House bill has for its object to make Kansas a free State, the Senate bill is intended to make it a slave State. This last is open to the same objections as the first. It also contemplates the immediate admission of Kansas as a State. It also recognizes an illegal legislature and its acts, a legislature elected by fraud and violence, and therefore without authority, and whose acts, destructive of civil liberty, should receive the signal rebuke and condemnation of government. That even in the excitement of party contests, such laws have met with support and approbation, have been treated with anything but derision and scorn by any portion of

the representatives of the American people, is one of the most gloomy signs of the times. It shows a fearful decline of public virtue, and reveals dangers unlooked for in this country and this age. Vain, indeed, the dream of freedom, wasted the blood of heroes shed in its cause, unless the labors of the wise devoted to its vindication, if principles such as these can prevail among the people, or rule the counsels of the nation.

The difference between these two legislatures, the one recognized by the House, the other by the Senate, one in favor of liberty and the other in favor of slavery, is, that one has passed Russian and Austrian laws, destructive of civil rights, and the other has passed English and American laws, enlarging and extending civil rights. If obliged to choose either, the representatives of the American people should prefer the latter.

These, however, are not the only objections to the Senate bill. It forms part of a skillfully prepared plan to introduce slavery into Kansas, not fairly and honestly, but by violence and fraud. It is the result of a conspiracy, made for this purpose, by the leaders of Southern politics and the President of the United States. The plot and the duties of the several parties to it, now stand revealed by the progress of events. The armed bands marched into the territory; their invasion of the election grounds; their illegal votes; the intimidation of the settlers before an overwhelming and unexpected force; the active concert and assistance given to that force by officers appointed by the President; the election of a pretended legislature; the atrocious laws immediately passed by that legislature for the purpose of irrevocably fastening slavery upon the territory; the eager, zealous interference by the President to enforce those laws upon an indignant and resentful people, with all the enormities that followed, the burning of towns, the fighting, the plunder, the bloodshed and murder, are disgraceful and deplorable events quite unexampled in the history of the country.

Such is the first part of this drama—the second is yet to be performed. The settlers opposed to slavery have been driven from the territory. Bands of armed men have been stationed at the steamboat landings to prevent others from coming in, and are now engaged in this work. This then is the auspicious moment to strike an effectual blow, and the leaders in the Senate are not wanting to the occasion. Their bill provides for the calling of a Convention, the election of which is placed virtually under the control of Commissioners appointed by the President.—This Convention is to make a Constitution, and Kansas is to be immediately admitted with that Constitution as a State. A State of some 30,000 inhabitants, scattered over a wilderness, with a Constitution made by a Convention elected in the midst of alarm and confusion, under the auspices of men appointed to accomplish one purpose only, and by a people from whom all persons not uniting in that purpose have been driven by violence,—such is the measure of peace and justice offered to Congress and the country by the majority in the Senate.

The third proposition comes from Mr. Clayton. It is marked by the statesman-like ability he has often displayed, and by the still higher qualities now so rarely seen in our public men, of moderation, fairness, justice and patriotic regard for the interests, the feelings and just demands of all parts of the country. He and Mr. Crittenden seem to be now almost the only men in Congress who know that there are both a North and a South, and that they are the representatives of both; that there still exists a Union; with common rights, hopes and destiny; that the Constitution has not been repealed, but still remains, in theory at least, the supreme law of the land.

The object of Mr. Clayton's proposition is to give effect to the Kansas bill, according to its declared meaning and intention—to enable the people of Kansas by a free expression of their will, unawed by coercion or intimidation, and uninfluenced by the corrupt arts of executive officers, to admit slavery or exclude it, as the majority may decide. It does not contemplate the admission of Kansas as a State until it shall have attained the population required by the present ratio of representation for a representative in Congress. It provides that the power of any former legislature shall cease on its passage. In justice to those who, on the faith of existing laws, have brought slaves into the territory, those laws are left untouched by this bill. It authorizes the *Secretary of State* to appoint four Commissioners, "*established settlers and permanent residents of the territory*," whose duty it shall be to make an enumeration of the inhabitants and appoint officers and judges of elections.

The difference between the plan of Mr. Clayton and that of Messrs. Toombs and Douglas is at once apparent. In the former, the selection of Commissioners is given to the Secretary of State, and not to the President. A severe but merited rebuke to General Pierce. Those Commissioners have merely the power to make a census, and appoint judges of elections. In the Senate bill the Commissioners appointed by

the President have power to decide on the qualifications of voters, and are themselves sole judges of elections. The Convention thus elected is to make a Constitution for a State, which when made is to be final, and is not to be submitted to the people for their approval; thus, in fact, giving to the nominees of the President, and to the settlers now in the territory, the power to decide irrevocably the question of slavery. How this power would be used, and with what result, the recent history and present condition of Kansas clearly show.

The bill of Mr. Clayton contemplates not a Convention to form a Constitution for a State, but a legislature to make laws for a territory. The acts of such a body are not organic and final, but may be modified and repealed by a subsequent legislature. The question of slavery would thus be left open to be decided, not suddenly, in the midst of civil war and its alarms, by a few settlers, acting under partisan influence or armed intimidation, by a real people who have gone or may hereafter go to make that region of fertility their home; by a people who will thus have a permanent interest in its prosperity and whose numbers, constantly increasing, will entitle them to respect and influence; who will have time during their years of territorial life, to form a mature judgment of the wants and resources of the country and of its fitness for slave labor or free labor; above all, who will be able to form this judgment after free deliberation and discussion during a period of peace, security and order. This alone is self-government that is either safe or possible. The self-government of the Senate bill, to be exercised in haste, under executive influence and partisan dictation, amid violence and terror, at a crisis artfully prepared for a purpose, is a falsehood, a fraud and a mockery, designed to disguise tyranny and injustice.

All these plans, however, are open to the fatal objection that, like the Kansas Bill, on which they are founded, they are, in principle, a departure from the spirit and meaning of the Constitution as settled by the opinions of those who made it, and by uniform practice under it. This is enough to condemn them all. The federal government is the government of the territories. These very bills implicitly recognize this principle, because they are acts of government over the territories. The state of things out of which they grow proves the wisdom of this principle, because they are the result of the denial of it.

The repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and the introduction of these new doctrines of constitutional law, are consequences of a struggle for power between the North and the South. The South is afraid to trust the protection of slavery to the Constitution. It thinks that slavery can only be protected by extending it, by gaining new States for it, and thus securing more political power for it. By the regular constitutional action of the government, the South cannot do this without the consent of the Northern States, which it cannot be sure of obtaining. Southern politicians have, therefore, determined to alter the Constitution or disregard it, by force of votes, and it seems now, also, to seize on new territory by force of arms. Whether they are likely by these means to secure the safety they seek, is worth considering.

There is one great fact out of which this controversy has arisen, and which must govern it to its end, whatever that end may be, and that is the superior power of the Northern States. The difference between the North and South, in all the elements of power, now so vast, is growing greater every day. This is a stern, inexorable fact, remediless, irresistible, but which does not seem to have its due influence upon the minds of our Southern neighbors. Power has certain qualities and laws, sure and punctual in their action, which cannot with safety be disregarded, and which, therefore, it is wisest to study and obey, than to deny and resist.

This is a government of the people. The Union is a Union, not of the States, but of the people. The great fundamental principle of our institutions is, that the majority of the people shall govern the country by their representatives, in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution. On what ground, then, can the South claim political equality with the North? Political power is the consequence of superior numbers, and the North has the majority of the population by six millions. As a consequence, it has a majority of votes in Congress. It is entitled then, not to equality with the South, but to superiority over it. In all questions about which there is disagreement between the North and the South, the North is entitled to govern the country. Slavery is one of those questions. The North cannot interfere with slavery in the States where it exists, because it is there protected by the Constitution. But the territories belong to the whole people, and Congress represents the whole. The government, the absolute control of the territories, for this reason, is in Congress. If the North has the majority in Congress on any question relating to the territories, as to that question, the North has rightful power over the territories. This power, moreover, is trust power; it is coupled with duty and responsibility of the most solemn nature, which concern not the present only, but

a wide and mighty future. If, therefore, the people of the North, having rightful power over this question, believe slavery to be an industrial, social and political evil, they are bound to interfere and prevent this evil from being imposed upon any portion of the country under their control. They owe this duty to their own convictions of right, and they owe it to humanity; for the power to do good implies, from its very nature, the obligation to do good, and the greater the power, the stronger the obligation.

Political power results, necessarily, from superiority of numbers in a government where a majority rules. Something more, however, than mere numbers is wanting, to add moral sanction and influence even to legal power. If the North has superiority of population, it has in even greater degree the superiority in wealth, in intellectual and moral culture, in diffused knowledge and comfort, in all industrial arts and improvements, in everything that constitutes civilization. What measure the South really has of these things no American surely should wish to deny. All that it is and all that it has, and it is and has much that is great and worthy, is part and parcel of our country. But in arguing questions like the present, arithmetic and statistics cannot be omitted, and as facts will rule in practice, they must not be disregarded in speculation. The superiority of the North, not merely in numbers, but in every other element of national strength, is beyond dispute. It is only necessary to ask, where are the chief seaport cities, the great inland towns; where are the factories and ships, the machinery and merchandise, and money capital; where the thriving villages and cultivated farms; where the colleges and schools of literature, and art, and science; where the leading journals, the great publishing houses, the writers who influence the mind of the nation, and give it literary reputation abroad? As well compare Spain or Italy with England, as the South with the North. If any one wishes to appreciate Southern weakness, let him read Mr. Olmstead's tour through the seaboard slave States. It is an interesting book, written with graphic power and evident truthfulness, in a lively, animated, dramatic style, is full of anecdote and adventure, and contains a series of deeply instructive daguerrotype pictures, painted by the light of a clear intellect, from real life. The view of Southern society given in this work is not a pleasant one for a catholic American to look at. It reveals a state of things very surprising, hitherto unsuspected by most persons in the North, probably by most in the South. It would be well for Southern people who wish to understand their real position, to read this book, if its circulation has not been prohibited by some Kansas law or Lynch law, by General Pierce or Mr. Brooks.

There is another element of moral power in the Northern States, also positive and real, undeniable and unchangeable, which cannot be evaded or resisted, and which must always influence this question whatever aspect it may assume. That element is the opinion of the civilized world on the subject of slavery. In morals, in religion, as in literature and the arts, there are no national boundary lines. Scientific truth, the productions of genius, political reforms, social ameliorations, nobler and higher views of life and duty, wherever they originate, are a common property. Opinion rules the world, and opinion is modified by advancing culture, so that the maxims and habits of one age become barbarisms in the next. Thence the progress of civilization; thence the difference between Christian Europe today, with its liberty, its social security, its wealth, its literature, its arts, its intellectual culture and activity, its elegance and refinement, and the Europe of former ages. Of that Christian European civilization, we form a part. We are in daily contact with it, are joint heirs of all it has done, copartners of all it is doing. Its opinion is part and parcel of our opinion, and its suffrages, though not put in our ballot boxes, do, and must of necessity, influence our action and our destiny. That opinion has condemned slavery—those suffrages have been given unanimously in sympathy with the anti-slavery party in this country. Whether right or wrong, the superior mind of the most enlightened countries of Europe has declared this institution to be inconsistent with the present state of civilization, and to belong to the barbarism of the past. This opinion, therefore, influencing, as it must, opinion here, giving support, encouragement, intellectual aid and moral weight to Northern sentiment and purposes, is an important element of Northern power.

It is with this power, so founded on numbers, wealth and intelligence, so guaranteed by law, so buttressed and sustained by the opinion of the civilized world, that the South claims equality, and claims it by reason of the very cause which has produced weakness in the South and strength in the North. It claims equality of representation where there is no equality in the thing represented. It claims equality of power where it has a minority of votes. It claims the right to gain this equality by fastening upon vast regions of boundless resources, and the unborn millions to inhabit them the very institution that has withered its own energies and retarded its own progress. Such a claim is founded

neither in the law of the land, nor in justice, nor in the nature of things. It cannot permanently succeed and its triumphs will not endure. Whatever shape it may assume, of thought or act, of argument or practice, of revolutionary doctrine or revolutionary deed, it is destined to be confronted and defeated by the controlling fact of Northern power, which must in the end prevail, because it is an inherent attribute of power to govern.

There is only one sort of equality that it is wise for the South to desire or possible for it to attain, and that is, what it has already—equality before the law. This is the great maxim of free society. Equal rights to unequal things. This is the only principle that can protect wealth from poverty or poverty from wealth; the mental cultivation of the few from the brute force of the many, or the ignorance of the many from the superior intelligence of the few. All other kinds of equality are impossible, because contrary to the laws of man's nature, and this alone enables all other kinds to live together, side by side, in harmony and order, uniting all talents, labors and powers, for the common good. This principle can and does give security to the South. It is one of the great principles of our Constitution and our Union, and only under its guardianship can Southern weakness find safety in the neighborhood of its inseparable companion—Northern strength.

The South has for its protection, for the protection of the institution on which its repose, its prosperity, its existence depend, but against which is banded in formidable array the opinion of civilized nations—the provisions and guarantees of the Constitution. These have proved so far an efficient protection. The sphere of slavery has not been narrowed, but enlarged. The South has greatly influenced, not to say controlled, the legislation of the country, and still does so. But whether sufficient or not, the Constitution is the only protection that slavery has in the world. Take away that, and the whole world is united against it. Whilst the Constitution lasts, this great Northern strength, which is, and must for ever remain, the close neighbor of the South, is also its brother and friend. Party arrangements, commercial interests, family ties, easy intercourse, above all, love for the Union and a sense of its benefits, combine to make the relations of North and South safe for the South and a blessing to both. But, destroy the Union and the Constitution, then Northern strength becomes at once the enemy of Southern weakness, and, with the North for an enemy, where will the South find a friend?

Is it not madness, then, in this passionate and foolish South thus to kick against the pricks, to resist facts which are like rocks and mountains, steadfast, immovable, and which shatter all opposition into spray and foam? Was it not unwise in Southern politicians to violate the Missouri compact, which, if it was a barrier to them, was also a barrier to their enemies? Is it not imprudent in them, by ingenious quibbles and subtle rejoinings, and false constructions, and insincere pretexts, to undermine the plain, well settled principles of the Constitution, when that Constitution is their only protection; to make a breach in their only wall of defence? Is there no danger that such arts may return to plague their inventors? Are there no constitutional provisions for their safety, whose plain meaning may be tortured and twisted, and explained away by these attorney-like tricks? Above all, is it not infatuated folly in the South to alienate the feelings and rouse the indignation of its powerful neighbor, by Kansas invasions, and burnings, and slaughter, by tampering with weak Presidents, in whose official authority the North has an equal share and interest, by Brooks assaults in the Senate House, by threats, and insults, and violence by open, avowed violations of law and the rights secured by law? The time may come when it will invoke in vain the defences of the Constitution it is now attempting to cast down; when it will ask in vain for Northern votes to resist Northern majorities; when it will look in vain for Northern help to save it from dangers more terrible than Northern majorities.

There is one plain path out of these present troubles, and that is to go back to the Constitution. If Mr. Clayton's plan had provided for the repeal of the Kansas Bill, had set aside entirely the spurious Kansas legislature, and all its deeds of darkness, re-enacting such of its laws as are necessary for the moment, including those protecting slaves now in the territory; then, under his bill, the future legislature of Kansas might immediately or hereafter, refuse or accept slavery as part of their system, and such action would be subject, as it ought to be, to the revision and control of Congress. Should the result prove that the majority of the people of this country solemnly refuse to sanction the further extension of slavery, it would still have the Constitution for its protection where it now exists, and it would be the duty of the South to submit, because obedience to the law is always a duty, and its policy also, for its only safety would lie in submission. Rebellion would be treason, and Northern strength can put down and punish treason. Even successful rebellion, after civil war, ending in disunion

or consummated, would not help the South. Would slavery be safe during civil war? Would it be safer after disunion, with this great Northern strength, still by its side, but no longer as a brother?

Thus this great fact of superior and rapidly increasing Northern power, governs this question, looming up from the horizon like some towering Chimborazo mountain, meeting the eye from whatever point it looks. That there is danger to slavery in these days it is vain to deny. It is behind the age; it is an isolated institution; it is inconsistent with any high standard of national civilization and culture. It is doomed to recede, not to advance; and, finally, to be greatly modified or to perish. Whether this fate is to arrive peacefully and gradually, or suddenly and violently, depends wholly on the action of the South. There is security for the South, living as it must always do by the side of Northern strength, only in the Constitution and the friendship of the North. The Constitution is wise, and every departure from it proves its wisdom. It has shown itself hitherto sufficient for the protection of slavery. The Northern people are loyal to the South. The vast majority yield willingly, zealously, all the constitutional rights of the South. They love the Union and the Constitution, and their country, and the South as part of their country. They are slow to wrath and easy to be entreated; they will endure many things, but not all things. Kansas massacres, General Pierce, and Mr. Brooks are among the things they will not endure. CECIL.

Boston Daily Courier.

MONDAY MORNING, AUGUST 18, 1856

KANSAS. We copy from the Daily Advertiser of Friday last a communication on the need of relief for Kansas. We gladly lend the aid of our columns to make the state of the Kansas emigrants more widely known, and to second the earnest call therein made for further material aid.

But this communication gives birth to a few reflections which we here set down. For many months past the whole community, and the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in particular, have been kept in a state of constant agitation and excitement on the subject of Kansas, and the wrongs and sufferings of the emigrants there. These wrongs have furnished a large part of the stock in trade of a new and zealous political party. They have pointed the fervid exhortations addressed to the members of the Whig party to give up their old and honored organization, rush into the ranks of the Republicans and vote for Fremont, as the only means by which the wrongs of Kansas can be righted. And there is no doubt that the settlers in Kansas have suffered greatly, both in their rights and their property. They have been outraged, plundered and oppressed; and they stand in need, at this moment, of aid and support. And they deserve it, by their excellent conduct under trying circumstances. On the other hand, the state of Massachusetts has been for a long time in a course of great prosperity. Everybody is employed; all are earning their bread; and many are making fortunes. With a very few exceptions, all her staple branches of industry are thriving. The farmer, the merchant, the manufacturer, the mechanic, the laborer, have all occasion to thank the Providence that has so liberally ministered to them all in good things.

The last decennial valuation of Massachusetts showed that the property of the inhabitants was about six hundred millions of dollars. The amount at this moment is probably not less than eight hundred millions. And yet what a beggarly result we have to show on behalf of Kansas! The Faneuil Hall Committee have collected about fifteen thousand dollars; and the State Committee about seven thousand dollars, nearly one-third of which was contributed by

one individual. To this aggregate sum of twenty-two thousand dollars, should be added about fifteen thousand dollars, raised before the State and Faneuil Hall Committees were formed.

Forty thousand dollars, then, is the utmost which the wealth, humanity, and anti-slavery zeal of Massachusetts have from the first contributed to the cause of freedom in Kansas. One per cent. upon eight hundred millions of dollars, the aggregate property of Massachusetts, is eight millions of dollars. One-hundredth of one per cent. is eighty thousand dollars—more than double what we have given. There never was a more obvious and direct path for anti-slavery zeal to travel in than here. Here is a fair, stand-up fight between slavery and liberty. The victory will be on the side of the party that commands the largest resources. It is a question mainly for the free states themselves to determine whether Kansas shall be bond or free.

Of the above sum of forty thousand dollars, beyond all controversy, a considerable portion was furnished by men who never were Free Soilers or Republicans, and who belong to that party which the fiery zealots of anti-slavery are fond of calling dough-faces, or Union-savers, or Hunkers, or old fogies. Thirty thousand dollars would probably be a liberal allowance for the Republican party as at present constituted. What, then, does the anti-slavery zeal of Massachusetts amount to? How much do we feel for the cause of liberty? The above facts may help us to cipher out an answer.

The truth is, that the anti-slavery zeal of Massachusetts is a noisy, blustering, loud-vaunting sort of zeal. It is restless, aggressive, tumultuous, and clamorous. It boasts much, professes much, promises much, denounces much. Denunciation is, indeed, its strong point. Could a cause be made to succeed by denunciation and abuse, that cause would triumph. But when it is called upon to make any substantial sacrifices for the object it pretends to hold so dear, it is found lamentably wanting. It costs nothing to write paragraphs, and to make speeches to shouting audiences: these things involve no self-denial and no sacrifice. But when you come to the paying of money, the case is altered. No man will pay money but for something which he values more. Thus the giving of money becomes an obvious gauge by which the sincerity of philanthropic and benevolent professions may be tried. Your friend has fallen into misfortune, and you pity him. Very well; how much, then, do you pity him? Lip-pity is very well as far as it goes; but how much pocket-pity have you?

Now the anti-slavery party of Massachusetts is rich to overflowing in lip-pity, but poor in pocket-pity. They are liberal in what costs them nothing, but penurious in substantial expressions of their zeal. There are two lines of the immortal Linkum Fidelius which recur to our memory in connexion with this subject:—

We'll blow the villains all sky-high—
But do it with economy.

That is it. We'll blow the Kansas ruffians all sky-high, but will do it on strictly economical principles. We will take the field with a tremendous army of paragraphs. We will fire deadly volleys of adjectives at the enemies of freedom. But as to gold and silver, the sinews of war, they either have not got them or do not want to part with them.

When any one talks to us about the deep-seated and fervid anti-slavery zeal of Massachusetts, we shall take the liberty to respond in the expressive monosyllable with which Mr. Bur-chell commented on the fashionable tattle of

Miss Carolina Wilhelmina Skeggs. It is not so deep-seated as a mullen-stalk; it is not so fervid as a fire of straw. It glitters for a moment, but does not give heat enough to make the pot boil.

[From the Boston Daily Advertiser of Friday.]
NEED OF RELIEF FOR KANSAS.

Mr. Editor,—We hear much and read much on the subject of Kansas; on its wrongs, and on the sufferings of those who have gone forth with their lives in their hands to carry the institutions of freedom into that distant territory. A superficial observer might suppose that our people are fully awakened to the subject, and that corresponding exertions are in progress to secure what seems to all an object of such vital interest.

We venture to assert, however, that little has been done, and still less is doing in our state, compared with what might and should be done. A few facts will illustrate this position.

Some weeks since a public meeting was held at Faneuil Hall, on the subject of raising funds for the relief of the settlers in Kansas, and a committee was appointed to solicit the necessary aid. Appeals were made through the newspapers and by circulars, and, in response, some fourteen or fifteen or fifteen thousand dollars were promptly contributed; and the amount, we believe, has been faithfully and judiciously devoted to the object proposed.

This being a local committee, it was thought desirable to effect an organization which should embrace the entire state, and through which prompt and efficient action might be secured. It is now seven weeks since the State Committee was formed, and, in all, they have received about seven thousand dollars, nearly one-third of which was contributed by one generous individual. The amount thus received has been devoted to the best interests of Kansas, and, in conformity with the pledge contained in the first circular of the committee, viz: that everything should be done "in strict accordance with the laws and Constitution of the country."

In the meantime it is said there are some thousands of dollars lying idle in several towns where subscriptions have been made, and for the reason that a vague charge has been preferred that former sums had been lost or misapplied. The writer has no means of judging how far the amounts sent through private channels may have been misappropriated, but he can say that at the time when the charge was made not a dollar from either committee had been sent into the territory, but all the funds were then in their respective treasuries.

In the meantime the wants of both the actual settlers and the emigrants on the way are great and pressing, and daily calls from them are received, which cannot be answered from want of funds. Men, women and children, who have gone out from among us, are at this moment exposed in a distant wilderness to all the trials and hardships of a border life, and still worse to the excesses of brutal and licentious bands of marauders.

Instead of a comparatively easy and safe journey to the land of promise through the state of Missouri, they have been driven to the alternative of a long and harassing march through the uncultivated wilds of Iowa and Nebraska. In the meantime their resources have been exhausted, and famine stares them in the face. They now extend their hands for aid, first to an overruling Providence, who "makes even the wrath of man to praise him," and then to those whom they have left behind, and whose sympathy and aid they so much require.

Now is the time for efficient aid, and we truly believe that a dollar expended now will be of more avail than ten dollars a few months hence. For a community like ours the sums contributed are insufficient. We venture to affirm that the whole contributions for the state will not average three cents to each inhabitant.

Let every county and town have its organization, and without further delay forward the sums which may have already been raised, and relax no effort to augment the subscriptions.

ONE OF THE STATE KANSAS AID COMMITTEE.

[The address of the Clerk of the State Kansas Aid Committee is S. N. Gifford, Esq., 17 Niles's Block, School street, Boston.]

MONDAY MORNING, AUGUST 18.

EFFECTS OF BORDER RUFFIANISM. A private letter, received in this city from a gentleman who settled in what is now Iowa about twenty years ago, contains the following passages under date of "Fremont County, Iowa, July 28, 1856." They show how Border Ruffianism affects not only Kansas but the neighboring region occupied by Northerners:

"Kansas free-state emigration commenced passing through upon us last week. They are going to cross the corner of Nebraska. The public prints have doubtless told you of the closing of the Missouri River against free-state emigrants to Kansas, and of the recent outrages sanctioned by our Executive and sustained by his party. Gen. Smith, of Louisiana, is now in command of the U. States troops at Fort Leavenworth, and nothing will be left untried to harass Northern men, and establish slavery in the territory. Refugees from that region of terror are every day arriving at this place, and joining the emigrant trains to return and avenge their wrongs. To hear them tell their tales of woe, *chills one's blood*. You may think that newspaper accounts are exaggerations; but I tell you that the *half was never told by any paper*.—Neither dare any to half way tell all, and attempt to live in Kansas. I received a letter from a friend in the territory a day or two ago, (Mr. — whom you well know), the closing sentence of which speaks volumes. It was: "You will know my hand-writing and excuse my signature—*affectionately*." Think of a man like him fearing to sign his own name in a letter to a friend!

Trains are already crossing the river. Scouts are sent ahead of them, who have already seen the "Border Ruffian" scouts within twenty miles of us forbidding their approach. We should not be surprised at any hour to hear of an attack, and the slaughter of even women and children.

Since commencing the above, a messenger has arrived with news that 300 Border Ruffians are encamped between the Nemahas, less than 40 miles distant, en route to stop the trains from going into the Territory, and the emigrants have sent to Fort Leavenworth for protection. The messenger is expected back every hour, but not even a hope is indulged that any protection will be afforded.—I know you are ready to say, what then? Well, their motto is "Go to Kansas, or die in the effort." Their programme is well laid out and you need not be surprised to hear that some hard fighting has been done near us. I keep my revolver within reach at every moment, and my best horses ready for any emergency. We don't pretend to think what an hour may bring forth, neither do we much care. We intend to "trust the Lord and keep our powder dry."

This, from an old borderer of more than twenty years' experience—not an emigrant to Kansas but a looker on at the course of events, in the near vicinity—is very impressive testimony against the evils and tyranny of Border Ruffianism.

Another letter, from a lady at the same place, says: "Though we know not what an hour may bring forth, we have little fear of personal injury. My husband is as much exposed as any man, and, in case of any outbreak in this vicinity, our property would probably be destroyed; but it might as well be ours as any body's. One night, last week, an alarm was given that 300 Missourians had come up the river and were landing a few miles above us. There was quite a camp of emigrants in our yard, and it made something of a stir. I watched the girls—they were all calm and hoped that the attack, if there must be one, would take place here rather than out on the prairies of Nebraska, twenty miles from any shelter for the women and children. It was a false alarm, but we know that we are surrounded by spies and dare not give you any particulars. Many of the emigrants are of the best kind—energetic, calm, praying people, whose trust is not alone in an arm of flesh."

MONDAY, AUGUST 18, 1856.

The XXXIVth Congress will undoubtedly close its First Session at noon to-day. The House has receded, by messenger majorities, from nearly all its Kansas amendments to the Appropriation bills except that which refuses to pay for another session of the Kansas Legislature, which the Senate has agreed to. This is quite as well as we expected. There is not an earnest Free-Kansas majority in the House—not more than one hundred of the two hundred and thirty Members being for Fremont and Dayton—and it was idle to expect such a House to stand up against the overwhelming Pro-Slavery majority in the Senate. But there was still virtue enough in the House to extort terms from the oppressors of Free Kansas. It is perfectly understood that the prosecutions of the leading Free-State patriots of Kansas for treason! are to be arrested, or else brought to a just issue by the acquittal of the prisoners. We are to have, for Buchanan's sake, as little as possible of Border-Ruffianism in the Territory until after the Presidential Election, and we trust the issue of that contest will insure to her long-afflicted people "indemnity for the past and security for the future." Let the champions of Free Labor and Free Speech do their whole duty, and all will be well.

P. S. The House still holds to its amendment to the Army bill, forbidding the use of United States bayonets to enforce the bogus laws in Kansas, and we trust this will prevail.

Republican Gazette.

The Constitution, Liberty and the Union,
Now and Forever, One and Inseparable.

TRENTON:
MONDAY, AUGUST 18, 1856.

Free Soilism in Missouri.

The anti-slavery sentiment of the Benton party in Missouri, has been prominently manifested in the late canvass, and it is well sustained by the people. The following extract from the St. Louis Democrat, Benton's home organ, published on the morning of the election, shows a freedom of speech and thought worthy of an intelligent people. It makes the issue distinctly between Border Ruffianism and Free Kansas, and it was sustained by the people of St. Louis by a majority of thousands:

"SHALL WHITE MEN BE MADE SLAVES!" That is the question, citizens of St. Louis, which you have to decide this day in the commercial and industrial centre of the great West. Shall white men—working men—laboring men, be made slaves, and reviled as slaves, and placed upon the same level with the negro? You have heard the toiling population of your city and State reviled with such epithets. You have seen a war against labor inaugurated in your Legislature, directed against your internal improvements, and now finally brought to bear with ignominious rancor against your class and your calling. And who are these that undertake thus to revile you, and to blight all the promises of your industry, and all the fruits of your long toil for position and competency? They are those who not long since crawled into favor of an administration that has been ever hostile to your rights. They are those who by profession are office-seekers, and who now sit in the shade of government patronage and spit forth their filthy abuse of those men who earn their living by the sweat of their brow. They are the minions of Pierce and Douglas, who were

put in office to rule the people into submission, and secure the election of the nullifiers—and hence it is that they talk with lordly airs about "white slaves," and Germans and Irish, as well as negroes.

And will the working men of St. Louis, whose labor is their glory and their pride, tolerate such language, and not resent it? We cannot believe it! They will teach by their votes and their rebuke at the ballot box, both Pierce demagogues and Know Nothing orators, that such epithets are the seals of their political doom. To the polls, then, voters of St. Louis, and show the dignity of your calling and vindicate the rights of labor. Prove to them that white men will not be made slaves, and that the free citizens of St. Louis know no masters.

Lynchburg Virginian.

Monday Morning, August 18, 1856

FOR PRESIDENT,
MILLARD FILLMORE,
OF NEW YORK.
FOR VICE PRESIDENT,
ANDREW J. DONELSON,
OF TENNESSEE.

The Kansas bill—its Northern face and its Southern face.

The regular readers of the Virginian have had their attention quite frequently directed to the opposite constructions put upon the Kansas bill by the Northern and Southern Democracy—under one of which that measure was defined to be a great act of justice to the South, while under the other it was perverted into an agency of free-soil and held up to the people of the North as the best Willnot Proviso ever enacted. Seeing that these antagonistic constructions were put upon the law, we have urged that it constituted no just and safe standard of Southern rights, and that a general approval of it was no evidence of fidelity to the slaveholding States; that we must know wherefore a politician approved the measure; under what interpretation of its provisions, and with what belief as to its practical effect; before, as Southern men, we could take his approval as an assurance that he appreciated and would regard the constitutional rights of the slaveholding States. We have insisted that it was particularly important, before taking any Northern man's approval of the Kansas bill as a guaranty to the South, we should be informed whether he held that Squatter Sovereignty, that "most monstrous proposition ever advanced by an American Statesman"—as Mr. Calhoun properly characterized it—was established by it. This test the Democratic leaders of the South have declined subjecting their Northern allies to—from a conviction, doubtless, that there were none who could stand it. We have before us a very searching speech delivered in the U. S. Senate, the 25th of last June, by Mr. Foster of Connecticut, in which the absurdity of this course is thoroughly exposed. Without further remark we publish an extract from it, calling attention only to the proof it furnishes that Senator Douglas, the author of the bill, is an advocate of Squatter Sovereignty:

Does the "great principle" of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, as here stated by its author in this report, grant or recognise the right in the people of the Territory in their Territorial Legislature to institute or to abolish slavery?

There ought surely to be no doubt how this question should be answered. The great object of the Nebraska bill, the reason of reasons why the principle of that bill was so "great" a principle was that it made an end of the slavery question as a political question; it was the final finality.

Strange as it may seem, however, this plain question is answered, and that by the friends of this "great principle," in totally different ways. In June, 1850, during the debate on the Compromise bill, the Senator from Illinois, who is now the chairman of the Committee on Territories, is reported as saying:

"I wish to say one word before this part of the bill

34 voted upon. I must confess that I rather regretted a clause had been introduced into this bill providing that the Territorial governments should not legislate in respect to Africa slavery. The position that I have taken has been, that this and all other questions relating to the domestic affairs and domestic policy of the Territories ought to be left to the decision of the people themselves, and that we ought to be content with whatever way they may decide the question, because they have a much deeper interest in these matters than we have, and know much better what institutions suit them than we, who have never been there, can decide for them." * * *

"But I do say that, if left to myself to carry out my own opinion, I would leave the whole subject to the people of the Territories themselves, and allow them to introduce or abolish slavery as they may prefer.—I believe that is the principle on which our institutions rest."—*Cong. Globe*, part 2, vol. 21, pp. 114, 116.

This is sufficiently clear and explicit; but is this the "great principle" of the Nebraska bill?

The honorable Senator from Mississippi, (Mr. Brown) in his speech on the 28th of April, on the bill reported by the Committee on Territories, to authorize the people of the Territory of Kansas to form a constitution and State government, said:

"I believed, when the Kansas bill was passed, that it conferred on the inhabitants of the Territories, during their Territorial existence, no right to exclude, or in any wise to interfere with slavery. I then thought, and still think, it the duty of the law-making power in a Territory to treat all property alike—to give the same protection to one species of property that it gives to another."

And again: "To me it is therefore a source of unfeigned satisfaction that the Senator from Illinois (Mr. Douglas) has brought forward this bill. I see in it the germs of a final and lasting settlement on a firm and solid basis. It carries out the original design of the Kansas-Nebraska act, as I understood it. It fixes the period at which the inhabitants of a Territory may ask its admission into the Union as a State; and the report by which it is accompanied denies all sovereignty in the Territory during its Territorial existence."

If I have succeeded in finding "the great principle" of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, which of these opposite constructions of it is the correct one?

If I have not yet succeeded in ascertaining what "the great principle" is, where else shall I look for it? The honorable Senator from Michigan (Mr. Cass) would doubtless designate it as "popular sovereignty," "squatter sovereignty," or "Territorial sovereignty." But of this principle the *Richmond Enquirer* of the 24th of April says:

"Among the fair but false and fatal theories of the day none attracts so much homage as the "squatter sovereignty" courtesan. There are none so radiant with meretricious charms, none so ready with deceitful promise, and none so sure to cover their victims with shame and reproach. The sovereignty of the people is a noble principle, and should command universal homage. 'Squatter sovereignty' is an imposture and 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."

I am here again at a loss whether squatter sovereignty or popular sovereignty is "the great principle," or whether what is said by the *Richmond Enquirer* of that doctrine is the true construction of the act.—I ought here, perhaps, to say that the honorable Senator from Illinois, the chairman of the Committee on Territories, said the other day in debate that it was in regard to the meaning of the Constitution that the friends of that bill differed. If that were so it would seem to me that, if a bill were to be passed in order to define legislatively the power of the inhabitants of a territory in regard to matters above all others interesting to them, it should be so exact and precise in its language that the act could be understood by the people over whom it was to operate. And this seems to have been the opinion of the honorable Senator from Mississippi, whom I have just now quoted, for he says, in the same speech to which I have alluded, speaking of the doctrine of squatter sovereignty:

"This doctrine, however well designed by its authors, has in my judgment, been the fruitful source of half our troubles. Before the people of the two sections of the Union having (as they supposed, though I think erroneously) hostile interests, and already inflamed by angry passions, were invited into the country, we, who gave them laws, should have defined, clearly and distinctly, what were to be their rights after they got there. Nothing should have been left to construction."

It seems, then, that there was very clearly a difference between the friends of the bill, and not merely a difference in regard to the meaning of the Constitution. From what I have shown I hardly think this principle can be "the great principle" for which I am searching.

I ask next whether "perfect equality among the States" is the great principle of that bill? The honorable Senator from Michigan, whose speech I have

before quoted, answers this claim. After alluding to the claim that each State should be admitted upon an equal footing with the original States, he says:

"The proposition is incontrovertible; but its application to the intermediate condition of Territorial existence is not so clear. It would render all previous Congressional interference void upon the formation of a new State; all prohibitions of slavery would fall before the will of the people. But if the

true reason of the restraint upon the action of Congress is given by the committee, to wit, equal admission after the formation of a State constitution, it is difficult to see how this condition of things is to operate until the arrival of the period of political sovereignty. That the exercise of such an act of intermediate authority might have the effect to encourage the settlement of the country by a population favoring the restriction there can be no doubt. But the question does not touch the effect upon emigration to the Territory; but upon the admission of the State. If the people composing it at the time of application for admission become free from all restraints but those imposed by the Constitution upon sovereign States, then this great principle can hardly be said to have been violated, whatever circumstances may have preceded this last condition."

This claim was also answered by the honorable Senator from Illinois, who, in a speech delivered on the 3d of June, 1850, to be found in volume 21, part 2, *Congressional Globe*, pp. 115 and 116, said:

"I do not hold the doctrine that to exclude any species of property by law from any Territory is a violation of any right to property. Do you not exclude banks from most of the Territories? Do you not exclude whiskey from being introduced into large portions of the Territory of the United States? Do you not exclude gambling tables, which are property, recognised as such in the States where they are tolerated? And has any one contended that the exclusion of gambling tables and the exclusion of ardent spirits was a violation of any constitutional privilege or right? And yet it is the case in a large portion of the Territory of the United States; but there is no outcry against that, because it is the prohibition of a specific kind of property, and not a prohibition against any section of the Union. Why, sir, our laws now prevent a tavern-keeper from going into some of the Territories of the United States, and taking a bar with him, and using and selling spirituous liquors there. The law also prohibits certain other descriptions of business from being carried on in the Territories. I am not, therefore, prepared to say that, under the Constitution, we have not the power to pass laws excluding negro slaves from the Territories. It involves the same principle."

That was in a speech of the Senator from Illinois as late as the 3d of June, 1850, and that certainly cuts up by the roots the claim that "the great principle of the Kansas-Nebraska bill" is "equality amongst the States." As I understand this claim, it is that the inhabitants of every State of the Union must have equal rights to go into every Territory of the United States, and take that which is recognised as property in the States where they lived into the Territory to which they propose to go. That principle of policy some have claimed as being "the great principle" of the Kansas-Nebraska bill; and it is answered, as I have shown, both by the honorable Senator from Michigan and the honorable Senator from Illinois.

Still in search of "the great principle of the Nebraska bill," I come to some resolutions recently passed by the Cincinnati Convention; and, among other things, I find it is resolved, in substance, that "the great principle" is "non-interference by Congress with slavery in the States and Territories."

This brings us back at once to insurmountable difficulties! Let Congress be as passive as possible, the question is, who can be active? who can legislate on the subject while the Territory remains a Territory? The people, says one; not until they become a State, says another. The question is a practical one, an important one; it demands an answer; it must be answered. If the "great principle" be simply "non-interference by Congress," for the present exigency the "great principle" is absolutely worthless; for, while it tells us who may not legislate, it points to no tribunal on the face of the earth, to nobody who can legislate.

But we have the benefit of several constructions of this Cincinnati platform. The *Richmond Enquirer* says:

"The principles are fully, fairly, and explicitly proclaimed. There is no dodging, no evasion. Not only are the fugitive slave law and the Kansas act endorsed, but a distinct pledge is given that in all future Territorial legislation the principles of the Kansas-Nebraska act, in respect to slavery, shall govern the action of the National Democracy. The wishes of the South have been fully met, and it is the duty of every Southern man to co-operate cordially in the nominees of the Convention, who stand fully and squarely upon the platform."

And then we have the views of the nominee, Mr.

Buchanan himself. He says, in his letter of acceptance of the slavery question:

"I think we may safely anticipate that it is rapidly approaching a 'finality.'"

I must say this is a little discouraging. Six years ago we were told we had got to the finality. We were told so by conventions; we were told so by the two Houses of Congress; we were told so by popular meetings which met and passed resolutions on the subject. Really the tombstones of the discussion about slavery were set up; we had got to the end. Under such circumstances I must consider it somewhat discouraging to hear a man, standing in the elevated position of Mr. Buchanan, and speaking, as of course he does, by authority, say: "I think we may safely anticipate that it is rapidly approaching a finality." Whether that rapid approach to a finality will arrive before the final consummation of all things we have not the benefit of Mr. Buchanan's opinion. He says further, however:

"The recent legislation of Congress respecting domestic slavery, derived as it has been from the original and pure fountain of legitimate political power—the will of the majority—promises ere long to allay the dangerous excitement. (This legislation is founded upon principles as ancient as free government itself, and, in accordance with them, has simply declared that the people of a Territory, like those of a State, shall decide for themselves whether slavery shall or shall not exist within their limits.)"

Surely this is very clear, and a man must be capacious who does not understand it. It seems distinctly to put the power over the subject of slavery, so far as the inhabitants of a Territory, just as it is in them when they become a State. That appears to be his view, in very clear and explicit language. If so, it is certainly not in accordance with the view of the *Richmond Enquirer*; it has a more Northern aspect. But this is not all that Mr. Buchanan says on the subject; and fairness requires that we put all that he says together. He says, in addition:

"The Nebraska-Kansas act does no more than give the force of law to this elementary principle of self-government; declaring it to be 'the true intent and meaning of this act not to legislate slavery into any Territory or State, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States.'"

This brings us back again to the point from which we started. I have got around exactly to the point from which I took my departure. Before that I certainly thought I saw in the letter of Mr. Buchanan distinct and clear light on the subject; but, putting the whole together, I see not but that "the great principle" is just as much in doubt as before. It is quite safe to say of it that it is a Janus-faced principle—it has one face looking South and another looking North; but what the principle really is I confess myself unable to comprehend.

From Kansas.

Special Correspondence of the Missouri Democrat.

LAWRENCE, KANSAS, Aug. 14, 1856.

For some time past some of the young gentlemen imported into this territory by Col. Buford, have been gathering together, at a camp on Washington Creek, one of the tributaries of the Wakarusa, and have been committing depredations upon the neighboring cornfields and poultry yards of the settlers in that locality. As it was soon seen that their intentions were not to make claims, and become actual settlers, the people there began to object to this order of things. At length the people sent over to Lawrence, a distance of some twelve miles, and asked the citizens of that town to assist in driving them away. A messenger was sent to Major Sedgwick asking him to send a company of troops to that camp, and investigate the matter, and if the charges of pillaging were true, to use the troops in driving them away, and protecting the actual settlers in their rights. Major Sedgwick replied, that these people were peaceable and peaceful; that this time, the Free State men had been hoaxed; that it would be perfectly safe for any Freesoiler to go into the camp at Washington creek.

The messenger returned to Lawrence, and on the afternoon of the same day another messenger was despatched to Washington Creek, to ascertain, if possible, the truth of the statements made, so that the people of Lawrence would know how to act. Mr. Hoyt who was selected to go, is already known to the public as the gentleman who lost about one hundred Sharpe's rifles at Lexington. He was naturally very quiet and gentlemanly in his demeanor, courteous to strangers, and respected here by everybody, for his persevering bravery in behalf of freedom in Kansas. He was sent to the Washington Creek pro-slavery camp, entirely unarmed. He was to have returned that same night with reliable information as to the truth of the charges alleged against this band of Georgians. He did not come back. The next day intelligence reached us, that he had been first taken prisoner by them and then shot.

That same evening—the 12th inst.—about one hundred of the young men of Lawrence volunteered to go to a camp of the Georgians at Franklin and recover some of the arms which had been stolen during the sack of this city in May last. From thence they intended to march to Washington creek, disperse the mob, and take away Mr. Hoyt's body, and return. It was a beautiful moonlight night, slightly hazy. The thought of redressing wrong by force of arms to the truly intelligent American citizen is always a sad thought; but when redress of grievances can be had in no other way, and when the dearest rights of man are trampled under foot, then the redress of wrongs by arms becomes a necessary, but still a sad duty. Such was the feeling of most of the young men who marched along the road to Franklin. On arriving there they found that the news of their coming had gone before them, and that the Georgians were going to fight. They were gathered together in a large block house, which was barricaded like a fort, through the chinks between the logs of which they pointed their rifles. They were asked at first to give up all their arms, which they refused to do. They were supposed to number about eighty. The free State men drew close up and determined to "storm the garrison, or die in the attempt." The struggle lasted for about three hours, when the Georgians surrendered. They came out, threw down their arms and fled. The free State men then took possession of one brass cannon, fifty United States muskets (probably belonging

to some arsenal,) and a few guns taken from Lawrence during the sack of the 21st of May last.

The free State men had one killed and six wounded. The Georgians report four wounded. In consequence of their dead and wounded, the Lawrence boys returned home instead of going to Washington creek, as they expected to.

JOHN SMITH.

THE EVENING NEWS.

Saint Louis:

TUESDAY EVENING, AUGUST 19.

More Hostilities in Kansas.

NEW GEORGIA COLONY BROKEN UP BY THE ABOLITIONISTS.

The *Border Times*, Extra, of the 10th, gives what purports to be another outrage by the Abolitionists in Kansas. It states as follows:

"Captain Cook, of the Georgia Colony, just in from that place, reports that Brown's company of Abolitionists made an attack on the colony of New Georgia, and burned the place. There were only six men there at the time—they are supposed to have been killed. The sick men (twenty-five in number) together with the women and children, had been removed to Miami.

Whilst in Ossawatimies, Captain Cook learned that Col. Treadwell's company had all been taken prisoner—said to have been done through the treachery of Ottawa Jones (an Indian.) Captain Cook gives the news as he heard it."

Material Aid for Kansas.

A Kansas meeting was held at Boonville, the other day, which was addressed by T. P. Abell, of Kansas Territory. After the conclusion of his address, a committee was appointed to raise funds in that county to assist *bona fide* settlers to emigrate to Kansas, who were in favor of Kansas being a Slave State. Wm. P. Speed was chairman of the meeting, J. W. Draffin, Secretary, and a committee of twelve was appointed to solicit subscriptions throughout the county, which committee consisted of Andrew Adams, Jas. M. Nelson, J. M. McCutchen, T. W. Nelson, B. S. Wilson, B. E. Ferry, R. L. Bradley, W. N. Ragland, Geo. Cockerel, Abraham Byler, B. C. Clark, W. H. Ellis, and F. Wing.

The object is to raise funds to aid *bona fide* settlers to go to Kansas, settle there, and vote for the Territory being a Slave State.

The Courant.

HARTFORD: TUESDAY MORNING, AUGUST 19, 1856.

The Bow is Bent—Make from the Shaft.

Over twenty of the leading democrats of Ingham county, Mich., have united in an address setting forth their reasons for withholding their support from Buchanan and voting for Fremont. It concludes as follows:

"Fellow-Democrats: The acts of the present administration in repealing the Missouri Compromise; in admitting and sustaining slavery in the territory of Kansas; in forcing laws upon the people thereof which are inhuman and barbarous, which laws were enacted by the slave power of Missouri to force slavery into the territory and drive freemen therefrom; in arming and sustaining therein a force of south-

ern bullies, whose occupation is the burning of cities, robbing and plundering the citizens and crushing out freedom from the territory; in arming a mob of border-ruffians, who infest the national highways leading to the territory, to rob and despoil the free emigrant of his means, and drive him from the approach to the territory; in maintaining judges in power in the territory, in packing juries for the indictment of free citizens for speaking against the laws they did not make, and refusing bail, lest their voices should be raised in favor of freedom; the action of the Convention of the National Democracy, so called, convened at Cincinnati, in approving all the acts of this administration; and finally, the rejection of those truly democratic resolutions by our Democratic County Convention, all speak too plainly the condition of the party and its complete abandonment of the pure and holy doctrines of the Jeffersonian democracy. As democrats and citizens, our duty is plain and cannot be disregarded. We cannot give our support to any man for office who, if elected, will carry out the principles of the Cincinnati platform in reference to slavery; but we shall use what influence and power we are endowed with in elevating to office democrats good and true, who will oppose the extension of slavery and bring our distracted country back to the principles of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and Jackson; and we call upon all democrats who love their country more than all party, to join us in the effort to save our common heritage from the rule of men who would sell their birth-right for a mess of pottage.

"H. H. Smith, D. L. Case, E. E. Beebe, B. E. Aart, John R. Price, Richard Elliott, A. B. Watkins, N. J. Allport, John Tompkins, Geo. Lewis, J. J. Whitman, D. P. Reiff, O. A. Jenison, W. A. Dryer, J. P. Cowell, Benj. Vanaken, John Tooker, Warren Briggs, F. M. Cowles, E. Elliott, H. Terry, R. Taylor, F. D. Carnahan, Hirm Wilcox.

"Lausing, August 8, 1856."



NEW HAVEN :

TUESDAY, AUGUST 19, 1856.

Correspondence of the Palladium.

From Our Kansas Colony—Four Months Out—The Colony to be "Wiped Out"—Vegetables—Institute Debate—Prayer Meetings—The Character of the Contest.

WAUBONSEE, July 31, 1856.

MESSEURS, EDITORS:—This day closes the fourth month since the departure of our Company from New Haven, and with many, if not all the members, these four months have been among the most eventful of their lives. Their experience has been new, peculiar and varied—away from home and its endearments—deprived of the company of wives, children, parents, sister, friends, and living almost entirely excluded from female society,—as an evidence of which, it is pertinent to state that the only young lady, between the age of 15 and 25, seen in this community since our arrival, was one who attended our religious service on Sabbath last, being, for a few days, on a visit from another settlement in the vicinity,—denied also the religious, literary and social advantages—and what is perhaps more than all, the feeling of personal security under the protection of law, which we have always enjoyed in common with you before. We have been breathing also a new atmosphere, engaging in new pursuits, exposed to new temptations, subject to new physical, mental and moral influences, undergoing in short almost an entire revolution in every element of our being. The period may well be set down as prominent among the eventful days of our pilgrimage. May the sequel prove it to have been among the most useful and instructive, pioneering a peaceful and happy triumph of our mission, and a glorious consummation of the struggle for Liberty now transpiring here.

Our intercourse, for the past two weeks, with the other portions of the Territory has been so limited that we are uninformed of the present

condition of things outside of our own quiet settlement. We hear of a company of "Buford" men who have gone above, on the other side of the river, and we hear that they threaten to "wipe us all out" when they return, but we do not fear any such calamity at present. The weather with us for July has been very pleasant, much more so than is usual in Connecticut. We have had no uncomfortable warm days or nights, very few sudden changes, and no drizzling rain, as our water from above all comes down in "energetic" showers, falling fast and soon over. We hear of no such thing as colds, although three of our number, and only three, have had the "ague," and in every instance, they were very much exposed, either by living in the woods, in very unsuitable apartments, overworking or imprudence of some other kind. What our experience for August may be is of course yet in the future.

We are beginning to have a plentiful supply of vegetables from our gardens, and every promise of any quantity of "melons."

Our Institute held their first meeting last evening. The officers are—

President—M. C. Welch.
Vice President—J. M. Hubbard.
Secretary—George Coe.
Treasurer—S. H. Gould.

George H. Thomas and F. H. Hart are members of the executive board. A very extraordinary question was debated at the first meeting—viz: "Resolved, That a good wife contributes more to the happiness of a man than a fortune." It was still more extraordinary that any man could be found to advocate the negative of such a proposition, and especially here, where we have had a fair opportunity to realize the value of a wife. Some of us feel that an apology is due to the sex for having permitted such an absurd question to go upon our records. The resolution for next week is, "Resolved, That life in Kansas is preferable to life in Connecticut." We have in Mr. Welch an excellent President, every way qualified to maintain his position with profit to the Institute and honor to himself.

On Tuesday evening last we held our second weekly prayer meeting. Twenty persons were present in a small tent, and the occasion was one of great interest. An expression in one of the prayers, offered by an old settler, would have sounded strange in the ears of a New Haven audience. He prayed that God would take care of the interests of our Territory, that He would overturn the existing corrupt government, and especially supply the place of our present debased Governor, with a better man, and in all this, he spoke right out into the ear of God, what he felt in his soul. And he did right. It is as proper for us to pray to be delivered from wicked rulers as it is to ask God to protect us from "the pestilence that wasteth at noon day," and if Buchanan is elected President, he will go in over a mountain of prayer, such as no candidate in this country ever contended with before. And this circumstance furnishes a strong ground of confidence. There could not well be a clearer case. On the one side it is proposed to sustain the infamous proceedings that have been had in reference to "Kansas affairs," while on the other it is our purpose to vindicate the rights of the oppressed and stop the progress of the vilest and most tyrannical system of oppression the world has ever seen, not only "crushing out" of the poor victims of the "institution" every noble aspiration of our natures—but extending its jurisdiction in a thousand ways over the Free citizens of the North and West.

It is quite apparent that the issue this time cannot be fogged up—it is and will be thoroughly understood, and therefore we must win in the strife. The moral sense and "public conscience" of the people is being aroused, and once up and harnessed for the conflict, all the mixed spirits of darkness, despotism, destruction, defamation, and a corrupt democracy cannot resist its power. The democratic party when confining themselves to commercial questions and matters of finance, have usually been successful, and may well congratulate themselves thereon, but not so when they attempt by force of party machinery to "crush out" the moral sense of the people and plant their party standards upon the ramparts of the kingdom of wickedness. Then God and all good men will unite against them. Whether the present struggle is to furnish an illustration of this sort or not, the future will soon disclose and determine. L.

The Republican.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

TUESDAY MORNING, AUGUST 19, 1856.

A NEW RAID UPON KANSAS THREATENED.—Accounts from several independent sources, and from various points, in the territory, represent that the gangs of southern banditti were concentrating and planning a new series of attacks on the free state settlements. Two settlers at Hickory Point, from Missouri, but in favor of the freedom of Kansas, had received private advices from the Masonic fraternity to which they had belonged in that state, warning them that a scheme was on foot in the blue lodges to murder, plunder and drive out the remainder of the free state settlers. The plot had been contemplated for some time, but had been deferred till after the Missouri election. Gen Smith had been appealed to, but stated positively that he could not interfere for the protection of the people; he was only there to obey the requisitions of the authorities and assist in enforcing the laws.—Gov Shannon's recall is said to have been a positive relief to him, as his ruffian keepers at Leecompton, at the moment the news arrived, were just about to tuck him in the Kaw river, by way of persuading him to call out the dragoons to help collect the bogus taxes—a process he was reluctant to engage in. The news of Gov Geary's appointment was received with general indifference in the territory, the people feeling that he could not well be worse than Shannon, and doubting whether Pierce would appoint anybody likely to prove better.

The Atlas.

TUESDAY MORNING, AUGUST 19, 1856.

Rev. B. B. Newton, General Agent for Relief of Kansas, has given notice that a Vermont company for Kansas will be formed at Rutland, on the 19th of August. Those desirous of siding, by contributing funds, are requested to send their contributions at once to the Bank of Montpelier.

THE HERALD.

Tuesday Morning, August 19, 1856.

FALSEHOODS AND TRUTHS. The charge that the democratic party is in favor of the extension of slavery, is a falsehood.

The charge that the present administration, or the democracy, are trying to plant slavery in Kansas, is a falsehood.

The charge that the democracy wish Kansas to be a slave State, is a falsehood.

The charge that the agents of the government and the United States troops in Kansas favored the pro-slavery men against the free State men, is a falsehood.

The charge that Mr. Buchanan ever favored the reduction of wages, has been proven a hundred times a base calumny and a lie.

The story that John C. Breckinridge was engaged in the defence of Matt Ward, is a falsehood.

The charge that Mr. Buchanan favors filibustering is a falsehood.

One half the stories that come from Kansas about murders, robberies, &c., are falsehoods.

The report that the free State settlers in Kansas have been driven out of the territory by the disturbances here, is a well known falsehood. *Pittsburg Post.*

PROVIDENCE JOURNAL.

TUESDAY MORNING, AUGUST 19, 1856.

EXTRA SESSION OF CONGRESS.—The President has called an extra session of Congress, to meet on Thursday, on account of the failure of the army appropriation bill. His friends in the House voted against it, but were outnumbered; but in the Senate they refused to pass it, unless coupled with the power to employ the army in the enforcement of the bogus laws of Kansas. The Democrats in the

Senate boldly met the responsibility," which comes in no more fearful shape than of constructive mileage.

Those good, simple-hearted people who have really believed that there was danger of the dissolution of the Union, from the blustering threats of Southern fanatics, backed up by the Democratic party, may find relief in the evident disposition of the administration to disavow the responsibility of the outrages which it has authorized and commanded at the dictation of the South, and to give some evidence, if not of repentance, at least of a change of policy. Shannon has been removed. Sumner has been implicitly censured for an act which he declared to be the most painful one of his life, and which nothing but the orders of his superiors could make him perform. Even Leecompte, the chief instrument of the tyranny which has been imposed upon the unhappy people of Kansas, the man who has spread the protection of the law over the crimes, that the law ought to visit with its severest penalties, is questioned. The Democratic leaders see that they have gone too far; and they are looking out for some mode of retracing their steps. The indications of this are abundant, in the Executive, in Congress and in the Democratic press.

Now the moral of all this is plain; *the Democrats go for slavery just as long and just as far as it will pay*; not a step farther. There is no natural affinity between Democracy and Slavery; it is all a matter of trade. When the free sentiment of the North was first shocked by the proposition to repeal the Missouri Compromise, the Democrats were not behind the Whigs in denouncing it. The General Assembly of this State, Democratic in both branches, resolved against it, unanimously; the Legislatures of other Democratic States did the same; the Democratic papers and the Democratic leaders condemned it in such terms as the enormity demanded. But the plan was a deep one. The Democrats concluded that if they could adopt such a policy as would secure the whole of one section, they might safely rely upon the prospects of success which that would give them, to get enough from the other section to make a majority. They took the South, not because they preferred it, or had any intrinsic desire to aid slavery, but because the South only was available for such a speculation. The same men that opened Kansas to slavery, would just as willingly have out-Garrisoned Garrison, if they could have secured the North by it. But the North was too national, too faithful to the Constitution for that.

These men now begin to see that they have gone too far. In securing the South beyond all question, they have risked even the little aid from the North that is necessary to make a majority. This is the cause of the fluttering; this is why the administration pauses in its attacks upon Kansas.—There is no sorrow for the wickedness that has been done; there is no disposition to make reparation for the wrongs and the suffering inflicted; there is only the selfish fear that their perfidy and cruelty may recoil upon themselves. They feel as pirates feel when they have mistaken an armed ship for a defenceless merchantman, and when their fire is returned upon them with bloody effect, from bigger guns.

Stopping the Wheels of Government.

The Democrats have taken the responsibility of refusing the supplies for the army, unless the bill carries permission for the President to employ the army in enforcing the bogus laws of Kansas, and carrying slavery into the new territory, at the point of the bayonet. The following is the proviso which the House insisted upon. It will be seen that the restriction is of the most moderate character; that it does not even assume that the laws of Kansas which forbid the freedom of speech and of the press, are unconstitutional, although every body knows that they are, and even Gen. Cass has pronounced them disgraceful to the age. It leaves this to be settled by Congress, and only provides that the army shall not be employed to enforce these laws till Congress has passed upon their val-

city. The bill, as it passed the House, grants all that the President requires for the army, and only prohibits him from using it for an illegal purpose, and requires him to do what his friends in the North pretend he is already doing, but what his friends in the South will not permit him to do—to protect the people of Kansas from ruffian invasion, and to guarantee to immigrants into the territory a free passage.

The Age.

NEW YORK,
TUESDAY MORNING, AUGUST 19.

BURTON KENDRICK, EDITOR.

The Sectionalist Press.

Our readers will recollect that some time since the *Tribune* of this city, as well as other papers, published the account of the destruction of the press of the "Herald of Freedom," a paper printed in Kansas Territory. In this statement the valuation of the press was fixed at \$2,500. Calling at the establishment of Messrs. James Connor & Sons, type-founders, in Beekman street, yesterday, we were informed by them that instead of \$2,500, the cost of the press was only \$250, a single cypher having been added to enlarge the sum. We allude to this merely to show the system of exaggeration adopted by the sectionalists press. Indeed, this can be taken as a fair sample of all the accounts published by them, the manifest object of which is to create a *furor* against the South, and thereby elect John C. Fremont to the Presidency.

The American people are, however, too keen to be led away by any such unfair and dishonest subterfuges. They will rally round those candidates who stand upon a true national platform, and rely upon acquiring the support of their fellow-citizens by honest means, and whose lives afford the best evidence of their consistent and patriotic love of "The Union" in all its integrity.

Such are the candidates that the American party have made their choice, and who will triumphantly and honorably bear their banner in November next.

COMMERCIAL ADVERTISER.

TUESDAY AFTERNOON, AUGUST 19, 1856.

ADJOURNMENT OF CONGRESS—SPECIAL SESSION CALLED.—The adjournment of Congress at noon yesterday was announced in yesterday's Commercial.—In the afternoon the Cabinet was called together, and the following proclamation was issued by the President:—

A Proclamation.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.
Whereas, While hostilities exist with various Indian tribes on the remote frontiers of the United States, and while in other respects the public peace is seriously threatened, Congress has adjourned without granting the necessary supplies for the army, depriving the Executive of the power to perform his duty in relation to the common defence and security; and as an extraordinary occasion has thus arisen for assembling the two Houses of Congress, I do, therefore, by this proclamation, convene the said Houses to meet at the Capitol, in the City of Washington, on Thursday, the 21st of August inst., hereby requiring the respective Senators and Representatives then and there to assemble, to consult and determine on such measures as the state of the Union may seem to require.

In testimony whereof, I have caused the seal of the United States to be hereunto affixed, and signed the same with my hand.

Done at the City of Washington, the 18th day of August, in the year of our Lord 1856, and of the Independence of the United States the 81st.

By order, FRANKLIN PIERCE,
W. L. MARCY, Secretary of State.

Of course readers will understand that this call for an extra session was made necessary by the failure of the army appropriation bill to become a law. It becomes an interesting question where to affix the blame in the premises. The Republicans having a small majority when the bill came before the House—an incidental majority, however, being a majority of the members present and not a majority of the whole House—affixed to it a proviso that no part of the army should be employed in enforcing the territorial laws in Kansas, and that the armed militia organ-

ized there should be disbanded. The House had small majorities inserted in other bills provisoing a relation to the administration of affairs in that territory, but had receded from them when taken up by large majorities in the Senate. When the army appropriation bill came up in the Senate, that body, also by a large majority, refused to pass it with such a restriction upon the Government. The House would not recede. Several conferences followed, but without any agreement between the two Houses. As the hour of adjournment approached, an attempt was made in the House, by a resolution offered by Mr. Millson, of Virginia, to protract the session two hours longer, in order to hold a further conference, but it failed, and the hour of adjournment arrived while the House still refused any arrangement, and the bill was lost.

Mr. Speaker Banks, according to a special telegraphic despatch in the *Tribune*, yesterday informed the House that the vote on Saturday evening was incorrectly counted, that it stood 98 yeas to 98 nays—1 tie, and throwing the casting vote on the Speaker;—that he should vote in the negative, and that therefore the House would still have refused to recede.—This statement settles the question of who is responsible for the calling of an extra session. Mr. Banks, by his casting vote refused to permit the House to recede, and Mr. Banks was but the spokesman on that occasion of the Republican party. There can be no doubt that when the error in the vote was discovered, Mr. Banks consulted with his political friends respecting the course it was expedient for him to pursue, and voted in accordance with their wishes and instructions. Upon the Republicans in the House therefore the responsibility of defeating the army appropriation bill undeniably rests. The Senate by a large majority refused to incorporate such a restriction upon the Executive in the bill. The House was on Saturday night equally divided upon the expediency of persisting in the restriction, and Mr. Banks, as the Republican Speaker, gave his casting vote in favor of persisting, and the small Republican majority persevered in that purpose to the final loss of the bill. The question of responsibility is placed beyond question.

Probably the Republicans will glory in thus having defeated one of the appropriation bills. We appreciate, however, that the country generally will regard the achievement with very different feelings. Even had the proviso been of less doubtful expediency or constitutionality, it was not the most manly or honorable mode of legislating upon such a vexed question. That even some of the Republicans were heartily ashamed of this method of carrying a favorite point is clear from the facts that this system of political warfare was abandoned in other instances, and sustained in this only by the casting vote of Mr. Speaker Banks. "Where there is shame, there may be virtue," and the country may well regret that the Republican majority had not the virtue of patriotism in sufficient vitality and force to lead them to the end of their recantation of errors, and to the abandonment of the proviso to the army appropriation bill as well as in the other cases. For in all honesty we cannot see that the persistence in the House upon that proviso, to the defeat of the bill for the support of the army, was patriotic; or that the President, the bill having been lost, could pursue any other course than that of calling an extra session of Congress. The proviso was in the following words:—

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 upon 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 or elsewhere, 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, to recall all the United States arms therein distributed, and to prevent armed men from going into the said territory to disturb the public peace, or to aid in the enforcement or resistance of real or pretended law.

Let the reader carefully weigh the terms of those provisos, and he will at once see in what an embarrassing position the President would have been placed had the pay of the army depended upon his fulfillment of all the conditions thus imposed upon him. First, he is not to take any steps to enforce the laws of the territorial Legislature unless Congress shall have decided whether said Legislature was a valid legislative assembly. This was persisted in when Congress was on the eve of adjournment, and when it

was well understood that the present Congress would not, in either session, make any such decision. Not only, therefore, does this proviso leave the President utterly powerless to enforce any laws of said Legislature, and compel him to leave the territory exposed to all the horrors of civil war, and thus practically decide the very question in dispute, and which it ostensibly leaves open, but it assumes also to overrule any decision that may in the meantime be made by the Supreme Court of the United States, upon whom the constitution devolves the duty of deciding such questions. Though the Supreme Court should decide next month that the territorial Legislature of Kansas is "a valid legislative assembly" notwithstanding the irregularities of its election, this proviso would compel the President to disregard such a decision, and still refrain from enforcing the laws on peril of depriving the army of its pay and support.

The second proviso requires the President to keep in the territory the "military force" at present there and employ them for laudable purposes therein specified, while the third proviso demands that he shall disarm the organized militia, and "recall all the United States arms distributed" in the territory. Not assuming, as perhaps we ought not, that the words we have italicized mean all they express, for then would the United States soldiers themselves be disarmed, we think that no patriotic citizen could, in his cooler moments, insist that unless the President will consent to repudiate in advance any decision of the Supreme Court, and will accept conditions so embarrassing with respect to the exercise of any federal authority in the territory of Kansas, the army of the United States shall not receive their pay, and must of necessity be disbanded; and disbanded too at a time when, as the President truly says, "hostilities exist with various Indian tribes on the remote frontiers of the United States, and in other respects the public peace is seriously threatened."

With such embarrassing restraints imposed upon him, who can suppose that the President could exert the least influence for good in the distracted territory of Kansas. And what high officer of this republic, having any self-respect or any of the sense of responsibility which befits the President, would consent to be thus trammelled in the exercise of his prerogatives or in meeting his responsibilities? And yet the Republicans, through their incidental majority in the House, and by the casting vote of their own Speaker, have insisted that either the Chief Magistrate shall submit to be thus embarrassed and trammelled or the army shall not be paid, and must be disbanded! And this too when the very next mail from the Pacific may bring accounts of further Indian wars, or of the still greater calamity, that the people of California are in open rebellion not only against the state authorities but against the federal Government also, and instant and effective action of the army may be imperatively required. Surely this cannot be genuine patriotism, any more than it can be prudent and expedient legislation.

The Republican opponents of the present Administration have indeed overshoot their mark by thus creating a necessity for an extra session of Congress—for that such a necessity has been created by them admits of no controversy. The President could do nothing less than immediately convene Congress under the circumstances, or peril the safety of all our border territory, (exposing portions of that territory to other than Indian marauders,) and deprive himself of the power to enforce the federal authority over any state that chose to refuse allegiance to the Union.—And all this on the plea that a single territorial legislature has been illegally chosen, though Congress has refused to interfere, and the Supreme Court of the United States has not been asked for its opinion on the point in dispute. We respectfully submit that the party leaders who could take such a position and adhere to it so pertinaciously afford but very faint hopes that the party they represent would make wise administrators of the Government, while their present conduct does very plainly show that they are capable of letting party interests and party excitement warp their judgment and prompt their action to the serious detriment of the country's weal and the security of its institutions.

Correspondence of Commercial Advertiser.
WASHINGTON, August 18.

The session terminated at 12 o'clock to-day, and in a good humor, considering that the "Fremont men" and the "Buchanan men" had agreed to an issue on the Kansas rider of the House to the army appropriation bill. The Senate was willing to try another, a fourth, conference on that disagreement, but there was no time for it. It required some twenty minutes in the House to call the yeas and nays, which may be demanded by one fifth present. Of course, one-

five of the members of the House being a quorum, could stop further proceedings and prevent another conference, or the prolongation of the session for that purpose. The army bill was therefore lost.

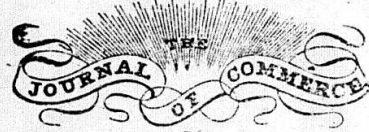
Since the adjournment the matter has been talked over among members, and it is a remarkable fact that very little regret is manifested at the failure of the bill. Each party seems to think, or pretends to be confident, that the responsibility and blame of the failure will fall upon the other. Both declare their willingness to submit the question to the people at the Presidential election.

All the other appropriation bills have been passed and approved, including the civil and miscellaneous bills, which did not pass till this morning.

This bill contains, contrary to expectation, an item of a quarter of million for the Potomac Aqueduct. It secures the work beyond further hazard.

The House gave up the item of 180,000 dollars for books; for they said it would not do to give up the freedom of Kansas, in trade for the books. This was the decision in view of the surrender of the Kansas provisos upon the legislative, judicial and executive bill.

The Clerk of the House has purchased the books, or a part of them, upon the faith of the passage of the appropriation by the House. He is in a fix. But I suppose this point will be settled so as to relieve him at the next session.



NEW YORK, TUESDAY, AUG. 19, 1856.

ADJOURNMENT OF CONGRESS.—EXTRA SESSION CALLED.

The extraordinary conduct of the House of Representatives in refusing to pass the annual appropriation bill for the support of the Army, unless the Senate would consent to engraft upon it a proviso that no part of the money should be applied to the enforcement of the laws enacted by the Legislature of Kansas, has caused the loss of the entire Army Bill,—the Senate very properly refusing to be forced into the support of a Black Republican measure, by means so reprehensible and revolutionary. The Annual Appropriation Bills are necessary to keep the wheels of government in motion. Now if one House of Congress can avail itself of this necessity, to drag down the other into submission to some collateral issue which that other House abhors, it is easy to see that for all practical purposes, the design of the Constitution in establishing two Houses of Congress is circumvented and discarded. Therefore the Senate were bound to resist the encroachment at the threshold, otherwise the same game would be repeated every session. They met the crisis as became them,—calmly, but firmly; and the result is, that Congress closed its session without making any provision for the support of the Army! We have to-day no Army; or, which is the same thing, no means of supporting it. With an overflowing treasury, we have not the means of paying a corporal's guard, unless, perchance, there remains unexpended a remnant of the appropriation of last year. Congress will not regularly meet again until December, and in the mean time the Indians may ravage our frontiers, and other dangers may arise which the nation, as such, has no means of resisting. Indeed, a bloody Indian war has been, and not improbably is at this moment raging in Oregon, and will break out elsewhere if only it is known that the national arm is paralyzed. But what care the Black Republicans for Indian massacres, if only they can carry out their schemes, including the election of Monsieur Fraimong for President?

Happily, the Constitution thus flagrantly violated in its spirit, provides a door of escape from consequences otherwise so disastrous. The President has power to call an EXTRA SESSION of Congress, that its members may reconsider their course, and adopt such remedies as the exigencies of the case demands. This power he has promptly exercised, and Congress are convoked in an extra session, to commence next Thursday, the 21st inst.

NEW YORK HERALD.

New York, Tuesday, August 19, 1856.

Adjournment of Congress—The President's Proclamation for an Extra Session.

The closing proceedings between the two houses of Congress yesterday, upon the Army bill, are given in another part of this paper. The matter at issue, and upon which the bill failed, was an amendment by the Republican House, to which the democratic Senate would not agree, providing that no portion of these army appropriations (thirteen millions) shall be applied to the payment of the troops, neither militia nor regulars, employed in enforcing upon the people of Kansas the bogus laws of the Missouri-Kansas Legislature.

Our special reporter details the circumstances under which the bill fell through by the final adjournment of the House at the appointed time. It appears that had it only required a majority of the House to suspend the rules, for the purpose of considering the resolution of the Senate extending the session a couple of hours, that extension would have been secured; but the rule requires two-thirds for a suspension, and so the motion failed and the session ended. This, however, amounted to nothing, for it is not likely that the addition of two hours to the session would have made any change in the position of that body upon Kansas affairs.

The House having thus wound up the session, and the supplies for the army being thus cut off, great excitement followed, as a matter of course. Anything affecting the spoils always does stir up a great excitement in Washington. The President called the Judges of the Supreme Court together upon the subject, and, afterwards, it appears, convened a special Cabinet council to deliberate upon the momentous issue of an extra session. Luckily, the new bill passed, paying the members by the year, had provided for their services free of additional cost, (excepting, perhaps, such constructive mileage as they might claim for imaginary journeys home and back between two days, according to the time-honored usage of the Senate,) and luckily the President had signed that bill. Thus fortified, our indomitable chief magistrate, upon the great question whether the army should live upon credit for three months, or whether he should call an extra session, carried the point, with the aid of Jeff Davis, that there should be an extra session, to meet on Thursday of this week, at twelve o'clock.

Thus our sudden joy at the adjournment and dispersion of Congress is scattered to the winds. They are back upon us, and God only knows for what length of time. We think, however, that that bill which pays the members three thousand dollars a year, whether they are in session for one month or twelve months, will contribute materially to make this extra session a short one; and we suspect that the urgent demands of this Presidential campaign for additional democratic stumblers and trumpeters will also contribute to hurry up the work for the army. We hope, however, that, being called back again, the peace men, the conservative men, and the real law and order men of the two houses, while they are at it, will enforce some definite action for law and order in Kansas. They should adhere to this as the question of paramount importance, without reference to the elongation of the session—that matter having been provided for in the new compensation bill. If the border ruffianism of Kansas is to stand approved by Congress, it will only reopen those scenes of violence and crime which for twelve months past have done so much to render our Pierce administration infamous at home, and the character of our republican institutions infamous abroad.

There must be some 'half-way house of diplo-

matic rest" between Mr. Campbell and Mr. Toombs—between the republicans of one wing and the democracy of the other wing of the Capitol. The administration shows some signs of repentance. Those Pennsylvania men held as prisoners in Kansas upon bogus charges of treason, the President has promised shall not be prosecuted or punished. But as a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush where Mr. Pierce is concerned, we apprehend it would be as well for Mr. Campbell to insist first, upon the release of those prisoners as proof of the President's good faith in his promise, before making any further concessions; or, with the adjournment of Congress, he may be persecuted by the border ruffians to hold these men under military detention till the day after the Presidential election. Their case, respectively, is a case of great outrage. The very promise of the President to Mr. Campbell, that they should not be prosecuted or punished, is proof sufficient. If they have been guilty of any crime, the President could make no such promise as that of their exemption from punishment or prosecution. If not guilty of any crime, they are unlawfully restrained of their liberty, and should not only be instantly released, but indemnified for the outrages which they have suffered. Furthermore, the officials implicated in the arrest and detention of these Kansas prisoners should be called to account.

The Kansas amendments upon the Legislative, Judicial and Executive bill were withdrawn by the House upon the faith of the President's promise. It is, then, but fair that Mr. Pierce should be required to do something in proof of his good faith before any further concessions are made to him upon the Army bill. He plays fast and loose, and his mere promise is that of a broken bank. Before proceeding a step further to sustain him in Kansas, let the House insist upon a public act in redemption of his confidential pledge to Mr. Campbell.

TRIBUNE KANSAS

From Our Special Correspondent.
HICKORY POINT, K. T., Aug. 7, 1856.

The early Summer was dry in Kansas. The earth was parched, but within the past few weeks we have had some refreshing rains. The green blades of corn look greener and fresher, and even the prairie grass is more succulent and fresh. The streams are flowing more freely, and the roads, though they dry by our Kansas winds almost immediately after a rain, are not dusty. The neighborhood from which I write is getting more unsettled, but there are no decided marks of hostility yet, except that a man is liable to get knocked down or robbed. I had heard that a man had been murdered on Washington Creek, but have been unable to get reliable information of the facts. Washington Creek is some miles above this place, flowing into the Wakerusa to the south of the Santa Fé Road. On that creek there is a camp of Georgians, who have been committing depredations, although they are not all Georgians, I suspect. Nearly all of the Border Ruffians who come in now-a-days are Carolinians, or Alabamians, or Georgians, which is too bad, as those chivalrous States have enough sin to answer for without saddling on them the villainy of all the rascals of Western Missouri. These fellows on Washington Creek, whatever they are, have built a log fort, although it is not a very dangerous structure. They pretend they are going to build a town, which is the blind under which these armed bands are here in the Territory. They live an indolent camp life, than which nothing, in my estimation, can be more disagreeable or abominably filthy; and it is such a free-and-easy life that it appears to induce and develop free-and-easy morals. The men in the camp to which I allude have unquestionably been guilty of many adroitly managed and concealed outrages lately. Beyond all doubt, they had some hand in driving off some Free-State settlers, and took a part in burning the houses on Rock Creek a few weeks ago, an account of which I sent at the time. They try to manage as quietly as possible, for they are amid densely populated settlements, mostly Free-State men. It would not take much more to make the people drive them out; indeed, they already contemplate it. Toward the south these

marauding bands are more bold. The proportion of Free-State men there is as great, but the settlements are sparse. The armed bands of Southerners and Missourians which, as I have already written, have been coming into the Territory, are now engaged in land piracy. Every day's reports show matters to be a little worse, and greater boldness and recklessness in these armed bands. Look out for something more interesting shortly. It is possible that these fellows may be called to account for their recent conduct.

A report of a somewhat alarming kind has reached this vicinity recently. Two men, whom I shall not name, have received letters from friends in Missouri (they are both Free-State settlers, who came from Missouri). These letters came from brothers in the Masonic fraternity. They urge them not to remain in the part of the Territory where they are. A scheme has been concocted in the Blue Lodges in Missouri to murder, and plunder, and drive out the Free-State settlers. The Free-State settlements are to be crippled and broken up, all the leaders and influential persons killed, and some whole neighborhoods are to suffer. Arrangements are making in Missouri to systematize attacks on certain points, and "wipe them out." This has been contemplated for some time, but has been delayed until after the Missouri elections, now over, and some of the blows are to be struck within a week.

Such is the sum and substance of those letters, and they have had the effect of exciting quite a feeling in this neighborhood, on Coal Creek, and on the Wakerusa. For my own part, I think the letters are fair warnings, and that the writers are perfectly sincere. I believe that Missouri contemplates this step at the present time, as she has for a year back. The inroad of the armed bands, their location at different points, their menacing attitude and conduct at the present time, are in my mind far more significant than a warning letter. Further hostilities are contemplated beyond a doubt, but I do not regard them as being much to be feared. It is easier to plot the "wiping out a neighborhood" than to do it, and before it is done, I believe that there will be some little noise on both sides. The Border-Ruffians cannot get up a force that will render them formidable without making such a noise that we will hear of them.

I think that the preparation contemplates a guerrilla war. This already exists to some extent, and I think, when fairly inducted, will lead to the reinactment of such scenes as the battle of Black Jack, with similar results. Mr. Stewart, who lives on this side of the Wakerusa, has just had some experience of these fellows. He was going down toward Osawattamie, and was captured at the crossing of the Merodesia by a party of men who claimed to be Georgians. They stopped him, and as soon as they ascertained he was a Free-State man, took him prisoner. This division of camp of these bravos is on or close to the Ottawa reserves. They spend their time since they encamped there in selling liquor to the Indians, and are stirring up some of the wildest of them to help them in the approaching contest. They also keep a supervision of the roads, allow no Free-State traveler to pass, steal horses, and "enunciate" "Southern Rights" after the most orthodox pattern in Kansas.

Mr. Stewart was detained by them, and finally, as he made no particular demonstrations one way or another when he was taken, and as they did not want to take him into their camp, they gave him in charge to three Indians to keep till morning. As the Indians had some whisky, two of them got drunk, and Mr. Stewart contrived to evade them shortly after dark, and got off. The first Indian house he arrived at, he found its inhabitants very much alarmed, as they thought it was the Georgians. They were just deserting their house for the night and going to an Indian neighbor's house where they would be more secure. Mr. Stewart learned that the Georgians come down every night to molest these Indians and abuse their women. The people of Osawattamie are getting anxious about the camp of those bravos down there. They are anxious to have assistance to drive them out, as their outrages are becoming more flagrant every day, and are getting to be insufferable.

The Dragoons are not doing much just now. The Pro-Slavery men have arrested as many prisoners as they can take care of, and rather more than they will be able to board, if Congress refuses to pass appropriation bills to meet these expenses. The troops cannot serve the purpose of the Border Ruffians. They may arrest innocent people, and disperse Legislatures, and subdue and drive from the means of defense the Free-State men, when they begin to get the upper hand or become dangerous to the Pro-Slavery men. In this way they are very good auxiliaries to the Border Ruffians, but the Border Ruffians alone can "subdue" Kansas as they want it done; the troops being not sufficiently available in the way of murder and robbery.

The troops are now not the slightest protection to the people of Kansas. The Border Ruffians required that they be removed, and the orders of the Department and the course of Gen. Smith indicate that this request has been virtually complied with. Col. Sumner tried to comply as nearly as he could with the orders he had from Washington and the corrupt Pro-Slavery authorities of the Territory. His course exhibited very gross injustice to the Free-State settlers, but he could not help it, and it always showed some few glimmerings of a desire to be fair. Gen. Smith, on the other hand, is unmitigatedly bad—that is, his administration of authority is so, which is the same thing. He does nothing to protect the Free-State men from these guerrillas, and avows that the only thing the dragoons will do is to enforce the Territorial (bogus) laws.

I have just heard from Lecompton; they have had quite a disturbance there among themselves. Jones, Laine, Donaldson, with all the other Pro-Slavery bullies, have been trying to get Gov. Shannon to call out the militia again, to "collect the taxes." Gov. Shannon, for the first time, showed a little backbone against the audacious rascality of the ruffians, and has refused; nay, more, though they have been plying him with various threats and logic for some days back, he still persists in refusing. What renders this more aggravated, is the fact that a few of the leaders of the Southern Regiment have just got back from the South, with more means and more men, and want to "do something before this strength is dissipated."

So indignant were they at Shannon's un-"Law"-ful and dis-"Order"-ly conduct, that they have threatened a hydropathical remedy for this unprecedented stubbornness. The terms were: "Call 'out the Militia, or be ducked in the Kaw River." I wonder what Mrs. Shannon would think of "Pro-Slavery society" if she was at Lecompton now. Yesterday the Governor beat a retreat to the prisoners' camp, Capt. Sackett in command, and wanted to be "protected." He was in a bad way, as he had to return to Lecompton last night. Little did Governor Shannon think yesterday that he was superseded. We have just heard of the appointment of Mr. Geary, and poor Shannon's head at last falls into the basket. If the Border Ruffians ducked him in the Kaw last night, according to promise, it would have been a magnificent termination to his gubernatorial dignity; a sublime apotheosis to his authority. Poor Shannon! he has done a great deal of dirty work for little thanks. Let doughfaces and Pro-Slavery hunkers generally read the lesson. At this moment he probably has not a sincere friend on earth, and certainly does not deserve to have one. Will he be impeached for his crimes against Kansas and the peace of the country, or will his mean servility, whittled to a point, pass into peaceful oblivion?

There is no question but the Administration are trying to make a scapegoat of him; but this Kansas affair has made more sins than Shannon can carry with him to the wilderness. It is now certain that Shannon, a few weeks ago, meditated resignation, and at the request of the President tendered his resignation. I fear that the President (Republics is ungrateful) had deliberately come to the conclusion that it would pay better to re-appoint him. Hence, Gen. Smith met Shannon at St. Louis and persuaded him back. It is a shabby trick, and, as matters stand, rather too poor a political speculation.

A revolution in the National Pro-Slavery Democratic party is not to be looked for. They have sacrificed not only the North, but honor, for Slavery extension, and they dare not desert this taskmaster.

I suspect this appointment of Geary is done for effect, and that it will amount to nothing. Who is he? is a question not much agitated, although nobody knows. Everybody does know that he is the appointee of Pierce, and the question is rather—"Can any good thing come out of that Administration?"

Poor Shannon! I am almost sorry for him. His ominous repentance, too, just before his political demise. Having "put his hand to the [Border-Ruffian] plow, he looked back," and now stands, like another pillar of salt, on this plain of Sodom.

RUFFIANISM AND RASCALITY.

We copy the following items from *The Kansas Tribune* of July 28:

On Friday, the 19th instant, a lame man who was teaching for Mr. Barrico, from Palmyra to Kansas, was taken by a band of ruffians, headed by Coleman the murderer of Dow, who assumes to be their captain. His load, consisting of provisions which cost him one hundred dollars in Kansas City, was taken from him, and he barely escaped with his life. The curses and threats of extermination of the Free-State settlers were long and loud among them.

Several others have been robbed of both provisions and money. Horse-stealing is carried on by this band of desperadoes on such wholesale scale, that there are now barely any horses in the hands of the Free-State settlers in that vicinity; not only do they stop and plunder teams, farm houses, &c., but several attempts

have been made to murder. We are informed that last Thursday evening Mr. D. A. Clayton, jr., who is known to be an uncompromising Free-State man, just after returning from Lawrence, while picking out his horse, was fired at by two ruffians, who had secured themselves in some brush near the path, where he proposed feeding his horse. Mr. Clayton very promptly returned the fire, when the ruffians took to the bushes, one of them limping as he went.

This Coleman has erected a log fort at the head of Bull Creek, which is about fourteen miles east of Palmyra, which is manned by about 90 armed men, and three cannon. It is at this place that all the plunder in the shape of provisions, guns, &c., is deposited by their guerrilla parties. And what makes the case still more aggravating is, that Company I, of the United States Dragoons—who have been enrolled by order of the Administration from Col. Buford's company, who conducted themselves so gallantly at the destruction of Lawrence, that Pierce, Douglas and Buchanan thought it necessary to take them into the regular service, in order that they might have men to rely upon to do their dirty work—have been stationed at Palmyra, to defend the settlers, but instead of resisting the "law and order" bands which are prowling around them, they allow and even participated in their rascalities.

Where are those four valiant companies that were brought up in battle array before Constitution Hall on the 4th of July, who were so eager to disband all armed bodies in the State—so much so that they even dashed through and broke up a 4th of July celebration? Where are they? Echo answers, Where? when they are called upon to disband a company of Pro-Slavery men.

BRUTALITY OF COL. TITUS.

We learn from a reliable source that Col. Titus—Gov. Shannon's right-hand man, and the same one of offered \$500 for the head of Capt. Walker, a few days ago attempted to take possession of a claim belonging to a Free-State man by the name of Smith, who resides near Lecompton, and was one of the first settlers. Titus took advantage of Smith's absence, went to his claim, tore down the house, and erected a shanty of his own. On Smith's returning and finding his house demolished he rallied a few of his neighbors and re-erected it. He had not much more than got it up, however, before Titus came along with a few of his crew, and ordered him off; which order he didn't seem to be very hasty about obeying. Titus became impatient; and, seeing that he was much the largest man, both in regard to bulk and gas, and as he had plenty of his crew to back him, he concluded that he would be perfectly safe in attempting a fist-fight. After pounding Smith to his heart's content, and leaving him helpless upon the ground, he ordered one of his men to go and set fire to his building. The man was rather reluctant about obeying so tyrannical a command, when Titus drew his revolver and threatened to shoot him unless he obeyed. He accordingly set fire to the building, which was burned to the ground.

Shannon's attention was immediately called to these facts by Smith's friends; he promised them that he would attend to it, and he did so, the day following, by ordering on a company of U. S. dragoons, to defend Titus in his assumed right to the claim and improvements.

Damnable as this last act of the appointee of President Pierce may seem to some, it is strictly in accordance with his previous course, and with the spirit of this great Democratic Administration. Every step that has been taken by the Administration and its supporters in regard to Kansas, has had but one idea—to drive out or exterminate every Free-State settler.

They find that all their threats—the destruction of a large amount of our property by fire and ball, the incarceration of some of our prominent citizens in jail, and the cold-blooded murder of others, have failed to intimidate us, and now they propose to resort to the last expedient, that of driving freemen from their homes because they dare to differ with them in sentiment, and yet we are told that the time has not yet come to act. We would like to know when it will come. Will it be when a company of United States Dragoons are stationed on every claim to protect some hound like Titus who wishes to enjoy the fruits of an honest man's toil? or will it be when we are all tied hand and foot and confined under the guard of United States troops, or hung to the nearest oak?

PUBLIC LANDS.

We have several times heard it intimated of late, that the lands in Kansas would be brought into market much earlier than it has been generally supposed—that a trap of this kind is about to be sprung upon the Free-State settlers, in order to take them unawares, and unprepared. While the Blue Lodges and other secret orders on the borders will be prepared with money to purchase the claims from under the Free-State men the moment it comes into market, as they are being supplied with funds from the South, by lecturers who are there now making appeals to them in behalf of their "peculiar institutions." Time only can determine whether there is any truth in those reports or not. We know, however, that it would be in accordance with the ideas of Pierce, Douglas and Buchanan, and if they could by any such means force the Free-State settlers from Kansas, instead of effecting the murdering them in cold blood as they at first designed, we suppose that it would answer their purpose as well, inasmuch as they find it not a very easy job to drive freemen from the homes which they have made with their honest toil.

86 DRIVE THEM OUT.

For some time past armed bands of Southern— numbering seven hundred in all—have been scouring the country between Leavenworth and Marysville, a small Pro-Slavery town near the Nebraska line, and a little east of north of Fort Riley, for the purpose of cutting off Northern emigrants coming by way of Iowa and Nebraska. This Marysville appears to be their western depot; Leavenworth and Iowa Point are the eastern stations. These Ruffians go about in companies of from twenty to fifty; mostly on foot, though some are mounted, having wagons enough to carry their provisions, company apparatus, and spare arms, together with all the plunder they are able to take from peaceful emigrants who will not admit the doctrine of Slavery. All persons coming into the Territory, who do not manage to pass by them unnoticed, are stopped and strictly examined with regard to their private opinions on public subjects; if "all right," they are politely invited to "get drunk and go on;" if not, the "vile sinners may return." The rascals have not yet succeeded in doing much injury, as most of the emigration has passed through unguarded points, and the greater part of those who have crossed the path of the ruffians have been smart enough to inquire the distance and direction to Leocompton, instead of Topeka or Lawrence, and thus get past. As it now is, they have a great extent of territory to watch, and cannot perfectly perform their duty, but in a few days the new road from this place to Nebraska will be opened, and then the travel will all be driven through one point. Now we do not wish to frighten Northern people who may wish to come on this route, but it is nevertheless a fact of too much consequence to be overlooked, that Pierce, Jones & Co., will make the most strenuous efforts to blockade this passage also. If the bands now prowling along the lines are allowed to remain and continue their work, we may as well give up in the contest at once. As there is no probability that they will ever leave as long as their masters are punctual in their payments, or until their supply of whisky falls short, they will contrive to harrow both the settlers in the upper portion of the State, and future emigration until they are driven out.

And who will do this? will Gen. Smith? or will it be done by a general crusade of the citizens? The Federal military officers have for a long time been promising to protect us and all peaceable emigrants—if we would only allow them to do so—that, if we would disperse and disband, they would drive out all armed bands from other States and prevent their returning. We have done as they wished; but hundreds of armed men from Missouri and South Carolina are still here. Shall we wait longer for them to be driven out by the authorities, or shall we do it ourselves?

THE LAST APPEAL.

The Kickapoo Pioneer makes the following appeal to its Southern brethren. If it shows anything, it shows just what we have supposed for some time past, that the Ruffians were making their last effort. But if the Freeman of Kansas do their duty—remain firm, calm and determined—the last dying effort of our invaders, though it may be their most effectual one, will accomplish nothing, except, perhaps, the cold-blooded murder of a few more honest men—a few more martyrs to Freedom—which will be counted as nothing but straws by Pierce, Douglas and Buchanan when weighed in the scales with "Southern Rights."

"Men we must have; money is a secondary consideration; send us the men, and we promise you by the 'Eternal' they shall not starve. If you do not send men the Territory of Kansas will become a hotbed for negro thieves, who not being satisfied, will extend their rule eventually to the confines of Texas. Now is the time to nip their devilish machinations in the bud. More remote Southern States flatter themselves that there is no danger. Let us see if there is none. Kansas as it lays embraces 31 degrees of latitude, or from 36 1/2 degrees south to 40 degrees north, of which the whole extent borders on the State of Missouri; Kansas then becomes a Free State wholly by indifference on the part of the rich remote Southern States, and Missouri is surrounded. The next step which follows after Kansas has been stolen from the South, will be in the possession of the Indian Territory which reaches from 34 degrees south, to the Kansas line, now occupied by many tribes of Indians, among which are the Choctaw and Cherokee tribes, who are large slaveholders—they will be overrun by vast hordes of emigrant paupers from the East and North, even as they are now making an effort to overrun Kansas. That accomplished, it immediately brings Arkansas, Louisiana and Texas into the field—borders them by a Free State—completes the chain for an underground railroad, and places the cotton-planter at the mercy of the Abolitionist."

The Semi-Weekly Times.

NEW-YORK, TUESDAY, AUGUST 19, 1856.

Freedom South.

We have repeatedly stated that a very large portion of the moderate and fair-minded people at the South do not concur in the policy of extending and perpetuating Slavery, which the politicians of the South have adopted; but that they are afraid to give utterance to their dissent, and are kept in almost as complete subjection to the dominant Slave oligarchy as the slaves themselves. We see every day fresh proof of the truth of this position. A late number of the

Charleston Mercury contains a communication upon the doctrine that the non-slaveholders at the South would not consent to a dissolution of the Union, at the demand of the slaveholding section, in which occurs the following:

"How long is it since the same position has been taken here, at home, under our very noses, at our very firesides? How long is it since the Charleston Standard, promulgating here in our midst the same political doctrine, false to our institution, became guilty of the high public misdemeanor of Incendiarism? Yet, who rebuked it as it deserved? You, it is seen, expressed a most respectful dissent from the opinion of the Standard, but that was all.

Bath Daily Sentinel.

TUESDAY MORNING, AUG. 19, 1856.

KANSAS!

G. P. LOWRY, Esq., private Secretary to Gov. REEDER, and now under indictment for treason in that Territory, will address the citizens of Bath THIS EVENING, at the CITY HALL. COL. LOWRY comes well recommended, and being perfectly acquainted with all the doings in Kansas, will be able to give a correct account of the same.

Let all attend who desire to know the TRUTH.

WASHINGTON.

"Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable."

"We join ourselves to no party that does not carry the flag and the step to the music of the Union."

TUESDAY, AUGUST 19, 1856.

INSTRUCTIONS TO THE ARMY IN KANSAS.

The following correspondence was communicated to the Senate by the President last week, in reply to a resolution of the Senate requesting information as to the nature of certain instructions issued to military officers in the Territory of Kansas:

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, FEB. 15, 1856.

SIR: The President has, by a proclamation, warned persons combined for insurrection or invasive aggression against the organized Government of the Territory of Kansas, or associated to resist the due execution of the laws therein, to abstain from such revolutionary and lawless proceedings; and has commanded them to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective abodes, on pain of being resisted by his whole constitutional power of the Government.

If, therefore, the Governor of the Territory, finding the ordinary course of judicial proceedings and the power vested in the United States marshals inadequate for the suppression of insurrectionary combinations or armed resistance to the execution of the law, should make requisition upon you to furnish a military force to aid him in the performance of that official duty, you are hereby directed to employ for that purpose such part of your command as may, in your judgment, consistently be detached from their ordinary duty.

In executing this delicate function of the military power of the United States you will exercise much caution to avoid, if possible, collision with even insurgent citizens and will endeavor to suppress resistance to the laws and constituted authorities by that moral force which, happily in our country, is ordinarily sufficient to secure respect to the laws of the land and the regularly constituted authorities of the Government. You will use a sound discretion as to the moment at which the further employment of the military force may be discontinued, and avail yourself of the first opportunity to return with your command to the more grateful and prouder service of the soil—that of common defence.

For your guidance in the premises you are referred to the acts of February 28, 1795, and March 3, 1807, (which constitute a committee to wait on Col. Sumner Military Laws, pages 301 and 123,) and to the proclamation of the President, a copy of which is herewith transmitted.

should you need further or more specific instruction, should, in the progress of events, doubts arise in your mind as to the course which it may be proper for you to pursue, you will communicate directly with this Department, stating the points upon which you wish to be informed.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
JEFFN DAVIS, Secretary of War.

Col. E. V. SUMNER, United States army, commanding Fort Leavenworth.
Lieut. Col. PHILIP ST. GEORGE COOKE, United States army, commanding Fort Riley, K. T.

ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE,
Washington, March 26, 1856.

SIR: Your communication of the 8th instant, asking for your government the views of the Department in relation to the course which should be pursued towards armed bodies coming into the Territory of Kansas, either from Missouri or from a distance North or South, what ever may be their professed objects, has been received and submitted to the Secretary of War, by whom I am directed to say, in reply to the question as to where the men may come from, or whether armed or unarmed, I am not one for the inquiry, or consideration of the commanding officer. It is only when an armed resistance is offered to the laws and against the peace and quiet of the Territory, and when, under such circumstances, a requisition for military force is made upon the commanding officer by the authority specified in his instructions: that he is empowered to act.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,
S. COOPER, Adjutant General.
Colonel E. V. SUMNER, First Cavalry,
commanding, &c., Fort Leavenworth, K. T.

HEADQUARTERS, FIRST CAVALRY,
Fort Leavenworth, May 12, 1856.

COLONEL: I have just returned from Leocompton. Great excitement is prevailing in the country at this moment in consequence of the marshal and sheriff summoning large masses, without reference to the Governor, as they say to maintain the law. I said to the Governor officially that I would arrest and hold subject to the orders of the civil authorities any men in the Territories against whom writs were issued, and, further, that in order to preserve the peace of the country I would place my entire regiment immediately at any point he might designate.

The Governor is evidently desirous of availing himself of the regular troops as the only means of preserving peace, but he does not think proper to assume the responsibility of controlling them under civil officers by taking it upon himself to decide what kind of force they shall use, and consequently they are made up of partisans, and if they do not bring about a serious collision it will be because both parties have a wholesome fear of each other.

I enclose an application from the people of Lawrence, which I sent, of course, to the Governor, with the accompanying letter.

I am, Colonel, very respectfully, your obedient servant,
E. V. SUMNER,
Colonel First Cavalry Commanding.
Col. S. COOPER, Adjutant General U. S. A.

NEAR LAWRENCE, MAY 12, 1856.

GOVERNOR: The enclosed paper was presented to me last night, the committee stating that they had heard of authority to act in these matters. I told them they had been misinformed, that it was left for you to decide when the troops should come out, and if they had any application to make it should be made to you, which they said they should do immediately.

I fully understand the difficulties of your position at this critical moment, and I am anxious to aid you to the full extent of my power and ability. I am impressed with the belief that a large and commanding force placed midway between this and Leocompton, would have great moral effect in repressing these disturbances.

I am, Governor, with much respect, your obedient servant,
E. V. SUMNER,
Colonel First Cavalry commanding
His Excellency W. SHANNON.

HEADQUARTERS,
Fort Leavenworth, May 12, 1856.
R. RANSOM, Jr.
Lieutenant and Adjutant First Cavalry.

LAWRENCE, (KANSAS,) MAY 11, 1856.
SIR: We have to submit for your consideration the following report of a meeting of citizens of Lawrence held at seven o'clock this evening:

WHEREAS we have the most reliable information from every section of the Territory that armed bands of men are forming, and that several hundreds are now encamped within a few miles of this town, who make most violent threats of the destruction of the town and of its inhabitants: Therefore

Resolved, That Messrs. Topliff, Hutchinson, and Boesebets constitute a committee to wait on Col. Sumner commander of the first regiment of United States cavalry.

ly, and inform him of our imminent danger, and respectfully ask of him such protection as he may be able to extend to us consistent with the authority in him vested.

Very respectfully, yours,
C. W. TOPLIFF,
W. G. ROBERTS,
JOHN HUTCHINSON.

Col. E. V. SUMNER,
Commander First Regiment U. S. Cavalry.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, MAY 23, 1856.

Sir: Your letter of the 12th instant, this day submitted to me by the Adjutant General, has been read, with its enclosures.

You have justly construed your instructions, and your course is approved. The zeal manifested by you to preserve order and prevent civil strife between our fellow-citizens in Kansas receives full commendation; but you have properly refused to interpose the military power of the United States, except under the 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 proceed from a lawless disregard of the right of protection of persons and property for the security of which the government was ordained and established.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
JEFFERSON DAVIS,
Secretary of War.

Col. E. V. SUMNER, Comd'g 1st Reg. Cav.
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 enclosed 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 Governor had found the ordinary course of judicial proceedings and the powers vested in the United States marshal inadequate to effect the purpose which was accomplished by the employment of the troops of the United States. Colonel Sumner will be called upon to communicate upon this point.

"JEFF'N DAVIS, Secretary of War.
"War Department, July 19, 1856."

I am, sir, respectfully, your most obt' servant,
S. COOPER, Adjutant General.
To Colonel E. V. SUMNER,
First Cavalry, Fort Leavenworth, K. T.

The Daily Journal

R. M. RIDDLE, Editor & Proprietor.

PITTSBURGH:

TUESDAY - - - AUGUST 19, 1856.

From the Mercer Whig of Friday
Letter from Kansas.

We publish below a letter from Joseph McDonald, formerly of this borough, and who is now, and has been for some two years past, a resident of Kansas, to his son, residing here.—We omit that portion of it relating to private affairs. The letter was not intended for publication.

COUSIN CITY, K. T.,
July 27, 1856.

DEAR SON PARKER.—I received a letter from you dated July 2d, and was very glad to hear from you, as I had not heard from you for a long time. I have written to you all—
For awhile this spring I have written once a week for six or eight weeks, but received no answer until last evening, when I had just arrived from Leavenworth City. The 11th of July I went down to Kansas City, and got a load of flour and pickled pork, and was returning home again, and when I had got about two miles this side of Westport I was met by a band of robbers who required me to stop. They were all armed to the teeth. They then required me to go back into the thicket of woods, and there took all my load which was worth \$140. They then told me to get away as fast as I could, or if I did not, I would get hurt. They are very bad men. One of them was the man (Coleman) who shot a Free State man by the

name of Dow. After being robbed I went up to Leavenworth and got a load, and, as I stated above, have just returned. And now I know not what to do. If I should quit the business and go away I should have to lose almost all I have made, and if I stay here I am in danger almost every day of being robbed or killed. I have made up my mind to stay a little longer to see what will be done. It things would become settled and get quiet, I could do far better than in Mercer. Give my respects to all inquiring friends.

I remain, your father,
JOSEPH McDONALD.

The same fact as above recorded we find in a contemporaneous letter to Theodore Dwight, Esq., President of the N. Y. Kansas League. This is an item from it:

COUSIN CITY, Kansas Territory, July 27.

Dear Sir:—Things are somewhat quiet at this moment. Mr. M., our neighbor, had his load of flour and bacon taken from him last week, this side of Westport, worth a hundred and forty dollars. There are hundreds of men still lurking in and near Westport, (Missouri), concealed in the woods, committing these outrages; and they will continue their lawless career until we get an efficient government. The symptoms which we perceive around us portend a more dreadful irruption of the hellish elements than we have yet witnessed. Let it come, if it must; but may the authors and instigators, both general and local, be swept to the bottom by it. A more wicked and weak set of men were never before permitted to be clothed with the garments of office.

Our table is covered at this moment with documents to the same effect, both in print and manuscript, and yet men can be found who deny these facts!!!

INDEPENDENT WHIG

LANCASTER, PA.

TUESDAY MORNING, AUGUST 19, 1856.

The Latest from Kansas—Story of two Spies—Grand Plans of Gen. Lane and the Free State Men.

[We receive the following dispatch from our Private Correspondent, via New York, and give it in full without endorsing any or all of the statements it contains.—Evening Bulletin.

WHITEHEAD, K. T., Aug. 4.—On Wednesday last Richardson sent two men from this place to reconnoitre Lane's regiment, before reported as making their way into the Territory. They returned this evening, and stated that just after crossing the Nebraska line they came upon an encampment of 250 Free State men; entered the camp, pretending to be ultra Free Soilers, were kindly treated and remained all night.

During the night they learned that Gen. Lane had returned to Chicago to raise more men and means to support the party. That he was going from thence to Pittsburg and Cincinnati to raise 5000 men, charter boats and bring them through to Kansas without touching at the Missouri towns.

That he would have sufficient artillery to batter down any town from which an attempt was made to intercept him. That his party was waiting for forces then at Nebraska City before moving down to Topeka.

The spies were also informed that the party expected these forces on Wednesday, when they would take their line of march. That when Gen. Lane touched the shores of Kansas they would move down from Topeka to meet him.

That when they did join their forces with Gen. Lane, "they would defy the Border Ruffians, and all United States to boot."

Richardson's spies then went up to Nebraska City where they saw 200 of the same free-soil regiment from whom they heard confirmations of the statement of the "vanguard." They are all thoroughly armed with Sharp's rifles, pistols, knives, and have several pieces of cannon with them.

Gen. Richardson immediately sent a statement of the above to Gen. Persifer F. Smith, and advised him that if the U. S. troops do not stop and disarm these murderers, he (Gen. R.) will be compelled to call out the Territorial militia for that purpose.

The District Court is now in session here, guarded by a troop of dragoons. Benjamin H. Brock will be tried first he is charged with having illegally acted as Judge at Eleration.

The Wrongs of Kansas—A Reign of Terror.

A letter from Lawrence to the Boston Transcript says that from the Missouri border to within two miles of that city, the reign of terror is complete, men being layld by guerrilla bands every night, and sometimes a broad day light, shot at, beaten, and left for dead.—Houses are burned and horses stolen. The writer gives his as what he has himself seen. His own house was plundered in his absence of almost everything of value except books. Three horses of his neighbors were taken, and one of his own, all laden with his goods.—Several of his friends lost spans of valuable horses, with marriages, harness, etc. Such is the boasted tranquility of Kansas. The United States troops, meantime, make no effort to stop this pillage, and never pretend to interfere with the pro-slavery ruffians. Col. Sumner's policy seems to have been entirely ended by the arrival of Gen. Smith, who thus far has done nothing at all.

Some affect to believe that the numerous reported outrages upon the Free State settlers in this territory are overwrought or apocryphal. They don't believe they have been threatened and robbed and murdered as has been represented. The New York Evangelist has the following in regard to one of the sufferers:—

We recently saw and conversed with a lady from Kansas, whose plain, simple story of the wrongs endured by the Free State settlers was enough to wring tears of anguish from a rock. She was a lady and a Christian woman. She had been accustomed to the comfort and elegancies of Eastern society. She went with her husband and family nearly a year ago, from an Eastern city, to find a new home in Kansas. Her husband is a peaceful praying man. He has not yet lifted the banner of violence against a fellow man. Strangely enough he has counselled forbearance, even whilst the marauders were almost at his door. He has hoped, even against hope, that the General Government might yet throw the shield of its protection between them and their merciless foes. Even whilst a portion of the town in which he resides was sacked by the ruffians, he counselled non-resistance. And yet all this is not enough to satisfy the greed of hungry villains. I would seem that, in their estimation, he is too good a man to be on the other side; he is, therefore, a marked man; doomed, if they catch him to the halter or the gallows lead. The only hope of escaping their murderous clutches is by keeping close to his own home. He cannot go abroad; he cannot leave the Territory. It would seem that, in their estimation, he is too good a man to be on the other side; he is, therefore, a marked man; doomed, if they catch him to the halter or the gallows lead. The only hope of escaping their murderous clutches is by keeping close to his own home. He cannot go abroad; he cannot leave the Territory. It would seem that, in their estimation, he is too good a man to be on the other side; he is, therefore, a marked man; doomed, if they catch him to the halter or the gallows lead. The only hope of escaping their murderous clutches is by keeping close to his own home. He cannot go abroad; he cannot leave the Territory. 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A Border Ruffian Argument.

We have received from our Kansas correspondent a cannon ball which was fired into the Eldredge House at Lawrence by Atchison and his crew, while enforcing the laws of the territory. It is a four pound shot, roughly cast, but a formidable missile to hurl at a hotel, a printing office or a freeman, especially when ejected from a cannon planted across the street only from the object at which it may be aimed. It was picked up by our correspondent from the ruins after the ruffian's torch had obliterated the fine structure. It is labelled

"DEMOCRATIC BULLETIN."

"THE LAWS MUST BE ENFORCED.—Franklin Pierce.
Hotel and Printing office Indicted as Nuisances by Instructions of Judge Leconte.

Destroyed by the Mob under Atchison and Jones, 1856."

The ball may be seen at the Atlas counting-room, old State House.

Instinctively, as we gaze upon the missile, the mind institutes a court of inquiry in regard to its mission. What is its history? Why was it fired? Why is it now an object of interest? It is but a globule of iron—a brown, opaque sphere, yet luminous with historic light. The past, the present, and the future, are in view as we behold it. The first agitation of the slavery question—the institution of the Missouri compromise—its repeal—the designs of the slave power—the great struggle between Freedom and Despotism—the destiny of our country—the progress of civil and religious liberty—the freedom of the press and speech—the welfare of man for all coming time—are connected with this missile—this democratic missile, fired by an order of the President of the United States, for the benefit of the great sham Democracy, and slave extension Oligarchy!

The Beelzebub of Border-Ruffianism, once the second executive officer of the United States, but now, like his great prototype, as sung by the blind bard of the Lost Paradise, fallen from his high estate, the infamous David Atchison—the Drunken Davy—levelled the piece, and then, by order of Franklin Pierce, the shot crashed through the walls and vindicated the laws! Most glorious shot! *The whole country heard the report!* It hears it now, and not a freeman trembles. The men who stand by the Constitution and the Union are not the men to quail at the rumbling of such Democratic thunder! King George hurled just such arguments from Copp's Hill on the 17th of June, 1775, at a little band of men across Charles river; and now the granite shaft, dwelling in the birth place of Liberty, points to heaven—her eternal home!

We cannot enter upon the themes which open before us. A volume might be written upon them. Passing them by, we look to the end of this struggle between Liberty and Despotism. Truth is to triumph at last.—Humanity has traveled too far to go back to barbarism. Franklin Pierce and David Atchison cannot stop the swelling flood flowing from the heart of a people who love liberty better than life. They might as well hurl cannon balls at the tide of the ocean to stop its rising, as to think of crushing free speech and the freedom of the press by such a missile as the one before us. Mr. Pierce may, like old King Canute sitting in his chair upon the sands of the sea shore bid the waves go back; but the floods will not obey. Like Canute, he must make a hasty retreat, or the waters will sweep him where plummet has not fathomed.

Who are the Disunionists?

We lay before our readers the sentiments expressed on different occasions by distinguished Southern men in regard to their estimate of the value of the Union. Mr. Speaker Banks was assailed with great violence by Southern politicians, because he was reported to have said that in the event of the general government degrading itself by becoming the chief instrument of spreading and extending Slavery, he was prepared to say, "Let the Union slide." These men go quite beyond Mr. Banks:

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 SENATOR TULLY, OF FLORIDA.

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

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 trampled with a preamble 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."

BY 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. COLQUHOUN, OF GEORGIA.

"If the Wilmot Proviso should pass in any form, I will introduce 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 peacefully 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. * * * They 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 following toasts were drunk at a Democratic Fourth of July celebration at Atchison, Mo., in Kansas:

"DISUNION—By secession or otherwise—a beacon of hope to an oppressed people, and the surest remedy for Southern wrongs." (Enthusiastic cheers.)

THE CITY OF ATCHISON—May she, before the close of the year '57, be the Capital of the Southern Republic. (Cheers.)

The Army Appropriation Bill—An Extra Session of Congress.

Congress having adjourned without making any appropriation for the subsistence of the army, leaving it to be disbanded or starve, the President has, as in duty bound, called an extra session, which is to meet to-morrow. This failure of the appropriation bill is chargeable to a spirit of factious opposition, and political animosity to the Administration, on the part of the Free-soilers in the House of Representatives. Having failed to procure the passage of a bill to make Kansas a Free State, and been defeated in their attempt to have the laws of the Shawnee Legislature set aside, and to have the prisoners, Robinson, Brown, &c., under arrest for treason, discharged from custody, the "Free Kansas" party in the House, through spite and chagrin, has refused to vote for a bill making appropriations for the maintenance of the army, unless they could tack on to it certain provisos looking to the nullification of the laws in force in Kansas, and the discharge of the Free State prisoners. These provisos have not the remotest relevancy to the bill to which the House chose to attach them, and the Senate very properly refused to acquiesce in the House amendment. So the matter stood at the adjournment.

The question arises, will Congress now come to any more satisfactory determination than before? Will either the Senate or the House recede from its action? The Senate certainly will not; they voted on Monday to adhere to the bill as it passed their body, thirty-nine ayes, and twelve noes.—The Senate is too strongly Anti-Black Republican, too fully committed to the policy of the Administration, in this Kansas trouble, to yield an iota.—That body, as well as the House, has discussed this matter for several days, and each member has made up his mind, and the unalterable resolution of each was doubtless expressed by the vote on Monday to "adhere" to its position.

The House, however, will doubtless vote differently, on a reconsideration of the bill. The proviso which the Senate rejected was adopted in the House by only six majority. Some of the Republican members themselves spoke and voted against it—among them, Mr. Campbell, of Ohio, the Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, who, though acting with the Republican party, is too honorable and fair-minded a man; too sincere a friend of peace and harmony, to sanction such extreme, unparallded, and revolutionary measures, as the attempting by an organized party in the House, to force the Administration to do its will, by withholding the supplies necessary for the healthy working of the Government. While the proviso was under discussion in the House, Mr. Campbell said:

This was an extraordinary provision of legislation, attached to an appropriation bill in violation of uniform usage, of law, and of the rules; and as the head of the Ways and Means Committee, whose business it was to comprehend, if possible, other interests than those involved in Kansas alone, he was unwilling to put in jeopardy measures which were necessary to carry on the Government under circumstances such as he had stated. He knew the delicacy of his position, he knew its responsibility, and, knowing it, dared meet it.—Gentlemen now talked eloquently upon this subject, but where were their voices at an earlier period of the session? If gentlemen should prevent the passage of the appropriation bills by appending to them these provisos, a whirlwind of public indignation unparalleled in the history of the world would come upon their legislation from all branches of the industrial classes of the community.

Mr. Campbell uttered a manifest truth, in forcible language; and when the House meets again, and the members who have so inconsiderately and unjustifiably sought to throw obstacles in the

way of the administration of the Government in order to further partizan ends, see the position they occupy before the country, and hear the rising of the "storm of indignation which shall come upon their legislation," we opine that some not over-firm before in their resolution, will be glad to reconsider the matter, and vote the contrary. If not—if the House still persists in its demands—there will be no measure to the condemnation and wrath which an outraged and incensed people will heap upon their heads. If they have any expectations of success next November, let them beware how they act now.

[From the Chicago Tribune, August 20]
THE WAR IN KANSAS.

We knew that the report of the St. Louis Republican, which we published yesterday, had a secret meaning in it, which a day or few days at most, would reveal. That revelation has come. Hear it, freemen, and act!

For some two months or so, the border-ruffians have been seemingly quiet. "All is peaceful in Kansas," they said. "We have news of order and quiet in the territory," repeated the St. Louis Republican. This was a blind; all this while the border ruffians were preparing to make a grand sweep over the territory, to band themselves together, and by one descent, murder or drive out of Kansas the whole free state population.

1. Buford's men and the Georgians and Tennesseans remained in Kansas with the Missourians and erected fortifications, calling them colonies, in different parts of the territory. These fortifications number some ten or twelve. There are three in Douglas county, two at Ossawatimie, one of them commanded by Coleman, who murdered Dow, and the rest extend along the Missouri river.

2. The Missourians have been furnishing the Carolinians, Georgians, and their own men with provisions, ammunition, &c.

3. When all was ready, the ruffians made no secret of their plan. They thought that they had the free state men in their power. They resolved to exert it. The question as to the time of attack was the only point, and this was to be immediately after the adjournment of Congress.

4. The river, meanwhile, was guarded at every point, and no free-state man reached Kansas up the Missouri or through the state of Missouri.

5. So certain were the ruffians of success, that on the 12th, Mr. Hoyt of Massachusetts, was shot down on the prairie by the ruffians at the block-house, near Washington Creek, and on the same day another free-state man was killed by these brutal murderers.

Seeing this state of things, knowing that life or death hung upon the issue, the free state men resolved to meet the crisis like men. They could not wait, for to do that would be to insure the success of the ruffians. They dared not do it; for not only would their property be sacrificed, but their wives and children ruthlessly violated and they murdered. They concluded, rightly, as we think, to meet the foe, and to show him that he was not feared—they determined to attack him in one of his strongholds.

Franklin was one of the dens of the ruffians. They occupied a block-house in the town. This block-house the free-state men attacked and carried, who had one man killed, Edward Sackett from Detroit, and two more badly wounded, Jack Brooks and—Gunther. Five others were slightly wounded. The ruffians being strongly fortified, escaped; only four were wounded; but they cried for quarter and surrendered. The body of them ran like troopers.

The free-state men took sixty stand of arms, one cannon, powder, and a large amount of stores. These arms had been mostly stolen from Lawrence, and were identified, though among them were a few United States muskets.

The story of the St. Louis Republican, as to the robbing of the post office or the sacking of Franklin, is all a lie. Not a building, not a citizen, nor the property of any citizen, was destroyed or disturbed. The assault was confined to the marauders' den—it began there and ended there. No people know better how to respect personal and private rights than the free men of Kansas.

This is the true state of affairs in Kansas. A special messenger, whose veracity cannot be questioned, reached St. Louis Monday morning, and furnished these details. The forthcoming news from the territory will be looked for with deepest interest. Our belief is, that the free-state men will be true, and if so, God and the country will be with them.

THE EVENING NEWS.

Saint Louis:

WEDNESDAY EVENING, AUGUST 20.

THE CROPS IN KANSAS.—A late letter from East Douglas, Kansas, says: The crops are not so extensive as they would have been had there been less rain at planting time; but what has been planted does well. Wheat is harvested, and the ground is being prepared for another crop. Some of the farmers are cutting hay on the prairie, others will not cut till September, as the grass holds good till frost comes.

DAILY HERALD.

A. HARRIS, A. W. FAIRBANKS, GEO. A. BENEDICT.

OFFICIAL CITY PAPER.

CLEVELAND

Wednesday Evening, August 20, 1856.

Forbearance Ceased to be a Virtue.

The efforts of the Republican House to have justice done to Kansas, have been constant and unremitted through the session. The determination of the Senate to force obedience to the bogus Territorial laws of Kansas at the point of the United States bayonets, has been demonstrated beyond a cavil, by the rejection of all overtures on the part of the House, and finally, by the defeat of the Army bill. The Administration, by its Pro-Slavery masters, decreed that unless money could be appropriated to sustain ATCHISON, STRINGFELLOW, and BUFORD, with their armed marauders in Kansas, to murder or drive back Free State settlers, the Army bill should not pass. And so it was done.

These laws, which the Senate says shall be thus enforced, have been pronounced by Gen. Cass as a *disgrace to the age*; the Senate itself, in what is known as the Toombs' Kansas Bill, directly acknowledged that those laws were not valid, and prominent Democrats in debate admitted that it was not treason to disobey those laws. The House passed the bill admitting Kansas under its Topeka Constitution; but the Senate refused that bill as a means to quiet that Territory. The House passed DUNN's bill which restored the Missouri Compromise; the Senate rejected that overture. The House attached a proviso to the Judiciary appropriation bill, which required that prosecutions against the prisoners in Kansas should be abandoned; to this the Senate would not agree, and the House receded from that proviso. The House attached to the same bill a proviso that no part of the money should be expended in the prosecution for treason, of the Kansas prisoners; to this the Senate would not agree, and the House again yielded.

Thus was Olive Branch after Olive Branch tendered by the House to the Senate, to bring peace and justice to poor, distracted, slavery-trodden Kansas. Then came the test as to the sincerity of the Senate in its pretended good will towards Kansas. The question was directly put to that Senate, to wit: Are you in favor of annulling those infamous laws in Kansas? The Senate replies; We will enforce those laws with the United States bayonets, and the same Appropriation bill which gives money to the army for defence of our frontiers against Indians, shall also give money for the purpose of erecting a cordon around Kansas against the approach of Freedom.

Such is the matter in brief, and such the conclusive proof that the Administration and the Buchanan party are determined to sustain the laws of Kansas.

The Courier and Enquirer, in speaking of the defeat of the Army bill at the close of the session, uses the words of truth and soberness as follows:

The contest on the Army bill marked the closing scene. Let Freemen—Freemen who love the Freedom for which Washington fought, which Jefferson proclaimed, and which Jay taught, contemplate this scene. On the one hand, Slavery, not content with its sectional institution of Slavery within the bounds guaranteed to it by the Constitution, and yielded to it according to that Constitution by the Free States, standing defiant and unyielding in the halls of the National Legislature, and demanding that its sectional institution shall be extended over the free soil of the National Territories, and that the power of the United States Army shall be turned against Freemen to force the extension! On the other hand, standing in the same halls, National Freedom, true to itself, saying calmly, but firmly, that Slavery shall not have the Army of the United States to force slavery on Freemen! In the meantime the President has issued a call for an extra session, and the same scene will doubtless be repeated.

It is for National Freedom to preserve the same firm front, while on the head of Sectional Slavery, if it refuse to yield, alone falls the responsibility of disarranging the wheels of Government, if such disarrangement should follow.

The Ruffian Judge.

We referred a few days since to Judge LECOMPTÉ as the Jeffreys of Kansas, and suggested that there could be no intention on the part of PIERCE to cease hostilities against the people of Kansas while he was retained. It seems that public opinion in the free States reaches even the Chief Justice of Kansas.

He has, through Mr. HANNEGAN of Indiana, put forth a denial of ONE of the accusations against him, grave enough to have claimed his attention, one would think, something sooner. He declares "there was no order of the Court" for the destruction of the Lawrence Hotel and the two printing presses.

Judge LECOMPTÉ excuses the act by stating that the Court over which he presides was in session at the time; that the Grand Jury presented the hotel and printing offices as nuisances, and that the mob headed by the United States Marshal destroyed them in pursuance of that presentment. He further says:

"It can but be palliated as a necessity for the future security of the people of the county and of the Territory against the recurrence of outrages similar to those which has made necessary the resort a second time to the calling out of a large posse for the execution of the law. A further palliation may be found in the fact that it was a current impression that an order, such as you mention, had been issued. This impression grew out of these facts, all that occurred in relation to the subject."

Judge LECOMPTÉ, in the following extract, wallows still deeper in the mire of border ruffianism:

"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 a 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 a matter of congratulation that there was enough of fixed purpose to avoid excesses, to resist the temptation to commit them *ad libitum*."

Judge LECOMPTÉ's charge to the Grand Jury at the April Term, which has been widely published, was in itself a sufficient warrant for the outrages which followed. But who were they that destroyed the hotel and presses? Sheriff JONES, his deputies, and a posse assembled to aid him in the name of the law, which included also a number of Deputy Marshals; all officers of Judge LECOMPTÉ's Court. Did they err in regard to his wishes?

The spirit in which this Chief Justice administers the bloody code of Kansas, may be inferred from the vindictive hate with which he has pursued ROBINSON, BROWN, DEITZLER and the other prisoners.

They have been confined since May last on a charge of treason, when it is admitted by every one, except it be LECOMPTÉ, that no treason has been committed. Application for admission to bail has been contemptuously refused, without even a reason assigned for the refusal.

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During almost three months of summer, these men have been kept in a military camp, sleeping in tents under a guard of soldiery. Does any one doubt that a simple order from the Judge could have put these prisoners in a place of security where they might have such decent quarters as are allowed to even convicted felons?

It is a little remarkable that these men are indicted in Judge Lecompte's Court for traitorously assembling with arms, &c., at Lawrence on the 20th of May, 1856, to overthrow and subvert the Government of the United States. On the 20th day of May, Jones and his rabble followers encamped near Lawrence, preparatory to the sacking of the town, which took place on the next day. They met no resistance, though there is no doubt that Jones and Atchison expected a fight; and the indictment is based upon the resistance which they anticipated. The plan was well laid, but it failed through the forbearance of the free state men of Lawrence.

The indictment included Lane, who on the day of the alleged overt act, was in the State of Ohio, and had not been in Kansas for three months. But it was supposed he would be there on that day, resisting the mob, and the indictment was framed in advance, as there is good reason to believe, and found accordingly. The programme embraced armed resistance on the 20th day of May, but there was none; but the indictment for such resistance was found by Lecompte's Grand Jury.

But a correspondent of the St. Louis Republican states that Judge Lecompte's charge to the Grand Jury at the present term was able and impartial. The notions of impartiality which prevail among the borderers, are not quite according to the dictionary; but it is possible that even Jeffreys is not utterly insensible to opinion in the States. He holds his court mainly for the trial of political offences, under the protection of fifty United States dragoons. The same correspondent says:

"They are stationed within a few hundred yards of the court room, and prepared to obey orders at a moment's notice. It is the first time in our national history, that the precincts of a United States Court have gleamed with the glitter of protecting bayonets. It has a strange appearance and a saddening effect. Instead of awakening in the mind those hilarious and patriotic sentiments incident to martial shows, it shadows the spirit with the mysterious gloom of an indefinable portent.

Kansas Emigrants, Mormons, etc.

A correspondent, writing from Iowa City upon business, remarks incidentally as follows:

"A large number of emigrants for Kansas are encamped outside the city. They are accompanied by a very excellent clergyman. These people have to traverse this long and tedious route in consequence of the blockade of the Missouri River.

"Six to seven hundred Mormons have been encamped outside the city for the last two months. They have just started. These people were principally from England and Wales. A good many deserted the saintly standard at Iowa City, but their behavior on the whole was very good.

"The people of Iowa are almost unanimously for J. C. Fremont.

One probable result of the present state of things in Missouri, is shown by the eagerness evinced there by landholders to sell out at almost any price. The best lands on the Missouri River can be had for less than the wild prairie of Northern Iowa."—Chicago Press.



NEW HAVEN :

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 20, 1856.

ORGANIZED PLAN OF THE PRO-SLAVERY PARTY—A GENERAL ATTACK TO BE MADE ON THE FREE-STATE SETTLERS—THE ATTACK ON THE FORT AT FRANKLIN, ETC.

CHICAGO, Tuesday, Aug. 19.

The following news from Kansas was received here this morning:

The Free-Soilers have discovered that the organized plan of the Pro-Slavery Party is to concentrate men, arms, and ammunition at different points of the Territory, for the purpose of making a sudden and general attack immediately after the adjournment of Congress, and expel all the Free-State settlers. Twelve fortified block-houses have been erected at different Pro-Slavery points, which are well supplied with cannon, rifles and ammunition, garrisoned principally by the Missourians.

On the night of the 12th inst., a company of Free-State men attacked the Fort at Franklin for the purpose of securing arms, when a fight ensued between them and the forces stationed there, which lasted four hours. One Free-State man was killed, and one seriously wounded. Three Missourians were wounded. The Free-State men captured a block-house, took one cannon and fifty sets of arms—the latter included many of the rifles seized at Lawrence in May, by the Pro-Slavery men.

The Missourians retreated to camp Worthington southwest of Lawrence, and it is feared there will be further disturbance between the parties, although quietness now exists.

An extra of the Leavenworth Journal, on the 14th, has the following call to arms:

"The border towns are greatly excited, and a general mustering of Missourians is demanded by the Pro-Slavery leaders in the Territory."

A LATER DISPATCH.

Additional intelligence from Kansas, this afternoon, states that before the attack on the Fort at Franklin the Free-State men applied for the dispersion of the Pro-Slavery force that had gathered there, under the proclamation of Gov. Shannon, which was refused.

A large meeting was held at Kansas City, on the 12th, at which it was resolved to send 2,000 men immediately into the Territory.

A meeting was held at Lexington, on the 16th and a resolution was passed that they would send their quota of men, to help settle the difficulties, by the first boat.

THE PALLADIUM.

WORCESTER :

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 20, 1856.

From Kansas.

[Correspondence of the Evening Post.]

EAST DOUGLAS, KANSAS, August 2, 1856.
We are having a moment of peace here, just a breathing time, probably. We learn that Buford has returned home for more men; also, that he has gone no further than to some of the river towns; and yet again, that he is with part of the men who came with him (many of them have deserted him—all of the better, or rather less bad part, for whom he was too much of a knave) and some Alabamians, Tennesseans and Missourians in the northern part of the territory, to prevent emigration from the North by the Iowa and Nebraska route.

We suppose that Gen. Lane is somewhere with a company, although we have no reliable

information as to his movements. In this vicinity matters are shaping themselves very much as in the States.

Lecompton men, and many of the pro-slavery men have had a slight touch of the ruffian game themselves. A party of Buford's men, and kindred spirits have been staying at Lecompton, until the landlords have got tired of boarders who don't pay their board. One of them told his boarders a few days since that he could not keep them any longer. Their reply was—"If you cannot, you must leave, and let some one take your place who will. We were sent out here to fight and must stay."

Some are ready to compromise with the free-state men and dispense with territorial laws—join with others without regard to party—form a vigilance committee after the California style, and stop the outrages. If we could have bona fide evidence that this plan would be carried out, it might answer the purpose, but as it would be so easy to return to the "legal enactments" of Missouri, no compromise with the evil is probably the better plan. We think they are "getting in hot water here." It cheers our hearts to hear the good news that Fremont's prospects are growing more and more bright.

We of course have no voice in the election, or rather no vote; we can speak, but the next best thing for us to an admission into the Union with the Topeka constitution, would be the election of Fremont, and the consequent probability of an admission as a free state some time.

The crops are not so extensive as they would have been had there been less rain at planting time; but what has been planted does well. Wheat is harvested, and the ground is being prepared for another crop. Some of the farmers are cutting hay on the prairie, others will not cut till September, as the grass holds good till the frost comes.

HAMPSHIRE GAZETTE
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Kansas.

Advices at Chicago to the 6th, state that the overland company of emigrants had arrived safely at Topeka. A company of Missourians who had enlisted as Kansas militia marched to intercept them, but returned without doing any damage. It was stated that a company of dragoons, headed by Judge Lecompte, had entered Nebraska with the intention of arresting Gen. Lane, but had returned without effecting their object.—Rumors were current in the river towns, last week, that a battle between the emigrants and regulators had taken place near the Nebraska line, but they were not generally credited. A report prevailed in Nebraska City on the 30th, that a large force of Missourians and South Carolinians had invaded the Territory and blockaded the public roads, and that 150 men had volunteered to drive them out.—Judge Lecompte had commenced the summer term of his court. Rumors of the intended rescue of prisoners by the free state men, had induced Gen. Smith to send 50 dragoons to protect the court. Judge Lecompte, in his charge to the Grand Jury, reviewed the most glaring offenses, and suggested remedies for the present and prospective evils of the country. He admonished them to be calm and unbiased in their action, and to do nothing having the appearance of sectional or personal inclination.—A man and his son, driving a team into the territory from Kansas City, Mo., were overtaken by a party of highwaymen, who took them into the woods and hanged them, seizing their money and goods, amounting in all to about \$3,000.—The Topeka Tribune of the 28th ult. gives an account of the robbery of Mr. Barricco while taking goods to Palmyra, by a gang led by Coleman, the murderer of Dow. Coleman has erected a log fort at Bull Creek, above Palmyra, and has a gang of 90 cut-throats under him, who live by plunder.—Rev. Mr. Nute, with a party of sixty

Lawrence people, was at Leecompton on Sunday, the 4th, and was allowed to preach in the presence of the free state prisoners. The dragoons attended, the Lawrence folks had a melodeon and sang well, and the scene was altogether one of unusual interest, as well as an agreeable relief to the prisoners from the monotony of camp life.—A letter to the Boston Traveller gives, on the authority of Mr. Jamieson, a member of the Kansas free state legislature, a report that eight free state men residing on the Big Blue had been murdered by a party of Missourians, who endeavored to jump their claims. We trust that this will prove to be but a revival of the account of what happened on the Big Blue several months ago. If it proves to be a recent occurrence then the reign of terror is indeed renewed in a fearful manner.—Accounts from the territory represent that the gangs of southern banditti were concentrating and planning a new series of attacks on the free state settlements, with the intention of plundering and driving out the remainder of the free state settlers. Gen. Smith said he could afford no protection, his only object being to enforce the laws. The news of Gov. Geary's appointment, was received with general indifference by the people in the territory, the general feeling being, that he could not well be worse than Shannon.

Political Preaching

"Democracy is practical christianity," said the state democratic convention of Massachusetts twenty years ago. "Democracy is practical christianity," repeated the party and the presses of the party from one end of the commonwealth to the other; and year after year the repetition was continued. What did they mean by it? Anything, or nothing? The people understood it as the enunciation of a grave political and moral truth; as a declaration that the great doctrine of the equality of all men in the state is identical with those truths which lie at the foundation of the christian dispensation. If democracy—in no partisan sense, but as a pure principle—be practical christianity, why then should democracy object to a little plainness of speech by those whose duty it is made to expound the truths of christianity, and give them a practical application to the every-day occurrences of society?

We would condemn, as strongly as any one, the desecration of the pulpit to mere partisan efforts—to the promotion of the success of one party over another, or of one individual over another individual. It is never difficult to discriminate between the preaching in aid of a party, and the preaching that has for its object the inculcation and defense of great moral and christian truths, and the denunciation of violations of those truths by the people and by government. The pulpit, like the press, is an organ for creating public opinion, and giving it a proper direction and force. It was a powerful agent in creating and giving life and energy to that public opinion that carried the country through the war of the revolution, and gave it independence, and freedom from the oppressions of the British throne. Who, but the tories, ever denounced the patriot clergy of the revolution for the many noble sermons which they preached in defense of the right, and in condemnation of the wrong? The Massachusetts pulpit in those times rendered "yeoman's service" to the cause of freedom; and who is there now that would blot out its record? English history, too, furnishes instances innumerable of the power of the pulpit in correcting the abuses of trust, and in scathing rulers that wallowed in the corruptions of courts. Now if "democracy is practical christianity," who shall say that the pulpits of England and of America did wrong when they

thundered forth denunciations upon those acts that were believed to be in contravention to the plain teachings of christianity? The clergy are men, with infirmities of judgment and of temper, as others are; and may sometimes err in opinion of their duty in political exigencies. But when they are right in the main, they are entitled to forbearance for mistakes of sentiment and judgment, for which apology may be found in misinformation.

If ever there was a time when the pulpit may speak without restraint, we believe that time is now present; and that the pulpit should be heard, the country over, in rebuke of wrong, and in defense of right. Why should it not? Is there no occasion?—If "democracy is practical christianity," then have democracy and christianity, one and both, been outraged in our country. In the case of Senator Sumner, admit all that is charged against him; admit that he was "abusive and outrageously personal;" give Brooks the full benefit of his shallow defense; and even then a case existed for the most earnest rebukes of the organs of public opinion, the pulpit and the press. His only offense, admitting an offense at all, was a little excess of freedom in debate. And how was it punished? What was the retaliation? On the spot where the offense was committed, the answer should have been made; not with bludgeons, but with argument against argument—speech against speech—with the full knowledge that what was there said in vindication would fly, as on the wings of the wind, over the country, wherever Mr Sumner's speech had gone before it. But that would not have been in keeping with the spirit of the times; and Brooks was but a "representative man"—representing the dark and aggressive spirit of slavery—when he stole into the senate chamber, upon the senator at his desk and unaware of his presence, and gave him those deadly blows that have been felt from the farthest east to the farthest west. In many tones, the pulpit has denounced the outrage, and the cause and the spirit that produced it, as a violation of every christian rule. Now if "democracy is practical christianity," why should democrats complain when the christian minister denounces such an abuse of democracy as this? Not for once alone, it is hoped, will the pulpit deal out its denunciation of this Brooks atrocity; for while the act itself was a deed of blackness on which Satan himself might feast his keenest malice, the endorsement of it, almost universally, by the slaveholders of all the slave states, intensifies, terrifically intensifies, the enormity of the outrage. It is in view of this endorsement of Brooks by the whole south—all that dare speak on the subject—that we say that he is a "representative man" in this aggression of the slave power. It is in view of this endorsement, that we say that public opinion, to a great extent, is fatally erroneous on this subject; and therefore we repeat, that the pulpit, as well as the press, has its high duty to perform in correcting this erroneous sentiment, and bringing it into a sound, healthy, christian position.

Again; Kansas was free territory. For a third of a century it had been consecrated to freedom. The slave power had got the state of Missouri as its side of the bargain of 1820. It had driven a good bargain, and received its consideration. The time had come for freedom to take its side of the bargain of 1820; to realize its consideration; to enter into the enjoyment of the fruits it was to receive from the compromise. But the slave power, burning with a fierce spirit of aggression, resolved to take to itself the whole consideration. Like a lubberly boy, it had eaten its half of the apple, and it meant to eat the other half, even if it got it by plunder. It did not come up

openly and boldly to the work of plunder, with its own hands; but it put forward such pliant tools, as it could find in the free states, to open the way for the admission of slavery into free territory—men who could gloze over the deed with the good name of 'popular sovereignty,' and the catching phrase of "permitting the people to frame for themselves such institutions of government as they pleased to form." They are terribly indignant at the bare intimation that their purpose was to force slavery into Kansas. If they have not meant that, then they are obnoxious to the charge of a design to force freedom out of Kansas! And when that is done, slavery enters of course.

Now here was a great national wrong. A territory, boundless enough for an empire of free men, is in the process of conversion from free land to slave land; what was the pulpit to do in view of the enactment of this great wrong? Were the clergy to put their hands over their eyes, and turn away lest they should see it, and then say nothing about it, through fear that some one would think that they were seeking to produce the election, to office, of one man rather than another? If "democracy is practical christianity," then were democracy and christianity in the process of being outraged by this great wrong; and the clergy would have been accounted false to their mission—false to their christian obligations—false to every sentiment of humanity, of justice, of right, if they had not spoken of this wrong in terms of clear, honest, manly condemnation.

But this was not all. When the Kansas-Nebraska bill had opened the territory, to the exodus of slavery from the slave states, and its ingress into free land, then commenced the great national wrong of expelling freedom from the fair heritage which for a third of a century had been held as a legacy in reserve. It has been proved, by the congressional investigation, that in November, 1854—six months after congress erected the territory—at the election of a delegate to congress, more than a thousand men went into Kansas from Missouri; put out the judges of elections, and put their own men in their places; and then elected a delegate of their own selection. Was that right, or was it wrong? Four months later, the 30th of March, 1855, came on the election of the territorial legislature. Again, it has been proved, that four-fifths of the votes that were then cast by Missourians—not less than 4000 in number—were the illegal votes of slave men, living and having their homes in Missouri, but crossing into Kansas, for no purpose but to impose a government of their own selection upon the actual settlers, whom the Kansas-Nebraska bill professed to invite into the territory to exercise the right of popular sovereignty. Was the pulpit to be silent in view of such an outrage as this?

But not this alone. The territorial legislature, thus foisted upon the territory by the people of Missouri, went to its unholy work. They transferred the whole code of slave laws from slave Missouri into free Kansas; thus making Kansas as much slave land to-day as Missouri itself is slave land, if this bold and wicked usurpation is to stand as the true territorial government. They went farther in their black work than even Missouri had ever gone. They passed other laws, that are a disgrace to the land and the age. No man can be put into the jury box, if he denies the right to hold slaves in Kansas; and whoever makes such a declaration, in speech, in conversation, or through the press, subjects himself to two years of confinement at hard labor; and any man who writes, prints, or circulates, anything in the territory against the institution of slavery, must be punished with five years of imprisonment at hard labor. Whoever harbors a fugitive slave in Kansas shall go to the penitentiary

for five years; and for assisting a slave to escape into, or out of Kansas, the usurping legislature had no milder punishment than that of *death*, ignominiously executed; and death likewise for all who print or circulate any documents in Kansas whose tendency is to excite an insurrection of the slaves in that territory. No one is allowed to vote in Kansas until he has taken an oath to support the fugitive slave law. And that they might make sure the execution of these infamous laws until the territory would probably be ready for admission as a state, they put into the town and county officers their own infamous creatures, with the right to hold their places for the term of six years. In all this, was there nothing of wrong? Was the pulpit to be silent in view of this wrong, or was it to utter a fervid denunciation?

The people of Kansas refused to recognize this gross usurpation, even after the national administration had recognized it, and demanded their obedience to it. The freedom-loving Tell sent the arrow to the tyrant Gessler's heart; and public opinion will always, in time, execute its mission upon those who sin against liberal ideas. The Kansas people went back to their inherent rights; formed a constitution, and asked of congress admission as a state, as a peaceful relief from the oppressions to which they are subjected. That relief is withheld. In the meantime the men who were prominent in this work are under indictment for trial for treason before judges who hold their commissions at the will of the President of the United States; but who, having laid aside their robes of office, are scouring the country at the head of "troops," so called, for the purpose of catching and bringing to trial, before themselves, certain free state men, who have been charged with petty crimes, for no other reason, apparently, than to rid the territory of their presence by a hot conviction. And what further is now, and has been, the condition of this distracted territory under these judges, and rulers, and petty officers, that hold their commission under the law of congress, or the laws of the usurping legislature? Free state men have been murdered, their property stolen or destroyed, females outraged, houses burned, printing presses thrown into the river, oxen butchered in the field while turning up the sod to receive the corn so necessary to sustain the lives of the settlers. All these things have been going on, for months, unchecked by any arm having authority to check them. Had it been in despotic Russia, in barbaric Africa even, the American pulpit would have been denounced as craven in the extreme if it had remained silent on the subject. Should it hold its peace when these things occur in our very midst? Should it be silent when every thing else is speaking? Should it be gagged, lest its freedom should impair the chances of some man of character and influence to obtain an office? Should it be restrained from denouncing a great wrong because it is great; and be required to confine its denunciations to little wrongs because they are little? No; if "democracy is practical christianity," then democracy and christianity both demand from the pulpit, as from every organ of public sentiment, and every christian heart and tongue, a stern, earnest, and unflinching denunciation of this great national sin, the crime of slavery aggression, which has been perpetrated, under the cloak of freedom, upon the once free land of Kansas. Wherever the pulpit has uttered this denunciation, it has nobly done its duty.

The Atlas.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, AUGUST 20, 1856.

KANSAS EMIGRANTS.—The Nebraska City News, a Buchanan paper, of July 26, gives an account of the Free State emigrants at that place, en route for Kansas. The News says that about five hundred emigrants for Kansas have been encamped in that vicinity during the week. They are mostly from Indiana, Illinois and Ohio, and are principally composed of young active men, from the country, and during their stay they have conducted themselves in a quiet, orderly and law-abiding manner, and will be a valuable acquisition to any country that they may settle in.

In company with the above, are a large number of Milwaukeeans, 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.

DAILY ADVERTISER.

BOSTON:

WEDNESDAY MORNING, AUG. 20, 1856.

KANSAS.—That there are various accounts of the present condition of things in Kansas, is not at all surprising when we consider the vast extent of the Territory and the scattered nature of the population. All may be quiet and peaceful at a given place and date, while deeds of violence may be perpetrated there the next day, or are going on at the same time twenty miles off. So sudden are the changes, that sometimes the same letter brings evidence of two entirely separate aspects of affairs. We have before us a letter dated Aug. 5, from a reliable man settled at Lawrence. He says:—

"Every thing is quiet here at present. The weather is very fine, and the crops are very promising. There is but little sickness here."

This was the conclusion of the letter; but in a postscript the writer adds:—

"P. S.—Since the above was written I have heard of a robbery by the Georgians. A wagon, four oxen, and 3500 lbs. of flour and bacon, have been taken from a Mr. Farnsworth.

"A short time since two free-state men were attacked by four Georgians. They resisted and killed all four of their assailants. Shortly after they were arrested for horse stealing, and brought before a territorial justice of the peace. The justice remarked that there was no evidence against the prisoners, but that he believed them guilty and should bind them over. He ordered them to be sent to the jail at Harrisonville, Mo., for safe keeping. The jailer refused to receive them, when the guard returned with their prisoners to the territory. But they seized a favorable moment, and escaped from their keepers."

This is but a single illustration of the disorganized condition of affairs.

Our townsman, Dr. S. G. Howe, one of the members of the Kansas committee, has recently returned from his visit to the northern frontier of Kansas. The arrangements for the entrance of the emigration there were such that there is little reason to doubt the successful establishment of a route into Kansas that way. The emigrants expected to take up claims to land in the Territory as they proceeded, and thus the road will become easier for each successive party.

The people on the road throughout Iowa are exceedingly well disposed to the emigration, and do all in their power to facilitate and encourage parties passing through their State bound for Kansas.

The route into Kansas through free territory, is now fairly opened; and it must not hap-

pen that it is closed either for want of travelers or for want of means to keep open the key-points. Men and money are still needed; and those who are in earnest for the freedom of Kansas must not relax their exertions at this critical moment.

No New England man—brave and strong—can render a better service for the freedom of Kansas than by going there himself and becoming a settler in the Territory. Any man who cannot go himself can help the cause by contributions of money to the general committee appointed at Buffalo, or to the State committee organized in Massachusetts, whose secretary is Mr. S. N. Gifford, 17 Niles' Building, Boston.

Boston Journal.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, AUG. 20.

THE NEW OUTBREAK IN KANSAS. The story which came by telegraph yesterday afternoon to the effect that a party of one hundred Free State men had attacked the defenseless town of Franklin, in Kansas, robbed and set fire to the post office, and so forth, reads like a weak invention of the enemy. It has been the constant but ineffectual labor of Border Ruffianism to excite a feeling against the Free State men by accusing them of deeds which only their enemies could be capable of committing. Stepped to the eyes in iniquity themselves they seek to drag others down to the same level.

BOSTON POST.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 20, 1856.

THE PRESIDENT AND KANSAS.

The Washington Union justly takes exception to a sentence in Mr Choate's letter. The Union remarks—

"After commending in forcible terms the principle of the Kansas bill, and expressing the opinion that if the territory were delivered over to the natural law of peaceful and spontaneous immigration, it would be a free state, Mr Choate says—

"When this policy, so easy, simple, and just, is tried and fails, it will be time enough to resort to revolution. It is in part because the duty of protection to the local settler was not performed that the democratic party has already, by the action of its great representative convention, resolved to put out of office its own administration. That lesson will not and must not be lost on anybody."

We place in italics the sentence which we regret to find in a letter in other respects so worthy of commendation. Mr Choate shows himself well qualified to give counsel to his whig friends, and to teach them by his example a lesson of wisdom, and we repeat our regret that he undertook to develop the motives which actuated the democratic party in the selection of its candidate. That is a task which belongs peculiarly to those who were cognizant of the proceedings and considerations which resulted in the nomination of Mr Buchanan. Mr Choate's remark is susceptible of being construed into a reflection on the Cincinnati convention, which we hope he did not intend, and which we know it does not deserve.

It will be remembered that the convention, with entire unanimity and with enthusiastic cordiality, approved and endorsed the course of policy of the present administration; and we have no hesitation in affirming that no part of its policy received a more earnest and hearty approval than that which embraced its Kansas policy. To say that President Pierce was not nominated because he had not given "protection to the local settler," is wholly in conflict with the declaration of the convention, not only in approving his policy, but in adopting that policy as part of its platform. The remark of Mr Choate carries by implication the idea that President Pierce failed to carry out the true spirit of the Kansas law, and that his leanings were on the side of the pro-slavery portion of the settlers. What Mr Choate darkly insinuates has been the constant theme of violent denunciation by the very republicans from whom he apprehends danger; but no such charge has been laid at his door by national democrats, either at the north or south. His policy was to have the act executed with perfect impartiality, so that the natural law of peaceful and spontaneous immigration might determine the character of the domestic institutions in Kansas. It is not our purpose to

point out the considerations which induced the convention to decline to renominate President Pierce—this would be an easy task if it were at all necessary or proper to undertake; but we have accomplished our object when we protest against the reason assigned by Mr Choate, and affirm that, so far from having been weakened in the convention by his Kansas policy, that constituted a prominent element of his strength in that body. It is our purpose soon to publish Mr Choate's letter, and when we do so, wish it to be understood that, whilst we rejoice at the conclusion to which he comes in enrolling himself as a supporter of Mr Buchanan, we regret that he deemed it necessary to make a remark so unjust to the democratic convention and to President Pierce."

It seems very convenient for every one who desires to gratify past or present prejudices against the democratic party, to cast imputations upon one of its ablest, boldest, and truest defenders, the President of the United States. But the history of his public career will redeem his character from the aspersions of either malice or ignorance.

The following tribute, paid by the Hon. B. F. HALLETT in his eloquent address at Keene, N. H., on the 4th of July, will be affirmatively responded to by the voice of Justice throughout the nation:—

"President Pierce is slandered to-day as Jefferson, Madison, Jackson and Polk were slandered, each in his day, and for the like reason—fidelity to the Union. When the sober second judgment passes upon his administration as upon theirs, it will do him justice likewise, as having, in his high office, maintained the constitution at home and the honor of the country abroad, with a fidelity, a firmness and integrity that will place his name hereafter beside theirs, as the true man to the true democratic principles of our government; (applause)—and that man, when he shall have returned to private life, will stand hereafter, elevated in moral dignity and conscious rectitude as far above the heads of these his domestic defamers here at home, as the highest peak of your mountains is above the lowest shrub that withers at its feet." (Cheers.)

In this connection we will quote, also, the words of the distinguished senator from Georgia, Mr TOOMBS, as uttered in the United States senate:—

"Who is the President that you choose thus to denounce here in the senate because of the impunity afforded by your senatorial character? He is the son of a man who, throughout the whole revolutionary war, fought for the liberties you are betraying. He himself, upon his arrival at early manhood, was carried by his native state into the public councils and made the speaker of her legislature. At the earnest demand of his fellow citizens he was transferred to the house of representatives of the United States. After spending there long years of honorable service—broad, national, catholic in his principles and in his votes—he was transferred to the senate of the United States by the almost unanimous voice of the people of New Hampshire. He was kept here until his own love of retirement and want of ambition induced him to retire to the peaceful shades of home, in the bosom of the home of his patriot ancestor. He was invoked from that retirement by the voice of his native state to come back to this body when it was an honor to any man to be here, but he declined.

He was sought out in his retirement by Mr Polk and offered a seat in his cabinet; he quietly declined the honor and emoluments of office, and preferred quietly to sustain himself and family by the pursuit of an honorable profession. War came upon the republic. Troops were demanded of New Hampshire, due to the blood of his revolutionary sire, he stepped forward as a volunteer private in the ranks. The rulers of his country called him to unsolicited command. He served his country with fidelity and honor until honorable peace crowned victorious war, and then he returned to the quiet and unobtrusive walks of private life. Here his countrymen sought him; here they found him, and without an effort on his part, except a public declension of the proffered honor, he was nominated, and by the votes of every state in the Union except four, he was called to the chief magistracy of the country, to whose liberties his father had so gallantly and nobly contributed during every day of the arduous struggle. He has been 'clear in his office.' I was not his flatterer in the plenitude of his power and his popularity, and therefore I have no reason to be his traducer or his flatterer now. I have differed with him on some important points of public policy. I have maintained that difference—maintained it here and before the people. I have agreed with him on many other points of public policy, and have honestly and faithfully endeavored to sustain him. I think he has not been justly dealt with by his friends. He has maintained his faith when others have yielded to temptation; and I give the honest judgment of an independent senator in saying that no truer, juster, more patriotic, more impartial or more national man has

succeeded to the chair of Washington than Frankum Pierce.

How does he leave the country to-night? What is our condition? We have twenty-five millions of people. We are great, we are prosperous, we are happy. We are respected abroad. At home, commerce, industry, manufactures and agriculture are teeming with prosperity. Our national name is everywhere respected, except among the enemies of free government and the allies of the abolitionists in the United States—the friends of monarchy. The senator from New York denounces him; the London Times denounces him; every enemy of liberty, abroad and at home, denounces him. He will leave, however, a great and prosperous people with not a speck in the whole political horizon which has any tendency except to gladden the heart of the patriot. The howls of defeated abolitionists will do him no harm. Doubtless the enemies of liberty in the Revolution used as harsh terms against his patriot father as his enemies now use against him; but he will retire from his present high position with the blessings of all true patriots and will receive the commendations of all future times."

These eulogiums are well merited, and will receive the sanction of a great majority of the nation. Gen. Pierce's statesmanship has been evinced in the unprecedented unity and harmony of his administration; by that power and sagacity which has held, in constant communion for a whole presidential term, a cabinet composed of gentlemen of strong wills, great abilities, of diverse views upon many leading subjects of state, and coming from widely separated sections of the Union, yet never varying from his early political record as much as a hair's breadth. Temporary passion, malignity, party frenzy, may misrepresent the character and acts of such a man, but truth will finally triumph and award him that meed of praise due his talents, courage and patriotic statesmanship.

that the Union will be dissolved or the country will suffer if the Bill wholly fails. Let it fail, rather than consent to the demands of the slave power for its mutilation.

Daily Citizen and News.

Lowell, Wednesday, Aug. 20, 1856.

KANSAS. The latest report is that on the night of the 11th a party of 200 free state men attacked the town of Franklin, containing only 20 pro-slavery men, and a four hour's fight ensued, in which six free-state men (another account says seventeen) and four pro-slavery men were killed. The free-state men then robbed and set fire to the post-office and retreated carrying off the cannon belonging to the town. The next day Franklin was occupied by 100 United States troops. The story is a "border ruffian" one, and is utterly unreliable, if we take into account such reports of former fights. Three hundred of Col. Lane's party had arrived at Topeka.—A correspondent of the Tribune says that Gov. Shannon refused to call out the militia to assist in collecting the taxes levied by authority of the bogus legislature, which so enraged the "border ruffian" leaders that they threatened to duck him in the Kaw river. The next day or two news came of Shannon's removal.—The appointment of Gov. Geary excites but little interest among the free-state men in Kansas.

Whig and Courier.

Wheeler & Lynde, Proprietors.

WEDNESDAY, AUG. 20, 1856.

Eveing Telegraph.

BOSTON, WEDNESDAY, AUG. 20.

THE EXTRA SESSION. The contumacy of the Senate in resisting the passage of the Army bill unless the House would consent to its mutilation, has compelled the President to call an extra session, which will meet to-morrow. The President probably sees the dilemma in which his party is placed by the determination of the Senate to persist in the war upon Kansas, even at the expense of the appropriation bill. The responsibility is clearly upon the Senate. The Army Bill is a House Bill. The House, with wisdom and firmness, passed it in a shape which displeased the Border Ruffian dictators at the other end of the Capitol. They said that no part of the army, provided for in the bill, should be used to enforce the Border Ruffian laws of the Bogus Legislature, until Congress had passed upon their validity. They said also that until the question of validity was passed upon, the President should use the Army to preserve peace, suppress insurrection, repel invasion and protect persons and property, and that he should disband the present militia of the Territory, and prevent armed men from going there to disturb the public peace, &c. [The proviso may be found on the first page, at the beginning of Senator Wilson's speech.] What could be more desirable than this? It was the first and only genuine pacification measure which had been introduced. It was part of the House Bill. What did the Senate do with it? It forthwith struck it out,—thereby declaring that the Army should enforce the Bogus Laws, and that the Army should not be employed to preserve peace, but that the Ruffian Militia from Missouri and the States further South should still be employed to harass and subjugate the settlers. The House resisted the mutilation of its bill, and the Senate refused to pass it. It let the appropriation drop rather than forego its design to make Kansas a slave State. This is a plain and true statement of the case. No wonder the President and his Cabinet feel the pressure.

We hope that the House will not yield an inch to the impudent demands of the slaveholders. Let it stand firm. The people will sustain it. If the Senate persists, let it take the responsibility of whatever inconvenience ensues. We have no fear

An Extra Session of Congress! Let it be Remembered!

That the Senate of the United States REFUSED to agree to the House amendment of the Army Appropriation Bill providing that the Army shall not be employed in ENFORCING THE BLACK LAWS OF KANSAS—that consequently the bill was lost, and the President has called an EXTRA SESSION OF CONGRESS, to be held at great expense.

All this because the pro-slavery Senate insisted that the army MAY be employed to enforce the BLACK LAWS of an ILLEGAL LEGISLATURE chosen by the BORDER RUFFIANS OF KANSAS! LET THE PEOPLE REMEMBER THIS!

Mr. Campbell of Ohio, who had opposed some of the other amendments, said of this one that "THE HOUSE HAD YIELDED ALL IT OUGHT TO YIELD, AND THE MOMENT HAD ARRIVED WHEN THEY SHOULD ASSERT THEIR RIGHT.—THERE WAS NOTHING IMPROPER IN THE BILL. THE PROVISIO MERELY PROVIDES THAT THE ARMY SHALL NOT BE USED BY THE PRESIDENT TO ENFORCE THE ALLEGED LAWS OF KANSAS. IF THE BILL IS DEFEATED, ON THE SENATE RESTS THE RESPONSIBILITY."

Should Kansas be refused admission as a SLAVE STATE, Georgia will resist such action of Congress, EVEN TO A DISRUPTION OF THE UNION.—HOWELL COBB, in the Georgia Convention, Oct. 1855.